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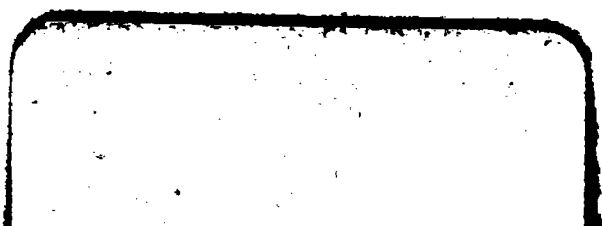
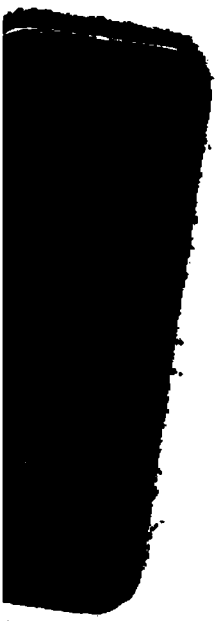
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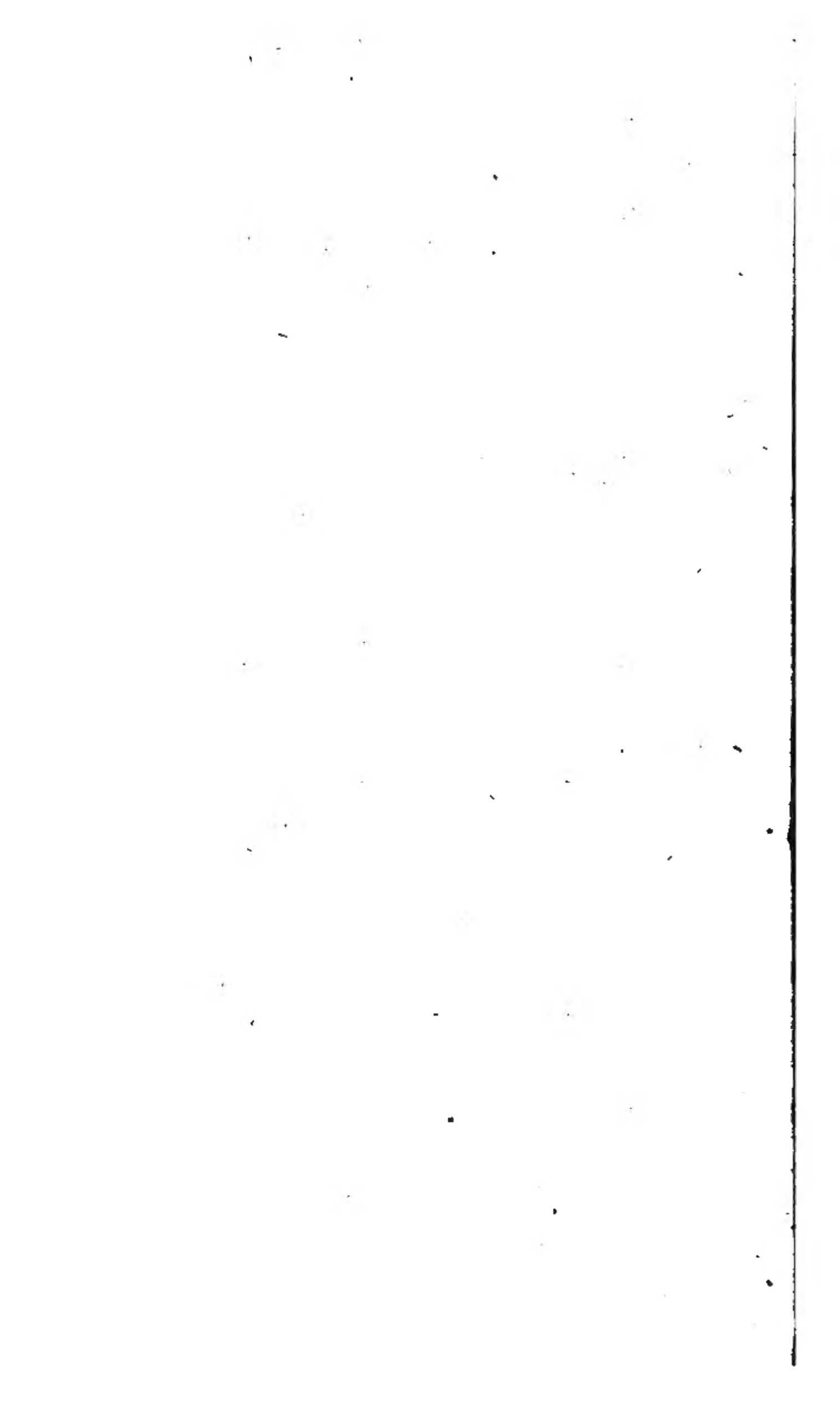
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THE
MODERN PART
OF AN
Universal History,
FROM THE
Earliest ACCOUNT of TIME.

Compiled from
ORIGINAL WRITERS.

By the AUTHORS of the ANTIENT PART.

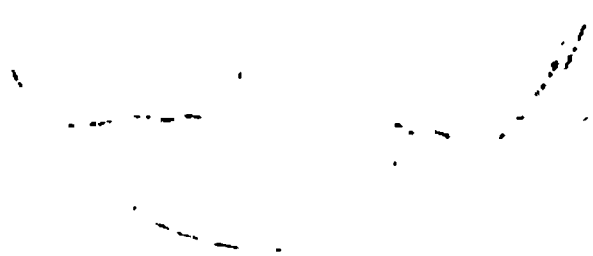
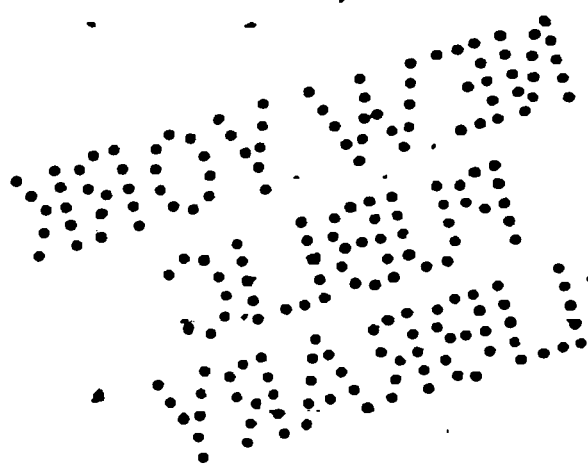
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1



Modern History:

BEING A

CONTINUATION

OF THE

Universal History.

CHAP. XII.

Containing the religious Disputes between the Emperor and Protestants, to the first Accommodation at Ratisbon.

CHARLES V.

CHARLES the fifth, son of Philip, king of Castile, and Charles Jane, daughter and heiress of Ferdinand the Catholic, was V. his birth and born at Ghent in Flanders; and passed the greatest part of his infancy at Mechlin, under the care of his aunt Margaret, widow of Philbert duke of Savoy, and governess of the Low Countries, and with Margaret of York, widow of Charles duke of Burgundy. Anthony Vacca, a Spaniard, who was entrusted with the care of his education, being dead, when he was but seven years of age, Margaret employed as his preceptor Adrian Florissen of Utrecht, professor in the university of Louvain, who was afterwards elected pope. He began to education: employ the young prince in the study of the belles lettres; but his governor, William de Croy, lord of Archoth, turned his whole attention to military exercises. At the age of six, Charles lost his father Philip, at fifteen his grandfather Maximilian declared him of age, and put into his hands the

He is entrusted with the government of the Low Countries
Succeeds to the throne of Spain.

Presents himself as a candidate for the empire.
Is opposed by the king of France.

The crown offered to Frederick, elector of Saxony, who declines it in favour of Charles.

government of the *Low Countries*. That same year, he recovered from *George* and *Henry*, dukes of *Saxony*, the territory of *West-Friesland*, which the emperor *Maximilian* had mortgaged to *Albert the Courageous* for two hundred thousand ducats of the *Rhine*. At the death of his maternal grandfather, *Ferdinand the Catholic*, he succeeded to his kingdoms; and next year repaired to *Spain*, where he was solemnly crowned. Though he was a *German* by extraction, born and bred in the *Low Countries*, he chose to make his chief residence in *Spain*; where he was desirous of ending his days, after he renounced the empire, and abdicated all his dominions, as will appear in the sequel. At length, after the death of the emperor *Maximilian*, *Charles* presented himself as a candidate for the imperial throne. His competitor was *Francis* the first, king of *France*, who had a long time cherished the scheme of adding the empire of *Germany* to his other dominions, and carried on many intrigues for that purpose during the life of the late emperor; immediately after whose decease, he had sent a solemn embassy, with four hundred thousand crowns, to confirm the attachment of some of the electors who had espoused his interest. Nor did *Charles* neglect the means of supporting his pretensions on this occasion. He was archduke of *Austria*, and lord of the *Low Countries*, as heir to his father; king of *Spain*, *Sicily*, and *Naples*, in right of his mother; and, as we have already observed, had been proposed to the diet of *Augsburg* by his grandfather *Maximilian*, as his successor in the empire. The electoral college, foreseeing that many inconveniencies would attend the election of either of these competitors, and being, in all probability, influenced by the pope, who, though he seemed to favour *Francis*, was jealous of both on account of their great power, resolved to offer the crown to *Frederic the Wise*, elector of *Saxony*. The proposal was accordingly made to him, after an interregnum of near six months; but he declining the honour, and declaring for *Charles*, the elector of *Mentz* gave his suffrage for the same prince, and their example was followed by all their colleagues, except the elector of *Triers*, who held out to the last for *Francis*^a. What chiefly contributed to the miscarriage of the king of *France* upon this occasion, was his being a foreigner by birth and extraction; for the *Germans*, who are naturally jealous and mistrustful, were afraid, that he, having been bred up in an absolute monarchy, would change the constitution of the empire, and humble the electors and princes to a degree beneath the dukes and peers

^a BELLIFOR. l. 5. c. 29. BELC. l. 16.

of France^b. Charles was therefore elected emperor at Frankfort; and as he at that time resided in Spain, the elector palatine was sent thither, to notify his election; which he no sooner understood, than he began to prepare for his journey to the empire; and, having equipped a fleet, he embarked for Flanders, from whence he repaired to Aix la Chapelle, in order to be crowned^c, though not before he had crossed the sea, on a visit to Henry the eighth, king of England, who received him at Canterbury, and accompanied him in his return to Flanders. During this interview, he is said to have detached Henry from the interest of Francis the first, contrary to the treaty which had been lately concluded between these two monarchs at Ardres^d. The ceremony was no sooner performed, than he quitted that city, which was infected by the plague, and went to Cologne, where he ordered writs to be expedited, and issued through the empire, for convoking the states at Worms, on the sixth of January the following year.

MEAN while, the Spaniards, chagrined at the departure of their king, whose promotion to the empire they could not relish, as they foresaw it would interfere with the administration of his own kingdom, and being, moreover, incensed at the avarice of the Flemings, to whom he had committed the management of affairs since the death of cardinal Ximenes, several grandees of Spain, in order to shake off this oppression, in the absence of Charles, entered into an association, which they called the *Sancta Junta*, which was embraced by Toledo and many large cities, and raised forces under the auspices of John de Padellia, and Antonio d'Acugno, bishop of Zamora. Their design was to restore the kingdom of Arragon to Ferdinand, the son of that Frederic king of Naples, who died in France, on condition that he should marry Jane the mother of Charles the fifth, whose person they had actually secured; but he rejected their proposal; and the viceroys of Castile and Arragon, taking arms against the rebels, weakened the faction by degrees, and at length almost entirely extinguished it by a total defeat, in which Padellia and the bishop were slain (A).

Who is elected at Frankfort, and crowned at Aix la Chapelle, A. D. 1520. Convokes a diet at Worms.

The Spaniards, who took arms against the emperor, are reduced by the viceroys of Castile and Arragon.

^b MEZ. Abreg. t. ii. p. 844.

^c FERRON. in Francisc. I.

^d REUTER. Chronol. Belgic. l. 6. Angler. Epist. 699.

(A) About this time, *Ferdinando Magalianus*, a Portuguese, in the service of Charles the fifth, found out that passage into the

South Sea, called from his name, the straits of Magellan (1); and *Hernando Cortez* made a conquest of Mexico (2).

(1) Marian. l. 26. c. 3.

(2) Jov. in Eulog. Ferd. Cortez.

Misunder-
standing
between
Francis
the first,
king of
France,
and
Charles;

THE king of *France*, taking the advantage of these intestine broils, sent an army under the command of *Andrew de Foix* into *Navarre*, which he conquered in a very little time; but, not contented with this success, he invaded *Castile*, where he was defeated by the viceroys; who in a few days retook the whole of *Navarre*, and dismantled almost all its towns and castles, by order of the emperor. This invasion did not interfere with the treaty of *Noyon*; because the six months being expired, *Francis* was at liberty to act in favour of the house of *Albret*: but several other circumstances concurred to bring to an open rupture that grudge which the jealousy of two competitors for a throne seldom fails to produce. *Francis* complained that *Charles* did not pay the money which he had promised to furnish yearly for the maintenance of the princess, and consequently had no intention to accomplish the match; that the emperor's agents had spoke disrespectfully of him in the diet, and at the courts of the *German* princes; that he had seduced from his allegiance *Philbert de Chaalans*, prince of *Orange*, and intrigued in *Italy*, with a view to incommode him in the possession of *Milan*. *Charles*, on the contrary, taxed the king of *France* with having taken under his protection *William* duke of *Guelderland*, sworn enemy of the *Austrian* family and the *Low Countries*, pretending that he was lawful heir of the dutchy of *Burgundy*. *Henry* king of *England* preserved a neutrality on this occasion, affecting to act as umpire in the dispute; while the pope entered into a treaty with the emperor, for the mutual defence of their territories, for re-establishing *Francis Sforza* in the dutchy of *Milan*, and recovering *Ferrara* to the holy see*. Things being thus ripe for a quarrel on both sides, *Robert de la Mark*, lord of *Sedan* and duke of *Bouillon*, being disgraced at the court of *France*, on account of the ravages committed by his company of gens-d'armes, had retired to that of the emperor; where, while he resided, the council of *Charles* received the appeal of a cause which had been tried and decided by the peers of his dutchy of *Bouillon*, between the lords of *Simay* and *Emery*. *Robert* considered the determination of this appeal as an affront upon his honour, reconciled himself to the king of *France*, whither he retired; sent a defiance to the emperor, and his eldest son with three thousand men to besiege *Vireton* in *Luxemburg*†. This insult provoked *Charles* to raise a powerful army, the command of which he gave to *Henry* count of *Nassau*, who chastised *Robert*, to whom a truce for forty days

which
breaks out
into an
open rup-
ture.

* *Mez. Abreg. Chron.* t. iii. p. 346.

† *SANDOVAL Hist. de Carlos V.* l. 10. p. 500.

was afterwards granted: and hostilities commenced in the *Low-Countries* between the troops of *Charles* and *Francis*, though neither as yet openly avowed these enterprizes. *Henry* of *England*, seeing matters brought almost to extremity, proposed that they should refer their difference to his decision, giving each to understand, at the same time, that he would actually declare against him who should decline the proposal. Alarmed at this intimation, they sent ambassadors to him at *Calais*, with full powers to regulate every thing in a conference, during which, however, the count of *Nassau* passed the *Meuse* and besieged *Mouzon*, which he took upon capitulation, and afterwards committed horrid cruelties wheresoever he marched. *Charles* then assembled his forces, retook *Mouzon*, burned and dismantled *Boupaume*, reduced *Landrecy* and *Bouchain*, and passed the *Scheld* in quest of the emperor, who had come to *Valenciennes*, from which he now retired by the favour of a thick fog. In the mean time, the arms of *Charles* made great progress in *Italy*; the *Milanese*, *Parma*, and *Placentia*, were reduced, in spite of all the efforts of the marechal *L'Autrec*, whose army was defeated before *Bicoque*, in attempting to force the retrenchment of the Imperialists: and this battle was so decisive, that the remains of his troops, which he left to the command of his brother *Lescun*, were obliged to keep aloof, and be eye-witnesses of the entire conquest of that state by the forces of *Charles*.

A. D.
1521.
The
French
are de-
feated at
Bicoque.

BUT before we proceed to give a farther detail of this war, it will be necessary to mention the transactions of the diet at *Worms* concerning *Luther*, who, in consequence of a safe-conduct granted by *Charles*, appeared at that assembly, and being asked, by order of the emperor, whether or not he would retract the doctrines he had broached, or defend the writings he had published, he insisted upon the truth of what he had advanced, and resisted, with great resolution, all the admonitions and remonstrances of the bishop of *Triers*, who tampered with him in private, in expectation of prevailing upon him to recant and submit to the power and authority of the pope. Some of the members of the diet, provoked at his perseverance, advised the emperor to follow the example of the council of *Constance*, in violating the safe-conduct which he had given to this arch-heretic; but this advice he rejected with disdain, saying, 'That if good faith were banished from among the rest of mankind, it ought to find a sure retreat in the palaces of princes'. Accordingly *Lu-*

Proceed-
ings of the
diet of
Worms
concerning

* MEZERAY Abreg. Chronol. t. iii. p. 853.
Hist. de L'Empire, l. 3. c. 4.

† HERTS. Luther.

ther was dismissed in safety; though at the same time he was condemned and proscribed, by public edict, as a wicked heretic, who had broached the most damnable doctrines, not only destructive of true religion and good order, but also of the peace and government of his country, so that he seemed to be a real devil in human shape: for which reasons all persons were prohibited, under severe penalties, from affording him countenance or shelter, after the expiration of the time prescribed in his safe-conduct, and commanded to do their utmost endeavours to apprehend and bring him to justice, while his books underwent the same public condemnation. Notwithstanding this severe sentence, his patron *Frederic*, elector of *Saxony*, conveyed him to a safe retreat, where he lived in security, and composed divers performances, which were occasionally published, and greatly augmented the number of his followers¹. About this time, his writings were formally condemned by the theologists of the university of *Paris* (B); and among other adversaries *Henry* the eighth, king of *England*, took up the pen and entered the lists against him, producing a performance for which he was honoured by the pope with the title of defender of the faith^k. To this production *Luther* replied in such contemptuous and virulent terms, as even gave offence to many of his own friends: and, indeed, it must be owned, that moderation was no part of his character, though in all probability the warmth of his temper gave a rapidity to his success; because reformations are generally effected by a spirit of enthusiasm, which is much easier kindled by the violence of the reformer's disposition, than by the force of his arguments, or the rectitude of his cause.

A. D.

1522.
The em-
pire di-
vided into
ten circles.

THE other affairs of the diet were referred to the next meeting, which was held the following year at *Nuremberg*; where, in presence of all the members of the empire, the constitution was enacted, by which *Germany* was divided into ten circles. These and several other regulations being made, his presence became absolutely necessary in *Spain*, chiefly on account of the promotion of *Adrian Florissen* to the papacy upon the death of *Leo* the tenth, who was supposed to

¹ SLIDAN. Comment. l. 3. p. 26.^k Ibid.

(B) In consequence of this sentence, *Philippus Melancthon*, a German, whose real name was *Schwartzerd*, a youth of uncommon learning and assurance, took up the pen in defence of *Luther*; for whom he wrote an

apology, intitled, *Adversus furiosum Parisiensem theologastorum decretum*; and managed the dispute with some humour, and abundance of scurrility. *Spond. Con. t. ix. p. 19.*

be poisoned by *Barnabas Malaspina*, gentleman of his bed-chamber. *Adrian*, who was a native of *Holland*, had been preceptor to the emperor, who entrusted him with the administration of his *Spanish* dominion, which office he was now obliged to resign, in order to go and take possession of *St. Peter's* chair; so that *Charles* was under an indispensable necessity of repairing to that kingdom, in order to supply the loss of such a minister, and quiet, by his presence, the troubles of *Spain*, which were not yet quite appeased¹. He therefore set out for *England*, on a visit to his aunt, who was queen of that kingdom, where he entered into an offensive and defensive alliance (C) with *Henry* the eighth against the king of *France*; and having past the whole month of *June* in festivals and rejoicing, he embarked for *Spain*, and arrived in safety at port *St. Andero*, after an agreeable voyage of ten days^m. Mean while the archduke *Ferdinand*, the emperor's brother, who was lately married to the sister of *Lewis* king of *Hungary*, being created lieutenant-general of the whole empire during the emperor's absence, made pressing instances with the diet to take measures for the execution of the decree made in the assembly at *Worms*, and of the bull which *Leo* the tenth had fulminated against *Luther*; as also to employ their utmost care in healing up the schism which religion had suffered: but he was baffled in all his designs by the efforts of *Luther* and his followers. Nevertheless, in another diet held at *Nuremberg* on the subject of religion, the same proposals were made by the legate of *Clement* the seventh, who had succeeded *Adrian* the sixth; but as the *Lutheran* party, which gathered new strength every day, eluded this blow with equal industry and art, the legate prevailed upon the Catholic princes to form another assembly at *Ratisbon*, where they entered into a league, by which they obliged themselves to execute the decree of *Worms*; to alter nothing in religion;

Charles sets out for Spain.
Enters into an alliance with Henry VIII. of England.

The archduke Ferdinand exerts himself against the Lutherans in vain.

A. D.
1524.

¹ THUAN. Hist. l. i. p. 21.
l. ii. p. 559.

^m SANDOV. Carlos V.

(C) By this treaty the emperor obliged himself to espouse his cousin the princess *Mary*, who was then but seven years old, and to pay the yearly sum of 130,000 ducats to the king of *England*, while *Henry* should continue to make war upon the king of *France*, until *Charles* should consummate his marriage

with the princess *Mary*, or *Henry* should have acquired lands in *France* sufficient to yield that revenue. On these conditions, the king of *England* immediately declared war against the king of *France*; and measures were concerted for taking the field. *Sleid. Com. l. 3. p. 27.*

Progress of
the reformation.

Francis I.
sends Bon-
nivet into
Italy,
where he
is at first
successful;
but after-
wards
obliged to
retreat.

to punish all ecclesiastic apostates; to expel the *Lutherans* from their territories; to deprive them of all their benefices; and, finally, to assist each other in case they should be attacked. This association, however, could not retard the rapid progress of the reformation, which was extended as far as the other side of the *Baltic*, by means of the revolution which happened in the North. *Christiern* the second, surnamed the Tyrant, king of *Denmark*, *Norway*, and *Sweden*, was deposed by his uncle *Frederic*, duke of *Holstein*, who seized upon *Denmark* and *Norway*; while *Gustavus Vasa* raised himself to the throne of *Sweden*; and both these princes embraced and introduced the foreign religion into their dominions^a. At the same time, it spread itself into *Lower Germany*, *Livonia*, and *Prussia*, where it made a convert of *Albert* marquis of *Brandenburg*, grand master of the *Teutonic* order (D). During this progress of *Lutheranism*, the constable *Charles* of *Bourbon* revolted from the king of *France*, and joined the emperor, in hope of being revenged upon his own sovereign^b; while *Henry* the eighth of *England* landed an army in *France*, under the command of the duke of *Norfolk*, which, in the beginning of winter, returned again, without having struck any stroke of importance. Although the enemies of *France* had thus carried the war into the very bowels of that kingdom, *Francis* the first sent a body of troops over the *Alps*, under the command of *Bonnivet*; who, at first, reconquered all the *Milanese* as far as the *Ticino*, in the very face of *Prosper Colonna*, who was general for the emperor, pope, and *Venetians*; and, in all probability, would have taken the city of *Milan*, had not he spent his time unnecessarily in the siege of *Pavia*; during which his army was greatly diminished by the cold weather and the plague, while that of the confederates every day increased; so that he was fain to quit his enterprize, and take post at *Biagras*; from whence being driven by *Charles* of *Bourbon*, he was obliged to retire towards *Turin*, and return into *France* with the wreck of his army. Notwithstanding this disgrace, *Bonnivet* found means to excuse himself so effectually to his king, that he still con-

^a SLEID. Com. 1. 3. p. 34.

^b THUAN. Hist. 1. 1. p. 21.

(D) In the course of this year, one *Jean le Clerc*, a native of *Meaux*, and two *Augustine* monks, were punished for having embraced the protestant religion. The first was scourged and branded at *Meaux*, for

having said that the pope was *Anti-Christ*, and afterwards burnt at *Metz* for demolishing images. The two monks underwent the same death at *Brussels*. *Mez. Abr. Chron.* 1. 3. p. 862.]

tinued

timed in favour, and even persuaded *Francis* to levy a great army, and to march in person against the confederates. He accordingly took the field, and, crossing the *Alps*, found the city of *Milan* abandoned by the enemy. There he left *La Tremouille*, with six thousand men; while he himself marched to *Pavia*, the siege of which he undertook about the latter end of *October*. In order to secure this place, *Charles* of *Bourbon*, having joined the viceroy of *Naples*, and *Pescaro*, general of the imperial army, marched forward to attack the besiegers, when that memorable battle ensued, in which *Francis* the first was taken by the viceroy, who afterwards conducted him prisoner into *Spain* ^P.

A. D.
1525.
*Is defeated
at Pavia,
and taken
prisoner.*

WHATEVER joy the emperor must have felt at this event, he received the news of it with great moderation, nor would he suffer any public rejoicings to be made on account of his success, observing that all victories gained over Fellow-Christians, were rather objects of mourning than of mirth. When his council was called to deliberate in what manner he should treat the captive king, his confessor actually exhorted him to release his prisoner without conditions, an act of generosity which would transmit the honour of his name to all posterity, and attach to him the heart of *Francis* by the ties of gratitude, which would be more binding than any treaty which they could possibly make. The rest of the council, however, and in particular *Frederic* duke of *Alva*, were of a different opinion, and proposed certain articles of peace, which were immediately sent into *Italy*, and presented to *Francis*, who still remained at the castle of *Pisqueton*, and who rejected the conditions with disdain (E) ^q.

By

^P Guicc. l. 15.

^q Ibid. l. 16.

(E) The council of *Charles* proposed, that *Francis* should renounce the kingdom of *Naples* and the dutchy of *Milan*; that he should restore to the emperor the dutchy of *Burgundy*, which had been the patrimony of his ancestors; that he should bestow *Provence*, *Dauphiny*, and the *Lionnois* upon the duke of *Bourbon*, who, by this condition, might possess an independent kingdom; and lastly, that he should satisfy the

demands of the *English*. Tho' *Francis* affirmed, he would rather suffer perpetual imprisonment, than consent to such conditions, which, he said, were repugnant to the fundamental laws of *France*; yet he offered, in consideration of obtaining his liberty, to espouse the emperor's sister *Eleanora*; to hold *Burgundy*, by way of dower, as the inheritance of the children of that marriage; to restore the duke of *Bourbon* to

His allies
became jea-
lous of his
power and
success,
and form
an associa-
tion to ex-
pel the
Spaniards
from Italy.

By this overthrow of *Francis*, his kingdom was left open to the insults of his enemies, and in all probability would have fallen a prey to their superior power, had they continued to act with the same unanimity which they had hitherto preserved; but by this time *Henry* the eighth of *England*, by the insinuations of cardinal *Wolsey*, who thought himself neglected by *Charles*, after having courted his friendship and good offices in promoting the last treaty. The king of *England*, therefore, disbanded an army which he had raised, and a fleet which he had equipped for a descent upon *France*, and entered into a treaty with the queen regent, in order to preserve that kingdom from being dismembered. On the other hand, the pope and the states of *Italy*, became jealous of the emperor's power, which had been greatly aggrandized by this victory, and entered into a secret association, in order to expel the *Spaniards*, who at that time besieged *Sforza* in the castle of *Milan*.

ABOUT this time, great part of the empire was harrassed and desolated by the war of the peasants, which was the effect of oppression and enthusiasm: the murmurs of the labouring people, who groaned under severe burthens, were blown up into sedition by certain fanatics, who, by preaching, inflamed their minds against their magistrates, as well as the clergy; so that they broke out in open insurrection, and *Germany* was filled with tumult. Those of *Suabia* published twelve articles, containing their grievances spiritual and temporal, threatening to redress themselves, in case their proposals should be rejected; and this writing was spread and espoused in different parts of *Germany*. At length, the peasants took the field, appearing in arms, in numerous bodies in *Suabia*, upon the *Danube*, at the lake of *Constance*, in *Lorraine*, *Thuringia*, and other provinces, laying waste the country with fire and sword; and daily exhibiting spectacles of the most horrible barbarity, sparing nothing human or divine. *Luther*, having at first attempted to quiet them by gentle admonitions and intreaties, and perceiving his endeavours ineffectual, now wrote against

* MEZ. Abr. Chron. t. 3. p. 872.

to the possession of all his territories, and bestow upon him in marriage his sister *Margaret*, widow of the duke of *Alençon*; to satisfy the *English* with a sum of money; to pay the same ransom that was exacted

of king *John*; and to furnish an armament by sea and land for the use of the emperor, as often as he should repair to *Italy*, in order to receive the imperial crown. *Mez. Abr. Chron.* t. 3. p. 869.

these seditions with great force and severity, exhorting the princes to take arms for the defence of their country. Accordingly, measures were concerted for that purpose; and, in a few months, upwards of one hundred thousand of these peasants were slain in different rencounters. In *Thuringia*, *Thomas Munster*, a fanatic preacher, who was the prime source and ringleader of this disturbance, was taken, together with his associate *Pfeifferus*, who had been a monk; and both were put to death at *Mulhausen* ^a.

MEAN while *Francis* the first was removed from *Italy* to the castle of *Madrid*, and, notwithstanding the eagerness with which the queen mother and his subjects endeavoured to effect his deliverance, the negotiation was protracted almost a whole year; at the end of which a treaty was signed at *Madrid*, importing, among other things, that the king should be set at liberty, on condition that his two sons, the dauphin of *France* and the duke of *Orleans*, should remain as hostages until the articles should be fulfilled; and that if the king, in six weeks after his release, should not have given full satisfaction in these particulars, he should return and surrender himself prisoner as before. The princes of the blood were accordingly brought into *Spain*, while the king, being set at liberty, returned into his dominions, where he left no means untried for the deliverance of his children; but he was very much embarrassed in his endeavours, because the fundamental laws of the state would not allow him to alienate *Burgundy* and the other territories, which he had yielded by the treaty; and the emperor insisted upon his performing every article. In this perplexity, he, by the advice of his council and chief noblemen, resolved to protest against the treaty as a compact signed by compulsion, and actually gave the emperor to understand that he disclaimed all he had done, and was ready to renew the operations of war ^a.

DURING these disputes, the doctrine of *Luther* gained ground in the most considerable cities of *Germany*, and was now openly espoused by *Philip* landgrave of *Hesse*, who introduced it into his dominions, at the solicitation of *John* elector of *Saxony*, who had succeeded his brother *Frederic*, who died without issue ^b. The progress of these new opinions in religion, and the extremity to which the *Turk* had reduced *Lewis* king of *Hungary*, prompted the archduke *Ferdinand*

A. D.
1526.
Francis
set at li-
berty on
conditions
which he
refuses to
perform.

^a SLEID. Commen. l. 4. p. 43, 44, 45. PET. GUODAL. extr. apud SCHARD. in Oper. Hist. t. ii.

p. 23. BOUCHET. AQUIT. p. 4.

L'Empire, l. 3. c. 4.

^a THUAN. Hist. l. i.

^b HEISS. Hist. de

Is strenuously supported in a diet at Spire.

to convoke a diet at *Spire*, in order to concert measures to appease the troubles of the church, and to stop the career of the infidels (A). With regard to the first point, the landgrave of *Hesse*, and the elector of *Saxony*, demanded the free exercise of the new religion within their own territories, with such obstinacy and zeal, that by an express clause they were indulged with liberty of conscience, until the decision of a general council, which the emperor should be petitioned to convene with all convenient dispatch^c; but the attention of the diet was so much engrossed, and the term so long protracted by the debates which this article of religion produced, that no resolution was taken for the support of *Lewis* king of *Hungary*, who was left to perish by the hands of his enemies^d.

Owes a good part of its success to the dissention of its enemies.

PERHAPS nothing was of greater service to the reformation than the misunderstanding that happened between the pope and the emperor, on account of the alliance in which his holiness had engaged with the king of *France*, the republics of *Venice* and *Florence*, and the cantons of *Switzerland*, for the expulsion of the *Spaniards* from *Italy*. *Charles*, with a view of being revenged upon the pope, importuned him incessantly to convoke a council, protesting, that otherwise he should be obliged to make use of his imperial authority for that purpose; at the same time, in order to oppose the league, he sent the duke of *Bourbon* into *Italy*, after having bestowed upon him the investiture of the duchy of *Milan*, that he might be the more cordially attached to his service. For the purposes of this expedition the archduke sent thither a powerful reinforcement; and the emperor, by secret intrigues, endeavoured to detach the pope from the interest of his allies. The duke of *Bourbon*, finding himself at the head of forty thousand men, in a very little time traversed all *Italy*, in order to attack the confederates; a rapidity which alarmed the pope to such a degree, that he began to listen to the proposals of the emperor's ministers, and consented to a truce of eight months with the viceroy of *Naples*; in consequence of which he restored the places which he had taken in that kingdom, and disbanded his troops in order to save expence. However, he had soon reason to repent of his par-

The emperor sends into Italy Charles duke of Bourbon, who outwits the pope, and marches to Rome, which he attacks, and loses his life in the assault. The city is however, taken by his army, and sacked.

^c SERIDAN. Commentar. l. 6. p. 59.
Ludovic.

^d Jov. in Elog.

A. D.
1527.

(A) *Lewis*, king of *Hungary*, by the advice of *Paul Tomoré*, who from a soldier was become an archbishop, gave battle to *Solyman* in the plains of *Mohatz*, where he lost his whole army, together with his own life. *Sleid.* l. 6. p. 59.

simony,

simony, when he understood that the duke of *Bourbon* continued his march towards *Rome*, without having any regard to the truce, or the approaching treaty. Finding himself thus deceived, he would hear no more of either, re-united himself with his allies, and prepared for the defence of the city, which was attacked by the constable, who lost his life in the assault. His troops, however, without being discouraged by his death, were enraged to such a degree of fury, that they scaled the walls and took the city by storm, while the pope was obliged to retire with his cardinals into the castle of *St. Angelo*, where they were besieged, until the confederates were in full march to their assistance, when the emperor sent orders to his generals to enlarge his holiness without delay. He was accordingly set at liberty on certain conditions, and the remains of the imperial army, which had been greatly reduced by the plague, were fain to retreat towards *Naples* * (B).

The pope is besieged in the castle of St. Angelo.

THE sack of *Rome* alarmed almost all the princes of *Christendom*; those of *Italy* entered into an alliance with the kings of *France* and *England*, and all together, animated by their common interest, resolved to humble the pride and bridle the power of the emperor. *Charles*, on the other hand, who was still in *Spain*, endeavoured to break the association, by reconciling himself with the king of *France* and the pope, that he might be at liberty to return into *Italy*, and from thence pass into his *German* dominions, where his presence was very much wanted to settle the affairs of religion and the state, particularly to provide some defence for the frontiers of *Austria*, the *Turk* having made such advantage of the wars in *Christendom*, that he was now in possession of almost all the kingdom of *Hungary* †. Mean while the archduke *Ferdinand*, who had succeeded to the crown of *Hungary* by the death of *Lewis* his brother-in-law, though not without a strong opposition from *John de Zapollo Vaivode* of *Transylvania*, who was his competitor; *Ferdinand*, I say, with a view to engage the princes of the empire to support his pretensions, convoked a diet, on pretence of regulating the affairs of religion, which had disunited the whole empire; and in this assembly, which was held at *Spire*, it was decreed, that in

A. D. 1521.
An alliance is formed against the emperor, who endeavours to reconcile himself with the king of France and the pope.
The archduke Ferdinand convokes another diet at Spire.

* GUICCI. l. 18. THUAN. l. 1. p. 53.

† HESS. l. 3. c. 5.

(B) While the pope was a prisoner in the castle of *St. Angelo*, the emperor is said to have appointed public processions in *Spain*, in order to petition heaven for the deliverance of his holiness. *Mex. Abre. Chron.* l. 3. p. 380.

those

The Lutherans protest against a decree, and thence acquire the name of Protestants
A. D. 1529.

Solyman besieges Vienna.

those places, where the decree of *Worms* was published, no person should be allowed to profess the doctrine of *Luther*; and that in those places, where *Lutheranism* had been already received, it should be connived at till the meeting of a council, on condition, nevertheless, that the Catholics should have the free exercise of their religion without the liberty of changing it; and that this accommodation should not include the Sacramentarians (C), or Anabaptists, who should be banished from the empire on pain of death. But the *Lutheran* princes (D), together with fourteen imperial cities, protested against this decree, and appealed to the council and the emperor, whence they acquired the name of Protestants^z. With regard to the succour against the *Turk*, nothing was determined; because the Protestants declared, they would not contribute to that service, unless liberty of conscience and of worship should be allowed throughout the whole empire.

MEAN while *Solyman*, who was well apprized of the Christian affairs, and of the dissensions that prevailed among them, resolved to profit by the conjuncture; and having nothing to fear from *Hungary*, marched into *Austria*, the capital of which he actually invested: but the place was so gallantly defended by *Philip* count palatine of the *Rhine*, *Nicholas* count of *Salines*, and *William* of *Rogendorf*, that he was obliged to raise the siege, and return to *Constantinople* with the loss of sixty thousand men^h.

THE empire was now in such a deplorable situation, that the emperor resolved in earnest to make peace with all the princes of the league, that he might have leisure and means to provide for the quiet and security of his *German* dominions. He, therefore, entered into a treaty with the pope, which was concluded at *Barcelona*, towards the end of *June*; and then came to an accommodation with the king of *France*, which

^z SLRID. Commen. l. 6. p. 67.
Hist. Chalchond. Tom. Rer. Ture.

^h SCHARD. t. 2. Oper.

(C) Sacramentarians, a name which the church of *Rome*, in the beginning of the reformation, gave to those who, following the opinions of *Zuinglius* and *Calvin*, denied the real presence in the sacrament of the eucharist. *Spon. Con. t. 9.*

(D) Those were *George*, elector of *Brandenburg*, *Ernest* and

Francis, dukes of *Lunenburg*, the landgrave of *Hesse*, and the duke of *Anhalt*. The imperial towns that opposed the decree were *Strasburg*, *Nuremburg*, *Ulm*, *Constance*, *Rottingen*, *Windseim*, *Memmingen*, *Nortlingen*, *Lindaw*, *Kenpten*, *Hailbron*, *Wiessemburg*, and *St. Gall*. *Spond. Con. Bar. t. 9. p. 102.*

was settled at *Cambray* in the month of *August*. The emperor, by means of this double peace, being enabled to execute his design of taking *Italy* in his way to the empire, he set sail for *Barcelona*, with a powerful fleet; and landing at *Genoa*, repaired to *Bologna*, where he conferred with the pope about the measures to be taken for reducing the Protestants; for he deeply resented the contempt with which they had treated his decree of *Worms*, which was the first he had published after his advancement to the imperial throne; and he was incensed against the elector of *Saxony*, for having sheltered *Luther*, whom he had banished and proscribed. The pope, taking advantage of this disposition, endeavoured to inflame the emperor to a war against the Protestants, in order to prevent the convocation of a council, where he well knew the *Lutherans* would never allow him to preside as master and sole director. But the emperor being apprehensive of the *Turk*, declined this proposal; and the result of the conferences, was a resolution to convoke a diet, in which the emperor should exert himself to the utmost of his power for the reunion of the two religions; and if these means should fail, to take care that no fresh innovation should be made upon the catholic religion till the decision of a council, which the pope, in that case, determined to assemble¹.

The emperor makes peace with the confederates, and confers with the pope at Bologna.

A. D.
1530.

THESE affairs being thus settled, the emperor was crowned by the pope at *Bologna* on the twenty-fourth of *February*, which was his birth-day^k: he re-established *Francis Sforza* in the dutchy of *Milan*, erected the marquisate of *Mantua* into a dutchy, in favour of *Frederic de Gonzaga*, and assisted the pope in reducing the *Florentines* under the dominion of *Alexander*, bastard of *Laurence de Medicis*, who was created duke of *Florence*^l. Then he issued orders for the convocation of the diet, to be held at *Augsburg* on the eighth of *April*, and set out from *Italy* on the twenty-second of *March*; but as he did not arrive at that place till the fifteenth of *June*, the Protestants had leisure to form that confession of faith, which has ever since retained the name of the *Augsburg Confession*. The diet was opened on the twentieth; and as religion was the chief object of their deliberation, cardinal *Campejio*, the pope's legate, took an opportunity, in a *Latin* discourse, to exhort the *Lutherans* to return to the communion of the *Roman* church. His harangue being concluded, the elector of *Saxony*, *George* marquis of *Brandenburg*, the

Presides at the diet of Augsburg

¹ SPOND. CONT. BAR. t. 9. p. 107. p. 24.

^k THUAN. l. 1.

^l THUAN. l. 1. p. 25. GUICC. l. 20.

Where the
protestant
princes
present
their con-
fession of
faith,
which is
refuted by
the Catho-
lics.

Decrees
against the
Lutherans

The land-
grave of
Hesse en-
ters into
an associa-
tion.

dukes of *Lunenbourg*, *Philip* landgrave of *Hesse*, and *Wolfgang* prince of *Anhalt*, arose from their seats, and advancing to a place opposite to the emperor's throne, addressed themselves to him by the mouth of *George Pontamis*, chancellor of *Saxony*, beseeching his imperial majesty that their confession of faith might be publicly read, that the world might be undeceived with regard to the false reports which had been circulated of them and their opinions. *Charles* complied with their request; and next day their confession, with the authorities upon which every article depended, was read in his palace in the *Latin* and *German* languages, and afterwards deposited in his majesty's own hands^m. Some time after, a refutation of this confession by the Catholics was produced in the diet, where it was publicly read before the emperor, who gave it the sanction of his own approbation, and pressed the *Lutherans* to subscribe to it: but they withstood all his remonstrances with such resolution, that it was not thought proper to come to an absolute decision upon the affair, lest the minds of both parties should be inflamed to an open rupture. The diet was, therefore, adjourned for six months; during which the Protestants were exhorted to reunite themselves with the church of *Rome*, against which they were expressly forbid to publish any writing, to convert any Catholic, or to disturb any person of that communion in the exercise of his religion: but this toleration did not extend to the Anabaptists or Sacramentarians. It was also resolved, that the pope should be intreated to convoke a council in six months, to be opened in one year after the convocation. The Protestants, dissatisfied with this prorogation, withdrew themselves from the assembly, and, by their retreat, gave great offence to the emperor, who being apprehensive of their intentions, and willing to prevent matters from coming to extremity, put an end to the diet by another decree, in which he prohibited the exercise of any other religion than that of popery, and forbade all innovation in the doctrine or ceremonies of the church, on pain of corporal punishment and confiscation of goods; ordaining, at the same time, that all things should remain on their ancient footing, until otherwise disposed by the authority of a council. This decree was very afflictive to the *Lutherans*, and induced the landgrave of *Hesse*, who was the first that absented himself from the diet without the knowledge of the emperor, to enter into an association with the cantons of *Zurich* and *Basil*,

^m SPOND. CONT. t. 9. p. 106.

and the city of *Strasburg*, in case they should be attacked on the score of religion ⁿ.

IN the midst of these troubles, *Charles* would let slip no opportunity of strengthening his own interest, by procuring more authority in the empire to his brother *Ferdinand*: for this purpose he resolved to secure the imperial dignity to that prince, and persuaded the elector of *Mentz* to convene a college for electing him king of the *Romans*. The elector immediately sent intimation to his colleagues, and a particular ambassy to the elector of *Saxony*, whom, in his own name and that of the emperor, he invited to the college at *Cologne*, in order to proceed to the election. The elector of *Saxony*, instead of obeying this summons, privately wrote to the landgrave of *Hesse*, and all the other Protestant princes, cities, and states, soliciting them in the most pressing terms to form an assembly at *Smalcalde* on the very day appointed for the election of the king of the *Romans*, in order to concert measures for their mutual safety. Mean while, he pretended in public to conform to the designs of the emperor, and ordered *John Frederic* his son to set out for *Cologne* with some of his most staunch adherents, not with a view to promote the election, but rather to protest against it, in case any step should be taken to the prejudice of the most essential clauses of the bull of *Charles* the fourth, and the rights and liberties of the empire. While the electors, then, were deliberating upon this election at *Cologne*, the princes and deputies of the towns, which had embraced the Protestant religion, arrived at *Smalcalde*, where they entered into a defensive alliance against all those who should attack them either in general or particular. This league was signed and sealed by all the Protestant princes, as well as by *Anhalt* and *Gebhart*, counts of *Mansfeld*; together with the deputies of *Magdeburg*, *Bremen*, *Strasburg*, *Ulm*, *Constance*, *Landau*, *Memmingen*, *Kempten*, *Hailbron*, *Rotlingen*, *Bibrach*, and *Isna*. Letters were writ to obtain the assent of *George* marquis of *Brandenburg*, and the city of *Nuremberg*, because their deputies had power only to hear, without coming to any conclusion upon the subject. A resolution was made to solicit the king of *Denmark*, the dukes of *Pomerania* and *Mecklenburg*, the cities of *Hamburg*, *Embsen*, *Northeim*, *Franckfort*, *Brunswick*, *Gottingen*, *Minden*, *Hanover*, *Hildesheim*, *Lubeck*, *Stetin*, and the other maritime towns, to engage in their association. They afterwards expedited letters to the emperor, in which they declared the reasons that obliged them to provide for their mu-

Charles exerts himself in favour of his brother Ferdinand, and is opposed by the elector of Saxony, &c.
A. D.
1531.

who protest against the election of Ferdinand,

ⁿ SLEID. Com. l. 7. p. 79.

tual defence, and protested against that precipitate form of that pretended election of a king of the *Romans*, which, as they alledged, would not lawfully take place while the emperor himself continued in good health; and was, therefore, contrary to the *Caroline* bull, and the rights and privileges of the empire °.

Who is,
notwith-
standing,
chosen king
of the Ro-
mans.

The Pro-
testants
apply for
succour to
the kings of
France
and Eng-
land.

NOTWITHSTANDING these remonstrances, and that of the elector of *Saxony*, which *John Frederic* his son had presented to the diet at *Cologne*, both *viva voce* and by writing; the other electors, resolving to gratify the emperor, who was bent upon the election, and authorized besides, by the example of *Frederic* the third, whose son *Maximilian* was chosen king of the *Romans*, seven years before his father's death, they proceeded to the election of *Ferdinand*, and attended him to *Aix la-Chapelle*, where he was crowned †. Intimation of his advancement was immediately sent to the Catholic princes and states of the empire, to whom the emperor wrote with his own hand, as well as to the Protestants of *Smalcalde*, who were commanded to acknowledge his brother *Ferdinand* as king of the *Romans*. But the elector of *Saxony* and his confederates paid no regard either to the emperor's order, or the intreaties of the other electors and princes, who endeavoured to reconcile them to his imperial majesty. On the contrary, they persevered in their plan; and, in order to provide against troublesome consequences, solicited the kings of *France* and *England* for succour and protection †. *Henry* the eighth refused to espouse their cause, that he might not disoblige the court of *Rome*, from which he still expected the dissolution of his marriage with *Catharine* of *Arragon*, the emperor's aunt: while the king of *France*, without mentioning the article of religion, promised to favour them with his assistance, on pretence of maintaining the rights and privileges of the empire † (E).

IN the beginning of *January*, the emperor set out for *Ratisbon*, and taking *Mentz* in his way, the archbishop earnestly intreated him to keep peace with the Protestants, until a

° Ibid. p. 80. & seq. HEISS. l. 3. c. 4. † THUAN. Hist. l. 1. p. 24. † MEZER. Abreg. Chron. t. 3. p. 891. † SLAND. Com. l. 8.

(E) According to *Mezerey*, *Henry* promised to supply them with fifty thousand crowns per month, in case they should be attacked; and *Francis* deposited one hundred thousand in the hands of the *Bavarian* princes, in order to levy troops, in case the emperor should attempt to oppress them. *Mez. Abr. Chr.* t. 3. p. 891.

A. D.
1532.

council should be convoked. *Charles* having assured him of his inclination to prevent a rupture, he and the elector-palatine sent deputies to the elector of *Saxony* and the landgrave of *Hesse*, inviting them to repair, in the month of *April* to *Schwinfort*, where his majesty permitted them to assemble in order to effect an accommodation. At the same time, these mediators gave them to understand that the emperor expected and desired they would make no innovation, or publish any other writing about religion, except that which they had presented at the last diet at *Augsburg*; that things should remain upon the same footing until the meeting of a council; that, in the mean time, they should abstain from all communication with *Zuinglians* and *Anabaptists*, and avoid all sorts of disputes on matters of religion; that they should neither harbour nor protect the subjects of any prince or state, or give the least disturbance to the clergy in their ceremonies or jurisdictions, but peaceably submit to those decrees, which should be made by the emperor or the king of the *Romans*, *Proposals* for the advantage of the empire and the public good; and *on both* lastly, that they should renounce the confederacy of *Smal-fides*. *calde*. The mediators added, that if the confederates would in these points conform to the intentions of the emperor, they had reason to believe he would forgive and forget all their past offences. Though these conditions could not be very agreeable to the elector of *Saxony*, who was at that time confined by sickness, he, nevertheless, sent his son *John Frederic* to *Schwinfort*, whither the duke of *Lunenburg* and the prince of *Anhalt* also repaired, together with the deputies of other princes and cities; who, after much altercation, terminated the deliberations by a remonstrance, containing their demands; the principal of which were, that the emperor should command *Ferdinand* to lay aside the title and function of king of the *Romans*, and that rules should be established for regulating that election for the future. The mediating electors, though not a little surprised at this remonstrance, sent it immediately to the emperor at *Ratisbon*; but, in the mean time, perceiving the necessity of terminating these affairs in some shape, considering the progress of the *Turk*, who had made an irruption into *Austria*, they formed a plan of accommodation, importing, that the emperor should order a general peace to be proclaimed through all *Germany*; and that, without any regard to the decrees of *Worms* or *Augsburg*, both parties should be forbid, under severe penalties, to disturb or molest each other on the score of religion, until the states of the empire should have found means to determine that difference; that, for this purpose, a council should be convoked

An accommodation concluded.

in six months, and orders given to the imperial chamber to suspend all sentences pronounced in religious causes, and to admit no new action against the protestants; while they, on their part, should yield all due obedience to the emperor, and assist him in his enterprizes against the *Turk*. This treaty was approved by seven protestant princes, and four and twenty cities; and the emperor afterwards ratified it in the diet of *Ratisbon* by an authentic act, orders being given to the tribunals of justice to see it executed according to the tenour¹.

¹ GOLDAST. Const. Imper. t. i. ii. SLEID. l. 8. p. 88. & seq.

C H A P. XIII.

Containing the Particulars of the War between the Emperor and the Protestants, till the Abdication of Charles.

Solyman invades the empire, and Charles takes the field.

Both armies retreat, without having come to action.

TWO reasons induced the emperor to consent to this accommodation, namely, that the Protestants should, by these condescensions, be gradually engaged to approve of the election of his brother *Ferdinand*; and that their estates should contribute towards the expence of the war against the *Turk*; for by this time he had received advice, that the *Othomans* were in full march towards *Stiria* in vast numbers; that fifteen thousand horse were already advanced as far as *Lintz*, ravaging and laying waste the country; and that *Solyman*, in person, had crossed the *Danube* at *Belgrade*. But this treaty of accommodation, which was concluded with the Protestants, had produced such unanimity and vigour in the empire, that both sides armed as if through emulation; and *Charles* soon found himself at the head of an army consisting of a hundred and twenty thousand men. With these he advanced against the *Turks*; and the fate of two great empires would, in all probability, have been decided, had either he or *Solyman* dared to risque such an important stake on the issue of a battle. But at the approach of winter, the *Turks* retreated; and the emperor returned with such precipitation, that he did not even stay to expel *John* the pretended king of *Hungary*, who was far from being able to withstand his power¹. In a word, *Charles* seems to

¹ Id. ibid. Jov. Hist. l. 30. MILC. SOIT. de Bell. Pan. l. 2.

have

have had a diffused imagination, capable of conceiving vast designs, but he wanted fortitude to put them in execution (F).

AFTER the retreat of the *Turks*, the emperor disbanded a great part of his army, and in the month of *October* set out for *Italy*, from whence he wrote to the states of the empire, Charles informing them of the important reasons which had obliged him to undertake that journey, his chief aim being to concert with the pope, the necessary dispositions for convoking the council according to the determination at *Ratisbon*. He likewise observed, that, as he had left the administration of public affairs in the hands of his brother *Ferdinand* king of the *Romans*, they might assure themselves that no mischief or disorder would happen, provided they would live in peace, and yield that obedience which was due to his brother's rank and station. This letter was dated at *Mantua*, from whence he repaired to *Bologna*, where he had a conference with pope *Clement* the seventh, touching religion and the council^u. There he likewise renewed for eighteen months, the league with his holiness and the other princes of *Italy*, on pretence of consulting the general good, but in reality with a view of hindering the *French* from returning into *Italy*. This treaty was concluded, notwithstanding the intreaties and remonstrances of the ambassadors of *France*, whom the pope appeased by giving them privately to understand, that his sole view in renewing the league was to deliver *Italy* from the *Spanish* troops, which the emperor had sent thither in great numbers; but if they would exert their patience a little longer, they should have no cause to complain of his conduct. The emperor, being secure from this quarter, repaired in the spring to *Genoa*, where he embarked for *Spain*, whither he was called by the pressing affairs of that kingdom^x.

A. D.

1532.

repairs

again to

Italy.

Confers

with the

pope, re-

news the

league

with the

Italian

princes,

and em-

barks for

Spain.

A. D.

1533.

^u GUICC. l. 20. p. 109.
p. 171.

^x SANDOV. Carlos V. l. 20.

(F) *Jovius* and *Istthuanffius*, in his history of *Hungary*, assure us, that *Solyman* made this precipitate retreat by the persuasion of his general *Ibrabim*, bashaw, who had for some time carried on a secret correspondence with the emperor of *Germany*; while *Belcarius*, with more probabi-

lity, ascribes it to the intrigues of the *Venetians*; who, being afraid of falling a sacrifice to the conqueror, found means, by their emissaries at both courts, to inspire the two emperors with mutual fears of each other's power. *Belcar*. l. 20. § 40.

SOON after his departure, the pope dispatched into Germany *Hugh Rangen*, bishop of *Regis*, in quality of nuncio, with orders to join *Lambert Briart*, the emperor's ambassador, and accompany him to *Weimar*, on a visit to *John Frederic*, elector of *Saxony*, who had succeeded his father *Frederic* lately dead. Their errand was to signify to that young prince, the intention of their masters, and their eager desire to reconcile and re-unite, by gentle methods, two parties which were divided in point of religion. These ambassadors having represented to the elector, that the holding of a council would be the surest and the readiest method for effecting that re-union; the nuncio afterwards observed, that he was ordered by his holiness to deliberate with him about the manner, time, and place, in which it should be convoked; that he was directed to communicate to his highness some principal points of his instructions concerning the form and order of that council, and the means of rendering it free, independent, and such, in short, as the holy fathers, who were, doubtless, conducted by the spirit of God, had always judged it ought to be, in order to enforce the observation of its decisions, without which authority all their trouble would be to no purpose. He added, that his holiness, after having long deliberated upon a proper place for holding this assembly, had concluded that none could be more convenient than *Placentia*, *Bologna*, or *Mantua*; that choice might be made of one of these cities, and order taken that, in case any prince or princes should refuse to go or send thither, his holiness should, nevertheless, continue the conferences; and if any scruple should be made in obeying the decrees of that council, or in acknowledging his holiness for the sovereign pontiff, the church and the holy see should be protected against them by the emperor, and the other kings and princes of *Christendom*. He concluded with an assurance, that the pope would in six months convoke a council on these conditions; and the emperor's ambassador having confirmed all that the other said, intreated the elector to acquiesce in these proposals, in order to promote the peace and union of the empire^y. The elector, having taken time to consider these proposals, answered, that he was well pleased to hear the emperor and pope had agreed to convoke a council; and that the emperor having promised that it should be such a one as was required for a free discussion of affairs, he did not doubt that he should be able to prevail upon his subjects to submit to its decrees; but as a good many other princes professed the same religion

^y SPOND. CONT. BAR. t. 3. p. 124.

which.

which his father had embraced, he could make no positive answer without their participation. He would, however, take the benefit of their advice in an assembly which would soon be held at *Smalcalde*, in order to deliberate maturely on this affair, and should think himself happy in contributing to the re-establishment of peace and union, not only in *Germany* but also through all *Christendom*: mean while, he hoped his imperial majesty would not be offended at the delay which he demanded. The ambassador assured him that the emperor would willingly grant his request; and, upon this assurance, the elector repaired to *Smalcalde* on the appointed day, where, having deliberated with his associates, the answer was conceived in these terms: they humbly thanked the emperor for his goodness in causing a council to be assembled, and hoped God would favour and conduct his laudable design, that truth might be maintained, false doctrine, abuse, and vicious ceremonies abolished, and the true worship of God, together with the practice of other Christian virtues, happily restored. They said, their sole view in demanding a council, was to see the controversies equitably and formally decided, that those unhappy divisions might cease, which had been introduced under the pontificate of pope *Leo*; for that purpose, and that only, they desired a free council, where the authority of the pope should not prevail over that of the emperor, where truth should be distinguished from falsehood by the test of the holy scripture, and not according to tradition, or the induction and disputes of the schools; and where the question should be decided by learned, pious, and unsuspected men, conformable to the decrees of the empire. For the rest, they referred themselves to the emperor, to whom alone they owed respect and obedience, as to the supreme power, whom God had set over them, and begged the ambassador to present this answer to his imperial majesty, a task which he readily undertook ² (G).

WHILE the affairs of religion remained in this situation, the landgrave of *Hesse* repaired to the court of *France*, to negotiate in behalf of *Ulric* duke of *Wirtemberg*, his near re-

² SLEID. Com. l. 8. p. 92. HEISS. l. 3. c. 4.

(G) During this interval, the pope acquired such interest with the king of *France*, as to carry on a negotiation, in consequence of which, his holiness had a conference with him at

Marseilles, where they concluded the marriage of *Henry* duke of *Orleans*, the king's son, with *Katharine* of *Medicis*, the pope's niece. *Spond. Con. t. 9. p. 123.*

The landgrave of Hesse negotiates with the king of France in favour of Ulric duke of Wirtemberg.

The Imperialists defeated.

A. D.

1534.

Ulric is restored to his dominions, and an accommodation made with the Protestants.

lation, who ten years before had been expelled from his dominions by the allied states of *Suabia*, on pretence of his having exercised diverse acts of oppression, and taken from them the imperial city of *Rutlingen*. The emperor, at their solicitation, had stript the duke of all his territories, the investiture of which he bestowed upon his brother *Ferdinand*, king of the *Romans*, without having any regard to the solicitations that were made by several princes at the diet of *Augsburg*, in favour of the duke of *Wirtemberg*, whose punishment they thought far exceeded his crime. The landgrave, indeed, at that time, purposed to re-establish him by force; but, being disappointed of the assistance he had expected, was obliged to defer the design till another opportunity. He looked upon this juncture as the happy occasion, because the emperor was absent from his *German* dominions, and the term fixed for the duration of the *Suabian* confederacy well nigh expired. For the accomplishment of his design, he, in the name of duke *Ulric*, mortgaged the principality of *Montbelliard* to the king of *France* for a sum of money, on condition that it should be for ever united to the crown of *France*, provided the money should not be refunded in three years². On these terms, *Francis* agreed to advance the supply, and even flattered him with the hope of an addition, the restitution of which he would never demand. In consequence of this agreement, the king of *France* and the landgrave levied considerable bodies of troops, which were in condition to march in the spring, and having joined their forces on the other side of the *Rhine*, they advanced into the country of *Wirtemberg*; and, in the neighbourhood of *Lauffen*, attacked twelve hundred Imperialists, the greatest part of whom they took prisoners, together with the palatine *Philip* their general; so that all the cities and fortresses of the country of *Wirtemberg* immediately returned to the dominion of their former lord. Duke *Ulric* being thus restored, the elector of *Mentz*, and *George* duke of *Saxony*, who was the landgrave's father-in-law, renewed their endeavours to negotiate an accommodation between *Ferdinand* and the elector of *Saxony*; and a treaty was actually concluded, importing that no violence should be committed, nor any proceedings at law carried on against any person whatever on account of religion; that the peace, which the emperor had published, should be carefully observed; that *Ferdinand*, in the emperor's name, should supersede all the suits that were instituted against the Protestants, among whom, however, the Anabaptists, Sacra-

² SLEID. Com. l. 9. p. 93.

mentarians,

mentarians, and other sects, should not be reckoned; that the elector of *Saxony* and his allies should acknowledge *Ferdinand* as king of the *Romans*; that before all future elections, which should be made during the life of the emperor, the electors should assemble in order to examine the justice and expediency of the election; that if they found the motives fair and reasonable, they should proceed according to the law and forms prescribed in the golden bull; but if the motives should appear otherwise, all the steps taken towards the election should be declared null and void; that *Ferdinand* should prevail upon the emperor and other electors to agree to this treaty, which should be ratified in ten months by a decree or imperial constitution, otherwise the elector of *Saxony* and his allies should not be obliged to adhere to this accommodation; that, moreover, the emperor should confirm the elector of *Saxony* in all his ancient rights and patrimony, and approve of his contract of marriage with the daughter of the prince of *Cleves*. This pacification was followed by another, which determined the difference between *Ferdinand* on one side, and the landgrave of *Hesse*, with *Ulric* duke of *Wirtemberg*, on the other. In this affair, the elector of *Saxony* acted as mediator and plenipotentiary for his two friends; and after a long series of debates, it was agreed, that *Ulric* should be confirmed in the possession of all his territories, on condition that he and his successor should hold the country of *Wirtemberg* in fief of the princes of *Austria*, to whom, failing heirs male, it should return, and then be held of the empire; that the duke should acknowledge *Ferdinand* as king of the *Romans*, against whom he should never enter into any compact or confederacy; that he and the landgrave should restore to the right owners, all the effects they had seized during the war; that they should compel no person to change his religion, but leave the clergy to the free enjoyment of their possessions; that those, who had abandoned their habitations through fear or shame, should have leave to return or retire elsewhere, without let or molestation of their persons or effects; that *Ferdinand* should retain the cannon which belonged to the fortress of *Asberg*, and pay the debts which he had contracted in his own name; that *Philip* prince palatine, and the other prisoners of war, should be released without ransom; that the landgrave and duke *Ulric* should either go in person or send their ambassadors to ask pardon of *Ferdinand*, who, as prince of *Austria*, should put the duke in full possession of his dutchy, and intercede with the emperor for his and the landgrave's pardon; that neither side should make any demand for the expences of the war;

The landgrave of Hesse and duke of Wirtemberg are reconciled to Ferdinand king of the Romans.

Articles of the pacification

but that *Ulric* should supply *Ferdinand* with five hundred horse and three thousand footmen, for the siege of *Munster*; that *Ulric's* dutchess should enjoy the estate allotted for her jointure; and that this treaty should be ratified by the states, nobility, and people of the country^b (H).

The pope murmurs at the accommodation with the Protestants.

PETER PAUL VERGER, the pope's nuncio, had orders to signify to *Ferdinand*, the displeasure of his holiness at the accommodation he had made with the *Lutheran* princes, which he looked upon as very disadvantageous to the church: but the king of the *Romans* replied, that the conjuncture was such as obliged him to make that agreement, in order to avoid more dangerous commotions. At the same time, the landgrave sent an express into *Spain*, with a letter to the emperor, in which he asked pardon in his own and duke *Ulric's* name; and promised, that, for the future, they should always be obedient and faithful to him and the king of the *Romans*. To this message *Charles* replied, that he had already writ on that subject to his brother *Ferdinand*, and would again signify his sentiments, by the mouth of his ambassador, of whom they would learn his great clemency and passionate desire for peace. Mean while, he exhorted them to justify their professions by their conduct, and abstain, for the future, from all violent councils^c.

A. D.
1534.

IMMEDIATELY after this reconciliation, pope *Clement* the eighth dying, was succeeded in the papacy by *Paul* the third, of the house of *Farnese*, who adopting the politics of his predecessor, resolved with all his power to elude the convocation of a council. Nevertheless, he affected to be very zealous in this affair; and, in order to save appearances, sent *Peter Paul Verger*, his nuncio, to visit the princes, and flatter them with hopes of seeing their desire accomplished. He had likewise orders to propose to them the city of *Mantua* as a proper place for that assembly, and to sound their sentiments on the subject, that by knowing their intention, he might afterwards prescribe such rules as he was sure they would not embrace. His nuncio was, moreover, directed to animate all the princes of *Germany* against the king of *Eng-*

^b SLZID. Com. l. 9. p. 96.

^c Id. ibid.

(H) *Ulric*, duke of *Wirtemberg*, being thus restored to the possession of his dominions, discharged the debt which he had contracted on the principality of *Montbeliard*, which he reco-

vered; and his most Christian majesty was so generous as to grant him a discharge for a considerable sum, which he had also lent him upon personal security. *Heiss. l. 3. c. 4.*

land;

land, who had renounced the supremacy of the pope; and to try if there was any hope of converting *Luther* and *Milanthon*. The nuncio, in order to acquit himself in this expedition, made a tour round almost all the princes, and in the way had a personal conference with *Luther*, upon whom he employed all his art and influence in vain (I). Finding all his endeavours ineffectual, he advised his master to assail that arch-heretic by writing; and the pope, in conformity with his advice, pitched upon certain cardinals and bishops, to the number of nine, to compose a formula; or project for reforming the church^d.

THE Protestants being, by this measure, made acquainted with the intentions of the pope, made use of that pretext for assembling at *Smakalde*, though in reality their view was to renew their association, the term of which was well nigh expired. Accordingly a new alliance was made for ten years, comprehending not only those of the former association, but also all those who espoused the confession of *Augsburg*, and were willing to engage in the league (K).

To this assembly the kings of *France* and *England* sent ambassadors. *William de Langey*, lord of *Belley*, the French envoy, went thither to acquit his master of the imputation thrown upon him by the Protestants, who charged him with having burnt some *Lutherans* at *Paris*. The ambassador, in his king's justification, represented that the sect of *Sacramentarians*, having spread itself even into *France*, his majesty had taken all imaginable precautions to check the progress of that heresy; which six of his subjects having, in contempt of his prohibition, publicly professed, and in order to gain converts, publicly affixed placades that were equally injurious to religion and government, so as to endanger an insurrection in the kingdom, they had been convicted of heresy and sedition, and legally condemned to the flames, which they had publicly suffered at *Paris*, during a general procession,

A. D.

1535.

The kings of France and England send ambassadors to this assembly.

^d SPOND. CON. t. 9. p. 142.

(I) In this conference *Luther* assured *Vergen*, that he was so well convinced of the truth of his own doctrine, that the nuncio and the pope himself would embrace his faith before he would abandon it; and indeed the nuncio afterwards separated himself from the *Roman* church. *Remarq. sur Heiss.*

(K) At this assembly were present, the elector of *Saxony*, the elector count palatine, *Robert* duke of *Deuxponts*, *Ulric* duke of *Wirtemberg*, the princes of *Pomerania*, *William* count *Nassau*, together with the deputies from *Frankfort*, *Augsburg*, *Kempton*, *Hanover*, and some other cities. *Sleidan. l. 9. p. 72.*

and

The apology of Francis to the princes of the league. and public prayers for the extirpation of such a damnable sect : but far from having inflicted that chastisement with a view to drive the *Germans* from his dominions, he assured them that his kingdom should always be an asylum, in which they would be as perfectly secure as the *French* themselves. He likewise gave them to understand, that the Grand Signior had sent an ambassador to the king his master, in order to conclude a treaty of alliance, in which his most Christian majesty would not engage, until he should know the sentiments of the electors and other *German* princes on that subject ; that the sultan had proposed very advantageous conditions, provided he would not intermeddle in the war of *Hungary* ; but he had hitherto declined them, that the other kings and princes might have time and opportunity to be comprehended in the same peace, for he did not at all doubt that the *Turk* would turn his arms against more remote nations, provided he had proper assurances of remaining unmolested on the side of *Christendom*. The assembly was far from being satisfied with this apology for having burnt the *Lutherans*, and paid very little regard to his proposal touching an alliance with the *Turk*°.

The proposals of Henry VIII. of England.

THE *English* ambassador spoke another language, which they better understood. A year had now elapsed since *Henry* the eighth had, at the same time, divorced himself from his wife and the church of *Rome* : he, therefore, proposed that the princes should firmly unite against the authority of the pope, and promised to correspond with them in all the measures they should take for that purpose. They embraced this proposal with joy ; but, in order to preserve appearances, they agreed upon the form of an answer to the pope's nuncio, touching the convocation of a council, though it contained nothing but what they had often repeated before. This union of the confederates, and the sanction which their success gave to all innovations in religion, produced abundance of disorder in the principal towns of *Germany*. Among others, *Munster* suffered almost to desolation, from the madness and fanaticism of the Anabaptists, who, under the conduct of one *Bernard Rotman*, excited a civil war among the citizens, expelled the magistrates and clergy, formed a new plan of government, in which polygamy was held lawful, and at length proceeded to such a degree of phrenzy and extravagance, as to choose for their king a *Dutch* taylor, whose name was *John of Leyden* ; but this impostor, who pretended to have personal communication with God, did not long en-

° FREHER. t. 3. p. 354. & seq. SLEID. Com. l. 9. p. 98.

joy his dignity, which was supported by actions equally barbarous and absurd; for the city, after having been some time besieged by the bishop, who was authorised and reinforced by the states of the empire, was betrayed by one of the companions of this pretender, who facilitated the entrance of the besiegers; so that the place was taken by assault, after a very obstinate defence, during which the Anabaptists had suffered infinite fatigue and famine. Their mock king, together with his principal ministers, were carried about the country for some time, as spectacles to the rest of the people, and afterwards tortured to death at *Munster*, and hung in chains^f.

SOME time before this event, *Solyman* had made some overtures of peace to pope *Clement* the eighth, the emperor, and his brother *Ferdinand*; but finding his advances treated with more coolness than he expected, he resolved to render himself more respectable by force of arms. With this view he deposed *Himeral*, who had commanded his fleet, and created *Barbarossa* his admiral in chief. This was a native of *Mitylene*, in the island of *Lesbos*, and the most formidable pirate who had ever appeared in those seas. His first expeditions against the *Morea* were successful; he spread the terror of his name over all the coast of *Italy*, and sailing towards *Afric*, took upon him the office of mediator between *Muley Hassein* and his brother *Araxid*, who contended for the kingdom of *Tunis*. But under this pretext he made himself master of the city, and all its dependencies, which he subjected to the dominion of the grand *Turk*^g.

Barbarossa subjects the kingdom of Tunis to the Grand Seignior.

THE emperor *Charles*, dreading the storm that seemed ready to burst upon him from *France*, *England*, and the Protestant princes of the empire, who were far from being satisfied with his concessions, saw the necessity of arming for his defence; and that he might have a specious pretext for making a powerful armament, he undertook an expedition into *Barbary*, with a view to restore *Muley Hassein*, who had implored his protection, as well as to chastise the insolence of *Barbarossa*, who continually infested the coasts of his *Sicilian* dominions. He accordingly set sail from *Spain* in the month of *April*, with a powerful fleet, and his design was so well conducted, that in a little time he gained possession of the city and port of *Tunis*, together with the fortress of *Goleta*, set at liberty a great number of Christian slaves, defeated *Barbarossa* by sea and land, and restored *Muley Hassein*.

The emperor makes a descent upon Barbary, and defeats Barbarossa by sea and land.

^f MESHOV. l. 6, 7. PONTAN. l. 3. SLEID. l. 10. p. 112.
^g JOV. l. 34. Sur. in Com.

to his dominions, leaving, however, a strong garrison in the fortrefs, in order to keep that prince his dependant and tributary. Pope *Paul* had assisted him with several galleys, well equipt for this expedition, and had granted him a tenth of the effects of the clergy, in order to defray the expence of the war^h.

He is obliged to turn his arms against the king of France in Italy.

A. D.
1536.

Charles challenges Francis to single combat.

FROM the prosecution of this war he was soon diverted by the conduct of the king of *France*, who, with an army of sixty thousand men, had entered *Piedmont*, to revenge himself upon the duke of *Savoy*, who had disobliged him, and afterwards to attempt the recovery of the duchy of *Milan*. *Charles* no sooner received this intimation, than he dispatched orders into *Germany*, and all his other dominions, for sending troops to oppose the *French* in *Italy*; while he himself repaired to *Rome*, where, in presence of the pope, the cardinals, and ambassadors from foreign princes, he made a very passionate harangue against the king of *France*, complaining, that notwithstanding their treaty of alliance, he had, from envy and inveterate rancour, interrupted the progress of his success against the common enemy, taking the advantage of his absence to invade his dominions; and concluded with saying, that, in order to avoid the effusion of Christian blood, he was content to decide the difference by single combat with the king of *France*, whom he accordingly defied, and who was wise enough to decline the proposalⁱ.

He likewise renewed his solicitations with his holiness for the convocation of a council; and the pope, who was perfectly well informed by his nuncio, that the Protestants would insist on its being held in some city of the empire, pretended he was extremely well disposed to gratify his desire; but pitched upon *Mantua* as the most convenient place for all parties concerned, and fixed the month of *June* of the ensuing year for the time of its meeting. These resolutions were perfectly agreeable to the views of *Charles*, who had two aims to accomplish in this council: one was to detain the pope in *Italy*, in case he should be disposed to favour *France*; and the other, to make himself absolute through all *Germany*. Having thus, as he imagined, put the affairs of religion on a right footing, he employed his whole attention on the war against *France*; and, contrary to the advice of his best officers, resolved to invade *Provence* in person. He accordingly traversed all *Italy*, and passed the *Var* with an army of fifty thousand men, commanded by *Antonio de Leyva*, his lieute-

^h SCHARD. Oper. Hist. t. ii. p. 304. ZEN. in vit. Car. V.

ⁱ SANDOV. Carlos V. l. 23.

nant-general ; being followed by a fleet, commanded by *Andrew Doria*, which furnished him with provision and ammunition. These preparations, however, did not avail ; for instead of being received with open arms by the disaffected subjects of *France*, as he had expected, he found all the advantageous posts already occupied by the enemy, who did not think proper to risk a battle ; so that the progress of his army being retarded, his design proved abortive, his forces were daily diminished by death, and he was obliged to send the remains of them into quarters ; while he himself retired to *Genoa*, after having pillaged *Aix*, and made an unsuccessful attempt upon the city of *Marseilles* ^a (L).

WHILE he sojourned in that place, he was visited by *Joa-* *The emperor is visited by the*
chim de Pappenheim, *Lewis de Bambach*, and *Claude Pouthin-* *ambassadors of the*
ger, who, in quality of ambassadors from the Protestant *princes.*
 princes, contradicted the false reports which had been raised, touching their alliance with the kings of *France* and *England* ; and entreated him to leave in quiet those princes and states who had entered into their league since the last pacification at *Nuremberg* ; as also to forbid the imperial chamber to proceed in any cause, or pass sentence against them. The ambassadors were favourably received by *Charles* ; who assured them, that before his departure for *Spain*, whither he was called by pressing affairs, he would send his answer to their principals by *Hilde*, his vice-chancellor, who should follow them with all convenient dispatch. In effect, that minister, having taken in his way *Vienna*, where he joined the pope's nuncio, who was then with king *Ferdinand*, executed his orders with such diligence, that both arrived at *Smalcald*, while the Protestant princes were assembled together with *Luther* and the rest of the principal preachers. There they presented the pope's bull concerning the convocation of a council ; which, being canvassed by the *Lutheran* divines, produced abundance of dispute both in public and private. At length they declared, that they would assent to no other than a free Christian council, at which every person should enjoy

^a *BELLAI*. l. 7, 8. *JOV*. l. 36. *THUAN*. l. 1. p. 25, &c.

(L) At the same time the emperor invaded *France* on the side of *Picardy*, which count *Nassau* entered with thirty thousand men, and took the town and castle of *Guise* ; *Peronne* was also invested, but the place

was so gallantly defended by the *marechal de Florenge*, and the count *de Dammartin*, that the Imperialists were obliged to abandon the siege and retire. *Max. Abr. Chron.* 1. iii. p. 907.

liberty

A. D.
1537.

liberty of sentiment and speech; for which reason the pope should neither convoke nor preside at it, these being the prerogatives of the emperor and kings: nor should it assemble at *Mantua*, while there were towns in *Germany* altogether as commodious for that purpose. The nuncio and the vice-chancellor exerted all their endeavours in persuading the Protestants to comply with the directions contained in the bull; but finding all their eloquence ineffectual, had recourse to another expedient, addressing themselves to the Catholic princes, who, as a counterbalance to the confederacy of *Smalcalde*, entered into an association for eleven years, in order to defend themselves and their religion from all enemies, declaring the emperor and his brother *Ferdinand* chiefs of the league (M).

The king
of France
mortifies
the emperor;
between
whom a
suspension
of arms is
mediated
for the
Low
Countries

MEAN while, the pope considering the opposition at *Smalcalde*, deferred the opening of the council for some months, on pretence that the duke of *Mantua* wanted time to levy troops, and fortify his town for the public security. While the eyes of all *Christendom* were turned upon this council, the jealousy that prevailed between the emperor and the king of *France*, induced this last to mortify the other in a very sensible manner. *Francis* could never forgive the emperor for having compelled him, in the treaties of *Madrid* and *Gambray*, to renounce the sovereignty of *Flanders* and *Artois*: he now, therefore, ordered his parliament to carry on a process against *Charles* as his vassal, who, for his conduct on that occasion, was accused of felony, and summoned by heralds on the frontiers, to appear at a certain time and take his trial. The emperor, who was at that time in *Spain*, no sooner heard of this insult, and the march of the *French* towards those provinces, than he sent orders to his generals to assemble troops with all imaginable expedition, and repel force by force. Both armies had already taken the field, and the Imperialists began to have some advantage over the enemy; when *Eleonora* queen of *France*, and *Mary* queen of *Hungary*, interposed in order to mediate an accommodation, and procured a suspension of arms for six months, for the *Low Countries* only, the war still continuing in *Piedmont*, where the Imperialists took by assault the town of *Cherasco*, and put the garrison and citizens to the sword. But some time after, the inhabitants of *Turin*, being well nigh reduced

(M) The chief of those who entered into this association were the archbishops of *Mentz* and *Salzburg*, *William* and

Lewis dukes of *Bavaria*, *George* duke of *Saxony*, and *Euric* and *Henry* dukes of *Brunswic*. *Heiff.* l. 3. c. 4.

to famine, and all the avenues of the city blocked up by the troops of the emperor, the king of *France* sent thither a powerful army with his son *Henry*, now become dauphin by the death of his elder brother (N) *Francis*, accompanied by *Anne de Montmorency*, mareschal and afterwards constable of *France*, who opened the communication and relieved the place. Nevertheless, by the intercession of the pope and the *Venetians*, he agreed to a truce of three months for the coun-tries on the other side the *Alps*, and that for the *Low Coun-tries* was lengthened out to the same period ¹.

*A truce
also nego-
tiated for
Italy.*

THE hands of *Charles* being tied up by this suspension of arms, he resolved to disturb *France* by all sorts of secret intrigues. *Charles Egmont* had put himself under the protec- tion of his most Christian majesty, that he might be main- tained in the possession of the dutchy of *Guelderland*, which the emperor pretended was part of the succession of his father *Philip*. While the duke thought himself secure in the friend- ship of *France*, *Charles*, by his secret emissaries, spread such reports among his people, as made them believe their duke intended to subject them to the jurisdiction of *France*; and this notion produced a revolt, in consequence of which duke *Charles* was expelled from his dominions, and could scarce find a place of retreat, because the insurrection was power- fully patronized by the emperor ^m.

IN the mean time, the pope finding himself entangled in such affairs as did not at all favour the meeting of the coun- cil at the time prescribed in his bulls, he again deferred the convocation of that assembly; so that the Protestants had leisure to continue their negotiations, and to concert proper measures for preventing the ill effects of that council. With this view, the chiefs of their party assembled the following year at *Brunswic*, where they received into their alliance *Christian* king of *Denmark*, son of *Frederic* the second, and

*Christian,
king of
Denmark,
enters into
the Protes-
tant league
A. D.
1538.*

¹ THUAN. Hist. l. 1. p. 27. MEZ. Abr. Chron. t. 3. p. 913.
^m SLETD. Com. l. 11. in fin.

(N) *Francis*, dauphin of *France*, died in the nineteenth year of his age, not without suspicion of poison; which he is said to have received from the hands of count *Sebastian Montecuculi*, a native of *Ferrara*, who, being put to the torture, confessed the crime, which, he said, he had been engaged to

commit by the ministers of the emperor. But the *Germans* pre- tend, that it was administered at the instigation of *Katbarine of Medicis*, who could have no chance of seeing herself queen of *France*, while the elder bro- ther of her husband was alive. *Bellai. l. 6. in fin. Ferron. in Fran. l.*

The emperor and the king of France, together with the pope, arrive at Nice, and a truce is concluded for ten years.

John marquis of *Brandenburg*; and in order to give more weight to that assembly, these new allies personally appeared at their meeting. The pope, being very sensible that it would be impossible to procure a solid peace to the church of *Rome*, while the two greatest powers of *Christendom* were at variance, employed all his art and influence in laying the foundation of an agreement between the emperor and the king of *France*. He solicited each of these princes with all his might to consent to a personal interview in his presence; and having obtained his request by dint of unwearied importunity, *Nice*, which is a sea-port town on the *Mediterranean*, was the place fixed for the meeting of those two princes. Thither the pope repaired, being followed by the emperor, who came by sea with a powerful fleet, and the king of *France*, who came by land with a numerous army; but in spite of all the efforts of the pope, repeated in the course of a long negotiation, he could not effect a peace, though they consented to a truce for ten years ⁿ (O).

AMONG other subjects of deliberation that occurred at this meeting, the progress of the *Turks* in *Hungary* was not forgotten. *Ferdinand*, king of the *Romans*, had been very unsuccessful against the infidels, who had forced his lines at *Belgrade*, and defeated one army, while another, destined to oppose their efforts in *Dalmatia*, met with the same fate^o. How to stop their progress was now the question; and, after mature consideration, they saw nothing practicable until they should have first healed up the divisions in religion, so as that all the princes in *Christendom* might unite their forces against the common enemy. *Charles* promised to write to the princes of the empire on this subject, and actually sent circular letters, exhorting them to enter into the same sentiments, and unanimously concur for the general good; adding, that in order to accomplish this grand aim with the greater ease, he had invested the archbishop of *Lunden*, and *Matthias Hilde*, with full power to negotiate and accommodate with them all matters in dispute, according to the advice of his brother and council. Though *Germany* was now divided into the two

ⁿ Jov. l. 37. Onupt. in Paul III.
BEL. l. 22.

• ISTHUANFF. l. 13.

(O) These two princes never once saw one another while they tarried at *Nice*; a piece of policy or precaution which was owing to the management of the pope, who had private

designs of his own to execute upon both, which might have miscarried, had they ever come to personal communication. *Mexi Abr. Chron. t. 3. p. 914.*

parties

A. D.

1539.

The result
of the as-
sembly at
Franck-
fort fa-
vourable
to the Pro-
testants.

parties of Catholics and Protestants, this difference had not mutually inspired them with hatred and aversion to each other : on the contrary, both sides expressed the utmost eagerness and zeal for a re-union. With this view a general assembly was held at *Franckfort*, where after long debates it decreed, that the emperor should grant a truce for fifteen months to all the Protestants without exception, that they might have time to inform themselves, by means of conferences, touching the contested points of religion ; that the pacification of *Nuremberg*, and the emperor's edict at *Ratisbon* should be ratified ; that although the differences in religion were not settled during this truce, the peace should not be violated until the next diet ; that, in the mean time, the emperor should suspend all processes and proscriptions issued against the Protestants on account of religion, by the imperial chamber, and all actions whatever on that score should be annulled ; that justice should be impartially administered without respect of persons, or distinction of religion ; that during the truce the Protestants should admit no other power into their confederacy, but allow the clergy to receive the rents of the lands which were absolutely in their possession ; that, under the permission and auspices of the emperor, a day should be fixed for a conference at *Nuremberg*, between the Catholics and Protestants, and learned persons chosen, of a mild and pacific disposition, for managing the dispute ; that the emperor and king *Ferdinand* should be at liberty to send ambassadors to these conferences ; that every decision should be reported to the absent states, which, if they approved, the emperor's ambassador should be obliged to subscribe, and the emperor to ratify it at the ensuing diet ; that both parties should abstain from preparations of war, or at least declare the subject of such preparations, as this truce was not supposed to interdict any person from defending himself, according to his privilege in the empire ; that this treaty should not comprehend the Anabaptists and other sectaries, who professed a doctrine contrary to the confession of *Augsburg* ; finally, that the Protestants should hold in readiness their succours against the *Turk*, and send their ambassadors and deputies to *Worms*, at a certain day appointed by the emperor, to concert with the electors, and other princes and states, proper measures for supporting the war against the common enemy ^p.

ABOUT this time, the emperor, who, since the conference at *Nice*, had still resided in *Spain*, was informed by the king

The emperor is informed of an insurrection at Ghent.

A. D.
1540.
He passes through France to the Low Countries

of *France*, that the inhabitants of *Ghent* had revolted, on pretence of defending their liberties, and proposed to put themselves under his protection: an instance of integrity never enough to be commended in *Francis*, who chose to forfeit the extraordinary advantages which he might have gained on this occasion, rather than sully his honour by a breach of the truce which he had concluded with *Charles*. The emperor, alarmed at this intimation, resolved to set out immediately for *Flanders*; and, that he might take the shortest and easiest way, ventured to pass through *France*, relying on the assurance of *Francis*, who engaged his word for his security⁹. He accordingly took the road, accompanied by a slender retinue, and was met upon the frontier by the constable *Montmorency*, *Henry* the dauphin, and *Charles* duke of *Orleans*, the king's sons, who offered to go and remain in *Spain* as hostages for his safety. This generous proffer he refused with due acknowledgment; and they attended him through all the fairest cities of the kingdom, where he was treated with equal cordiality and splendor. At *Loches* in *Berry*, he was received by the king in person, who accompanied him through *Orleans* to *Paris*, which he entered on the first day of the new year, walking between the two sons of *France*, and preceded by the constable with the naked sword in his hand. Cardinal *Farnese*, the pope's legate, and the archbishop of *Paris* waited for him in the great church, and nothing was omitted which could contribute to honour, divert, and entertain him, during the seven days which he spent in that capital. At his departure from *Paris*, he was again convoyed by the king to *St. Quintin*; but the two princes his sons preceded with him as far as *Valenciennes*, the first town of the *Low-Countries*. Charmed with the polite treatment he had received, and the honours which had been paid to him in *France*, *Charles*, by way of gratitude, promised to bestow upon the king or the dauphin, the investiture of the duchy of *Milan*, and *Francis* actually expected this mark of his friendship, though he would not execute his promise until his arrival in his own dominions, and at length eluded it in such a manner as did very little credit to his generosity^r. The people murmured loudly at this evasion of the emperor, and did not scruple to say, the king had been a dupe to his dissimulation, observing that *Francis* ought to have retorted the usage he had received from *Charles* at *Ma-*

⁹ THUAN. Hist. l. i. p. 28.
p. 916.

^r MEZ. Abr. Chron. t. iii.

rid, and made his own terms while he had his rival in his power (P).

MEAN while, the emperor arriving at *Brussels*, employed his whole attention in settling the affairs of *Flanders*, and in punishing the inhabitants of *Ghent*, which he entered with his army, as if it had been an hostile city taken by assault. Thirty of the principal burghers were executed as chiefs of the sedition, a much greater number banished, all the public edifices confiscated, the town deprived of its artillery, arms, and privileges, and sentenced to pay a fine of one million two hundred thousand crowns; and, as a check upon the mutinous disposition of the people, he ordered a stadel to be built, and manned with a very strong garrison*. While he tarried in *Flanders*, he was visited by the envoys of the Protestant princes, who, together with king *Ferdinand* his brother, went thither to solicit him on the subject of the assembly at *Frankfort*, which the Protestants complained had been in sundry ways infringed or unperformed, to their detriment and disadvantage: they, therefore, besought him to shut his ears against the calumnies of their foes, who had represented them as restless and disaffected; to interpose his authority for putting a stop to the processes which had been instituted against them, contrary to the articles of the truce; and to give directions for a conference, in which the difference in point of religion might be amicably discussed. The emperor was not a little embarrassed on this occasion; because the pope had not approved of the proceedings at *Frankfort*, and now opposed the ratification which they demanded. Nevertheless, preferring his own interest and the public repose to every other consideration, he, after some delay, complied with their request, in confirming the result; being resolved, as far as in him lay, to maintain union among the members of the empire, and to facilitate the means of bringing all religious disputes to some happy determination. For this purpose, he appointed an assembly at *Haguenau*; but finding it impracticable to determine the contest touching the restitution of the effects of the clergy which were pos-

Confirms the result of Frankfort in favour of the Protestants.

* SAND. Carlos V. l. 24. p. 385.

(P) When *Charles* first demanded a passage through *France*, the king was actually advised to take this advantage of him; but he was dissuaded by the constable *Montmorency*, whose disgrace, which followed soon after, seemed to declare that he was suspected of holding intelligence with the emperor. *Thuan. l. 1. p. 28.*

A. D.
1541.

*Refers the
disputes in
religion to
a confe-
rence.*

seised by Protestants, and reclaimed by the Catholics, it was referred to a diet, which was to be held at *Worms* in the month of *October* ensuing. Here, likewise, the affair was argued without being brought to any conclusion; so that the emperor was fain to convoke another, which was opened at *Ratisbon* in the month of *April*; and in which were present the emperor, and cardinal *Gaspar Contarini* in behalf of the pope. *Charles*, after having made a proposal tending to a general pacification, and in particular to quiet that discord which had sprung from a religious source, agreed with the Protestants to refer the whole affair to a conference, which should be managed by three doctors on each side, under the authority of two presidents, namely, *Frederic* count palatine of the *Rhine*, and *Nicholas Granvel*, the emperor's prime minister (Q).

*The Pro-
testants are
privately
indulged
with liber-
ty of con-
science by
the empe-
ror.*

ACCORDINGLY, this conference began towards the end of *April*; but in five or six articles only could they agree, the rest the emperor thought proper to remit to the decision of a general or national council, or rather to the judgment of another diet. The legate *Contarini* opposed this resolution, and demanded, with great warmth, that the whole affair should be submitted to the pope or general council, alledging, that neither a national council, nor a diet, could judge decisively on articles of faith. No respect, however, was had to this remonstrance, though people were prohibited, under severe penalties, to ruin or seize the effects of the church, to make any innovation, or seduce any person from the ancient religion; while, at the same time, the clergy were strictly enjoined to reform their manners, and live, for the future, with more regularity and discipline. But these decrees were no other than an outward pretext; for at bottom the emperor's design was to conciliate the affections of the Protestants, lest they should throw themselves under the protection of *Francis*, which, he knew, they had already solicited. He therefore, in private, granted them letters patent, by which they were indulged with liberty of conscience: the decree of the diet was softened in their favour; he permitted them to receive those who desired to be of their communion; he suspended the last edict of *Augsburg*, and all the preceding decrees

† SLEID. Com. l. 13. 146. COLCHÆ in acta Luth. BELCAR. l. 12.

(Q) The Catholic doctors were *John Eckius*, *John Groppe-
rus*, and *Julius Pflugius*. The Protestant, *Philip Melancthon*, *Martin Bucer*, and *John Peste-
rius*, assisted by several persons of quality. Heiss. l. 3. c. 4-

which

which had been issued against them ; and lastly, ordered the imperial chamber at *Spire* to administer justice to them, without making any difference on the score of religion ; so that by these means the Protestants were entirely detached from the interest of *France* ^u.

CHARLES took the same opportunity to put the duke of *Cleves* to the ban of the empire, because he had retired to the king of *France*, whose protection he craved, that he might be maintained in the possession of the dutchy of *Guelderland*, devolved to him by the death of *William* of *Cleves*, to whom it had been ceded by *Charles* *Bismont* the last duke, without the concurrence of the emperor, and to the prejudice of his claim derived from his grandmother *Mary* of *Burgundy*. He likewise gave orders for re-establishing the duke of *Savoy* in his dominions, prohibited all *Germans* from engaging in the service of *France*, and dismissed the assembly, after having exhorted all the states to contribute to the necessary measures for opposing the *Turk* ^x. Affairs were dispatched in this manner, because he would not lose the season for passing into *Italy*, where he proposed to embark on board the fleet he had prepared, for the execution of his design against *Algiers*. He accordingly set sail for the coast of *Bar-* *The emperor undertakes another expedition to Barbary, which proves unfortunate.*
bary, where he landed and began the siege of that place ; but he was obliged to abandon the enterprize, on account of the tempestuous weather, by which he lost one hundred ships and fifteen gallies, so that he was fain to raise the siege, and return to *Spain* with the wreck of his army, which from four and twenty was reduced to ten thousand men ^y (R).

NOR was king *Ferdinand* more fortunate in his attempts upon *Hungary*. After the death of *John*, he had marched to besiege the city of *Buda*, hoping to profit by the minority of the young king *Stephen*, who was there shut up under the tuition of his mother. But sultan *Solyman*, whose assistance was implored by that princess and the other tutors of her son, ordered a considerable body of troops to march to their

^u SLEID. Comment. l. 14. p. 152.

^x SURR. in Comment.

^y NIC. VILL. ap. SCHARD. Oper. Hist. t. ii. Hist. Hospit. t. iii. l. 10.

(R) *Charles* is said to have undertaken this expedition against a petty pirate in *Barbary*, through fear of being involved in the affairs of *Hungary*, which *Solyman* had invaded with a vast army ; and the great fleet he equipped on this occasion, gave rise to a severe remark, importing, that no prince in the world fled from his enemy with more apparatus. *Jov. l. 40.*

relief, and following in person at the head of another formidable army, a battle ensued, in which *Ferdinand* was totally defeated, and in consequence of which the city of *Buda*, together with the young king, and his mother the queen dowager, fell into the hands of *Solyman*, who had come thither under pretence of protecting them^z.

FROM this misfortune, the emperor took occasion to convoke a diet at *Spire*, where king *Ferdinand*, who presided, obtained of the states a supply of men and money, proportioned to that which the hereditary provinces had granted, on condition that it should be employed against the common enemy of *Christendom*. The pope's nuncio being present at the diet, offered a reinforcement of the same kind in the name of his holiness; and as all the princes who composed that assembly generously expressed an unanimous resolution to embark in the general cause, notwithstanding the intrigues of the *French* ambassador, who endeavoured to disunite them, the nuncio, in order to confirm the good intentions of the Protestants, gave them to understand that the pope, in consideration of that spirit which they expressed against the infidels, would comply with the request which they had so often made to have a council in some city of the empire; and that he had chosen *Trent* as the most commodious place for them and all the other nations concerned in the convocation. In conformity with this promise, he actually summoned a council to meet in the city of *Trent*, on the first of *November*, and sent an intimation of his design to the emperor and king of *France*, whom he invited to assist in person at that assembly, or at least to send thither their ambassadors, archbishops, bishops, abbots, and other ecclesiastics^a.

A. D.
1542.
The king
of France
declares
war a-
gainst the
emperor,
and attacks
his domi-
nions in
five diffe-
rent places.

DURING these transactions, *Francis* the first, who could not digest the affront which he pretended to have received from the emperor, whose *Spanish* subjects had assassinated *Anthony de Rinçon*, and *Cesar Fregosa*, his ambassadors to *Venice* and *Constantinople*, resolved to be revenged on *Charles*, who had refused satisfaction on that head; and, taking the advantage of his operations in concert with the pope and the princes of the empire against the *Turk*, attacked his dominions in five different parts, namely, *Brabant*, *Luxemburg*, *Artois*, *Piedmont*, and *Rousillon*; but the emperor had taken such precautions for the defence of these places, that the king of *France* acquired no advantage from the war^b, which, on

^z BEICAR. l. 23. ISTHUAFFF. l. 14. ap. LEUCEL. l. 18.

^a SLEID. Com. l. 14. p. 157.

^b Mez. Abr. Chron. t. iii.

p. 920.

the contrary, prejudiced him in the opinions of the *German* princes, who now firmly believed that his enterprize was solely undertaken with a view to make a diversion in favour of the infidels; and they were the more exasperated against him, by the certain accounts they received, importing, that the *Turks* were employed in making extraordinary preparations for extending their conquests in *Hungary* and *Moravia*.

In consequence of this information, *Ferdinand*, in the beginning of the year, assembled the princes at *Nuremberg*, where he found no difficulty in prevailing upon them to comply with his measures; when among other things it was determined, that they should fortify themselves as well as they could on the side of the *Turks*, and that the emperor should be intreated to return to *Germany*, in order to oppose the *French* and the duke of *Cleves*, who had brought them thither (S). The emperor was no sooner apprised of this resolution, than he began to prepare for his departure from *Spain*; and foreseeing the length of his voyage, and his absence, he nominated his son *Philip* king of *Spain*, and put the administration of affairs into his hands^c, after he had seen him married to the infanta *Mary*, daughter of *John* king of *Portugal*. In a few days after these nuptials, he embarked on board a powerful fleet, in which he arrived at *Genoa*, from whence he wrote letters to the elector of *Saxony*, the landgrave of *Hesse*, and the other confederates, exhorting them to contribute their assistance towards the war against the *Turk*, and at the same time issued orders for assembling a diet at *Spire*. Then he had an interview with the pope, whom he pressed to declare war against the king of *France*; but his holiness eluded these intreaties, and in his turn solicited him to restore *Parma* and *Placentia* to the holy see, and to invest his grandson *Octavius Farnese* with the duchy of *Milan*, seeing the *Italian* powers would never consent that he should retain it for himself^d. To this proposal, however, *Charles* lent a deaf ear; and setting out for *Germany* arrived at *Spire*, from whence he repaired to *Bonn*, in order to oppose the progress of the duke of *Cleves*. There,

A. D.
1543.

^c SAND. Carlos V. l. 35. p. 423.
l. 15. p. 169.

^d SLEID. Comment.

(S) In answer to the manifestoes which *Charles V.* published against *Francis* for having entered into an alliance with the *Turks*, that prince observed,

that when he was attacked by wolves, it was excusable to call the dogs to his assistance. *Heiss.* l. 3. c. 4.

having

The emperor marches to Duren, which is taken by assault.

having assembled his army, he marched directly to *Duren*, in the country of *Juliers*, and on the twenty-third day of *August*, summoned the town to surrender, threatening to declare war against them should they refuse to comply with his demand. The garrison having returned a contemptuous answer and defiance, he invested the town with the *Spanish* troops, and had carried on the attacks with such vigour, that the place was taken by assault, a great number of men being killed on both sides. This success spread such a terror in the neighbourhood, that the towns of *Juliers*, *Ruremonde*, and *Venlo* surrendered without resistance. The duke of *Cleves*, finding himself so hotly pursued, repaired to this last place, accompanied by *Henry* duke of *Brunswic*, and the ambassadors of the elector of *Cologne*, by whose intercession his affairs were so happily negotiated, that the emperor pardoned him on these conditions, that he should adhere to the *Roman Catholic* church, and in case any change should happen in his country, reduce every thing to its pristine state; that he should swear fealty to the emperor, king *Ferdinand*, and the empire; renounce the alliance of *France* and *Denmark*; engage in no league that should not comprehend the emperor, king *Ferdinand*, and their heirs; and that he should yield up *Guelderland*, and assist the emperor in reducing the towns of that dutchy, which should refuse to submit. In consideration of these concessions, *Charles* restored to him the dutchy of *Juliers*, except the cities of *Heinsberg* and *Sittard*, which he proposed to keep for some time as pledges of the duke's fidelity.

Francis reduces Luxemburg.

This treaty was concluded without the participation of *Francis* the first, who was actually on his march with a strong body of forces to support the duke; but hearing by the way of this accommodation, he discharged his resentment upon the city of *Luxemburg*, which, for the second time, he reduced to his obedience. Mean while, the Imperialists having received a reinforcement of troops from *Henry* king of *England*, with whom the emperor had concluded a new alliance, they attacked *Landrecy* in the *Low Countries*; and as soon as the emperor understood it was invested, he marched thither with the rest of his army, after having settled the affairs of *Guelderland*. At the same time, the king of *France* took the same route with all his forces, and a general battle was expected; but *Francis*, having supplied the town with succours and all sorts of warlike ammunition, retired without fighting; and the emperor, being hindered by

the winter from continuing the siege, or undertaking any other enterprize, returned to *Germany*, in order to preside at the diet which he had convoked.^f At this assembly, which was held at *Spire*, the subjects of deliberation were the complaints of the Protestants, and the war against *France* and the infidels. The states having duly considered these points, unanimously agreed to accommodate the emperor with double subsidies; and, concluding that the war against the *Turks* would be carried on with greater advantage and security, provided they could compel *France* to sue for peace, they resolved to make a strong effort for that purpose, and consented to furnish six *Roman* months for defraying the expence of levying four thousand cavalry, and four and twenty thousand infantry; as well as to enable king *Ferdinand* to provide for the places on the frontiers of *Turkey*. With regard to future wars which should be carried on against the *Othomans*, it was decreed, that every person, without exception, should contribute according to his ability. Severe penalties were likewise ordained against those who should engage in the service of foreign princes, particularly of the king of *France*; and orders were given to the magistrates, to proceed against such delinquents with all the rigour of the law. As for the affair of religion, a decree was made, suspending the execution of the edict of *Augsburg*, and securing all persons from being molested on account of their persuasion, every dispute on that subject being referred to the decision of the ensuing diet, until a free general or national council could be held in *Germany*. It was also agreed, that each party should enjoy their present possessions; and that on the re-election of the judges of the imperial chamber, a like number should be chosen of each religion. This decree was very agreeable to the Protestants, and had such an influence upon the elector of *Saxony* in particular, that he entered into a particular treaty with the emperor; by which, for the first time, he acknowledged *Ferdinand* as king of the *Romans*; and *Charles*, on his part, approved and ratified the mutual hereditary compact between the families of *Saxony* and *Cleves*; specifying, that if the duke of *Cleves* should die without heirs male, the elector of *Saxony* and his heirs male should succeed to his dominions. In order to strengthen this new tie between the houses of *Austria* and *Saxony*, king *Ferdinand*, with the emperor's consent, promised to bestow in marriage his daughter *Eleonora* upon the elector's eldest son, provided the reconciliation in point of religion should take place, before the princess should have at-

A. D.

1544.

Charles presides at the diet, and is favourable to the Protestants.

^f MEZ. Abr. Chron, t. iii. p. 294.

tained

tained to an age requisite for the consummation of the nuptials. This last article was communicated to very few; and kept so secret on both sides, as to escape the knowledge of the landgrave and all his allies^s.

THIS decree concerning religion was not more agreeable to the Protestants than mortifying to the *Roman Catholics*; who, with difficulty, were prevailed upon to give their assent, in consequence of the intreaties of *Charles*, who assured them, that what he had done, was from an apprehension of being obliged to make a more disagreeable compliance, by the majority of suffrages on the Protestant side; and that as the affair was referred to the decision of another diet, future measures might be taken in favour of the Catholics.

Charles
concerts a
scheme a-
gainst
France
with
Henry
king of
England.

THESE regulations being made, the emperor set out from *Spire*, in order to execute the design which he had formed against *France*, in concert with the king of *England*. These two princes had laid the scheme of attacking that kingdom at the same time, and of appearing before *Paris* at an appointed day, in order to join their forces, sack the city, and ravage the country as far as the river *Loire*. As all the necessary preparations had been made for an expedition of this sort, it would, in all probability, have succeeded, had not the *English* amused themselves in the siege of *Boulogne*, which they resolved to take before they proceeded farther. The emperor, taking this opportunity of retrieving what he had lost in *Luxemburg*, and of revenging the affront he had received in the defeat of the marquis of *Guaſte* at the battle at *Cerisolles* (T), advanced towards *Metz*, where, having assembled his army, he undertook the siege of the city of *Luxemburg*, which surrendered to him about the end of *May*. He likewise made himself master of *Ligny* in the province of *Barre*, and *St. Dizoir*, from whence he advanced, by the way of *Chalons*, as far as *Chateau-Thierry*. This rapidity produced such consternation in *Paris*, that all those who had means to retire, even the very students, deserted the place, and *Francis*, finding himself so suddenly saddled with two such powerful enemies, was advised to send proposals of

^s BELCAR. l. 23.

(T) This battle was fought between *Francis* count *Enguieu*, third son of *Charles I.* duke of *Vendome*, and the marquis of *Guaſte*, general of the imperial army, who was totally defeated, with the loss of ten thousand men, all his artillery and baggage. By this victory the *French* became masters of the town of *Carignan*, and all *Montferrat*. *Bell. l. 10. Monl. l. 2.*

peace

peace to the emperor. He accordingly dispatched ambassadors on that errand, who finding *Charles* disgusted at the *English*, who, instead of joining him according to their promise, had spent the time in taking places on the frontiers of *Picardy*; they managed his chagrin with such dexterity, that he at length condescended to treat with the king of *France* without any regard to his ally; and upon the seventeenth of September a peace was concluded at *Crepy* on these conditions. *Concludes a peace with Francis at Crepy.* All that has been taken on either side, since the truce, shall be restored; the duke of *Lorraine* shall keep possession of the town of *Stenay*, under the protection of the province of *Luxemburg*; the emperor and the king shall employ their joint endeavours and strength in re-establishing the ancient religion and concord in the church; the king shall furnish six thousand cuirassiers, and ten thousand foot, for the war against the *Turk*; he shall renounce all his pretensions to *Aragon*, *Flanders*, the kingdom of *Naples*, *Artois*, and *Guelderland*; the emperor on his part shall quit his claim to the *Boulonnois*, *Peronne*, and the other towns situated upon the *Somme*, as well as to *Lower Burgundy* and the *Maconnois*; he shall give his eldest daughter *Mary*, or his niece, the daughter of his brother *Ferdinand*, in marriage to *Charles* duke of *Orleans*, the king's son, and in four months declare which of the two he will bestow; if his daughter, he shall settle upon her, by way of dowry, the country of *Brabant*, *Guelderland*, *Luxemburg* and *Limburg*, *Flanders*, *Holland*, *Friezeland*, *Hainault*, *Artois*, *Namur*, *Utrecht*, and all the other countries on that side, as well as *Upper Burgundy*, called *Franche Comté*, to be enjoyed by her after his own death. In consideration of which settlement, the king shall, on his side, for himself and his children renounce all right to the *Milanese*; and if the emperor's daughter shall die without children, the duke of *Orleans* shall restore all these countries, reserving his right upon the *Milanese*, in like manner as the emperor shall retain his claim to *Burgundy*: if the daughter of *Ferdinand* be pitched upon, she shall have in dower the principality of *Milan*; and the marriage with one or other of these princesses shall be consummated within the year; the king shall reinstate the duke of *Savoy* in all his dominions, and keep possession of *Hesdin*, until it shall be otherwise determined; and lastly, the emperor shall interpose his good offices for promoting a peace between *France* and *England*^a.

^a BELLEFOR. l. 6. c. 62. SLEID. Com. l. 15. in fin. FERRON. in Franc. l.

THIS treaty being signed and ratified on both sides, contrary to the opinion of almost all the world, *Charles* returned from *Soissons* to *Brabant*, and sent his *Spanish* troops into winter quarters in *Lorraine* and the neighbouring countries. But thinking the peace he had concluded not firmly cemented, while *France* was at war with the king of *England*, his ally, he prevailed upon the two kings to send their ambassadors to *Bruges*, where, with his own, and the deputies of the Protestant princes of *Germany*, conferences were begun in order to effect an accommodation between *England* and *France*; but, at that time, all their endeavours proved abortive¹.

Another
diet con-
voked at
Worms.
A. D.
1555.

The Pro-
testants re-
fuse to re-
fer them-
selves to
the council
of Trent.

THE pope, who waited for nothing but the accommodation of the emperor, and the king of *France*, in order to promote the holding of the council, which had hitherto been hindered by the wars, now issued bulls for a convocation in the month of *March* in the following year, while the emperor issued orders for assembling a diet at *Worms*, on the fourth of the same month, though he could not reach that place till the month of *May*, so much was he incommoded by the gout. The design of this meeting was to concert measures for quieting the troubles of religion, to re-establish justice and peace through the empire, and provide for the support of the war against the infidels. But the Protestants, having declared that they could not refer themselves to the council of *Trent*, and insisting upon that point's being discussed before they proceeded to any other, the emperor broke up the diet, and referred the affair to another meeting at *Ratisbon*, where he invited all the states and princes to appear in the month of *January*.

WHILE every circumstance seemed to promote discord, a war was actually begun by the ravages of *Henry* of *Brunswick*, a man of a turbulent disposition and infamous life, who had obtained a great sum of money from the king of *France*, on pretence of raising soldiers in *Germany* against the *English*; for whom *Frederic Reiffenberg* was actually employed in levying troops in *Saxony*. But *Henry* having received the money, and privately assembled a good body of forces, instead of performing his promise to *Francis*, he turned his arms against the Protestants. Though he was commanded by the emperor to desist, and submit to the laws of his country, he made an assault upon the city of *Rottenburg*; from whence being repulsed, he laid waste all the *Lower Saxony*, and threatened destruction to the maritime

¹ THUAN. l. i. 29.

towns, unless they would renounce the confederacy of *Smalcalde*. From this circumstance the Protestants began to suspect that the emperor connived at his proceedings, that he might take the advantage of his success against them; and in order to check his progress, they assembled an army, the command of which was given to *Philip* landgrave of *Hesse*, who, after some successful skirmishes, and fruitless negotiations of peace, compelled him to surrender at discretion. The emperor, who was then at *Bruges*, being informed of this event, wrote a letter to the landgrave, wherein he endeavoured to extenuate the guilt of *Henry*, whom he desired him to release, according the generous custom of their ancestors. He likewise ordered him to dismiss his troops, as the danger was now over; and if he had cause of complaint against any person for having assisted *Henry* in his excesses, he should have recourse to the determination of the law. This mildness in favour of a public disturber of the peace did not serve to extinguish the suspicion of the Protestants, which was soon after confirmed by his behaviour on another occasion; for instead of carrying on the war against the infidels, with the supplies that had been granted for that purpose, he sent *Gerard Feldwig* to *Constantinople*, who, in the name of *Ferdinand*, concluded a truce with the *Turk* ⁴.

THE prorogation of the diet, gave great umbrage to the Protestants, who expected that the emperor, in treating the article of religion, would have put a stop to the processes, which the imperial chamber had renewed against them, on account of the church lands they possessed; and they began to credit the advices they had received from different quarters, informing them that the emperor and king *Ferdinand* wanted to amuse them with false hopes, until they should have made preparations for attacking and oppressing them by open war¹. They resolved, therefore, to assemble at *Franckfort*, in order to deliberate upon the means of defending themselves, from the executions of the imperial chamber, and the other misfortunes with which they were threatened. After having weighed these matters with due attention, they determined to prolong their confederacy, and prepare for war; and understanding that *Frederic* the second, successor to his brother *Lewis*, elector palatine, had invited Protestant ministers to preach in his capital city of *Heidelberg*, they sent a messenger to him with congratulations upon his conversion^m: but the joy of this happy event was in a few days moderated, by an account they received of *Luther's* death. During the council

A. D.
1546.

*They pro-
long their
confedera-
cy, and
prepare for
war.*

*The death
of Luther.*

¹ THUAN. l. 2. p. 58. ¹ SLEID. Com. l. 16. 181. ^m HEISS. l. 3. c. 4.
2 of

of *Trent*, which was opened at the time appointed by the pope's last bull for that purpose, *Luther* had been invited by the counts of *Mansfeldt* to determine a difference which had happened among them, touching the limits of their territories. Though he had never been used to meddle in such affairs, his whole time having been dedicated to his studies, yet as he was born at *Eislaben*, a town depending upon the counts of *Mansfeldt*, he could not refuse that service to his native country, and accordingly, with the consent of the elector of *Saxony*, went thither, and was met by *Justus Jonas* and *Melancthon*, who were chosen as the other two arbiters of the dispute. But his endeavours were at that time unsuccessful in determining the difference, in which new difficulties daily occurred: however, at the earnest request of the counts, he returned a second time to the same place, accompanied by *Justus Jonas*, bishop of *Hall*, and met with a very splendid reception from the counts. His health had been for some time impaired by the vexation and chagrin, which he suffered from his differences with *Zuinglius* (U), and the decisions of *Melancthon* on these disputes. Nevertheless, he used his endeavours for settling the affair in dispute, and sometimes preached in the church, where he likewise administered the sacrament. At length he was seized with an oppression of the breast, of which he died without any marks of pain or anxiety, at the age of sixty-two. The counts of *Mansfeldt* earnestly desired that he might be buried in their territories, where he had first seen the light, and where it was his fortune to give up the ghost; but by order of the elector of *Saxony*, his body was conveyed to *Wittemberg*, and there interred with great funeral pompⁿ.

MEAN while, the infirmities of the emperor, which daily increased, having hindered him from being present at the diet of *Ratisbon* on the appointed day, it was not opened till six months after, when, perceiving that the greatest part of the Protestant princes had neglected to appear in person, and even to send deputies, and that his hopes of terminating the differences in religion were baffled, as the confederates of *Smalcalde* had paid no regard to the council, which had for

ⁿ THUAN. Hist. l. 2. p. 61.

(U) *Zuinglius* differed from *Luther* by denying the real presence in the sacrament, and affirming that salvation did not depend intirely upon grace, but upon the exercise of free will, and the practice of morality. *Melch. Adam. in vita Th. Germ.*

some

some time been opened at *Trent*, the emperor in full diet bitterly reproached them for their insolence and obstinacy, and did not scruple to declare, that for the future he would make use of his power and authority for bringing them to reason. Having foreseen that things would come to this extremity, he had sent the cardinal of *Trent* to *Rome*; in order to conclude a league with the pope, which was accordingly signed on the twenty-sixth of the same month. By this treaty it was agreed, that the pope should furnish the emperor with twelve thousand *Italian* foot soldiers, five hundred horse, and two hundred thousand golden crowns to be deposited at *Venice*; that *Charles* should, for one year, levy in the pope's name one-half of the church revenues through all *Spain*, and even be at liberty to mortgage the income of monasteries in that kingdom, to the amount of five hundred thousand golden crowns, for the expence of the war, on condition that he should give security for repayment out of his own estates; because the expedient was without example; that they should, with all their force, oppose every person who should pretend to thwart their enterprize, and reciprocally assist each other during the continuance of the war, and even for six months after it should be at an end; and lastly, that every prince and state should be admitted into the league, upon condition of participating of the gain and expence of the undertaking. This confederacy between the emperor and the pope acted as a caution upon other princes to be upon their guard, and produced a peace between *France* and *England*, which was concluded at the same time °.

The emperor concludes a treaty with the pope against the Protestants

Now that a rupture was inevitable, the emperor published a manifesto, in which he declared, that he did not take up arms on the score of religion; but was obliged to proceed to that extremity by the rebellion of certain people, who contemned the decrees of the diets, assembled without order, excited foreign powers against him, pillaged the princes of the empire, and, by a constant exercise of violence and oppression, endeavoured to destroy the freedom and security of the public. This manifesto was answered by the Protestants, whose chiefs were *John Frederic* elector of *Saxony*, and *Philip* landgrave of *Hesse*, who affirmed, that notwithstanding the emperor's declaration, he had undertaken the war with a view to tyrannize over the consciences of men; and to convince him, that they would not be tamely oppressed, they, in a little time, assembled an army consisting of eighty thou-

° SLEID. Com. l. 17. p. 203.

land foot and ten thousand horse; with an hundred and thirty pieces of cannon.

The landgrave of Hesse takes the field; and is, together with John Frederic elector of Saxony, put to the ban of the empire.

THE emperor had used his endeavours to assemble his troops privately, in order to attack the allies of *Smalcald* before they should be in a posture of defence; but he was disappointed by the vigilance of the landgrave, who had taken the field with his army, after having sent prince *William*, his eldest son, who was then in the sixteenth year of his age, into the city of *Strasburg*, which was well fortified for his security. Mean while, *Charles* put *John Frederic* elector of *Saxony*, and *Philip* landgrave of *Hesse* to the ban of the empire, declaring them perturbators of the public peace, violators of the faith, transgressors of the law, and usurpers of church-lands and whole provinces, taxing them, at the same time, with having made use of the specious names of religion, peace, and liberty, in order to seduce their fellow-subjects from their duty to their country, and their allegiance to their emperor. He sent this declaration to *Maurice* duke of *Saxony*, and his brother *Augustus*, the elector's cousins, together with the reasons that obliged him to proscribe their kinsman; and, in order to engage these noblemen in his interest, and to persuade the world that it was not a religious war, he promised the electorate to *Maurice*, although he was a *Lutheran*. At the same time, he ordered his troops to march into the territories of the elector, though they were not yet equal to those of the confederates either in number or munitions of war; and after having placed a strong garrison in *Ratisbon*, he took the field, and occupied an advantageous post, upon the river *Izer*, between *Landshut* and the camp of the landgrave. There he was joined by the troops of the pope, amounting to ten thousand foot and five hundred horse; and soon after, he received another reinforcement of six thousand veteran *Spaniards* from *Naples* and *Milan*; so that his army being augmented to five and forty thousand choice men, he was in a condition to quit his camp, and act against the confederates. While he kept this post, which was in the dominions of the elector of *Bavaria*, a difference arose between the landgrave of *Hesse* and the elector of *Saxony*: this last having proposed to attack the emperor, before he should be reinforced, and the former objecting to that expedient, as an insult and injury offered to the elector of *Bavaria*, whom they looked upon as a well-wisher to their cause. At length, however, they wrote a letter to that prince, explaining their grievances,

P JOACH. CAMERAR. de Bell. Small. ex Fich. t. iii. p. 479. SACRIT. Hist. Jo. Fred. § 17.

and

and intreating him to compel *Charles* to evacuate *Ingolstadt* and *Rain*. In answer to this request, he gave them to understand, that as he was not strong enough to oppose the Imperialists, he must be excused from attempting an enterprise that would be productive of his own ruin; and that he hoped, he should not on this account be considered as an enemy by the confederates.

In consequence of this ambiguous answer, they resolved to undertake the siege of *Ratisbon*, in which there was an imperial garrison, and to occupy an advantageous place, where they might fight the emperor in case he should come to the relief of the city. *Charles* having by this time assembled all his forces, except those that were expected from *Lower Germany*, under the command of the count *de Buren*, put his army in motion; and the Protestants suspecting that his design was to invade *Misnia* and *Saxony*, immediately built bridges and crossed the *Danube*; but afterwards understanding that he took the route to *Ingolstadt*, they regained that river by another road, in order to prevent him from taking possession of *Newburg* and *Danawert*, and opening a passage into the country of *Wurtemberg*. Finding the emperor encamped at *Ingolstadt*, they drew up their army in order of battle, and had they attacked his camp, in all probability, that day would have put an end to the war; but after some inconsiderable skirmishes they withdrew their forces, and next day he was too well fortified to dread their attempts. After having trifled away some days, during which the emperor kept himself intrenched, they decamped with a view to hinder his junction with the count *de Buren*, who being, by a special messenger from *Charles*, informed of their design, eluded them by changing his route, and safely arrived in the imperial camp. Thus reinforced, the emperor marched to *Newburg*, which was surrendered to him without opposition: then he moved to *Marxheim*, from whence he set out for *Danawert*; but for the convenience of the situation, turned to the right, and encamped at *Moheim*. In this march the two armies skirmished with each other, and *Albert*, son of *Philip* duke of *Brunswic*, was mortally wounded in one of these rencounters. Here the confederates had resolved to attack *Charles* in his camp; but he having received notice of their intention, thought fit to remove to *Danawert*, which had a few days before been taken by a detachment of his army. Without specifying the particulars of this campaign, which produced no general action, it will be sufficient to observe, that the affairs of the Protestants were ruined by the dissensions between the elector of *Saxony* and the landgrave of *Hesse*, who being invested

The Protestant army marches towards Ratisbon,

Charles takes the route to Ingolstadt.

with an equal command, often opposed each other with great animosity, to the detriment, and, indeed, the destruction of the common cause. Many fair opportunities were lost by this contention: want of vigour and unanimity appeared in all their operations, while the strength and vigilance of *Charles* every day increased; so that, towards the latter end of the year, the chiefs were fain to solicit an accommodation; but he proposed such hard conditions, that they resolved to continue the war rather than submit to a shameful peace: though by this time the elector of *Saxony* was stript of his dominions by count *Maurice* and his brother, who taking advantage of their uncle's absence, and being joined by the forces of *Ferdinand* king of the *Romans*, possessed themselves of almost all the electorate⁹.

A. D.

1547.

The duke
of Wir-
temberg
and divers
cities

withdraw
themselves
from the
confedera-
cy, and
make peace
with the
emperor.

ULRIC duke of *Wirtemberg*, seeing the declining situation of their affairs, withdrew himself from the confederacy, and submitted to the emperor, in which conduct he was imitated by the cities of *Ulm*, *Frankfort*, *Memmingen*, *Bibrach*, *Ravensburg*, *Kempton*, *Augsburg*, and *Strasbourg*.

THE Protestant party being very much weakened by this separation, the elector of *Saxony* endeavoured to repair their loss by converting to their advantage, the correspondence which he had maintained in *Bohemia*, with those that professed the reformed religion. For this purpose he approached the confines of that kingdom, but was disappointed by the foresight and care of *Ferdinand*, and constrained to make a shameful retreat towards his own dominions. This misfortune touched him the nearer, as he at the same time found the hopes extinguished which he had conceived from *England* and *France*, the kings of which two nations were now dead, at a juncture when he had reason to expect powerful assistance from both. The emperor would not let slip so fair an opportunity of terminating the war; and, therefore, having received advice that the elector of *Saxony*, since his return to his own country, had surprised *Frieberg* and *Meissen*, two places belonging to duke *Maurice*, he resolved to pursue him with all expedition, in order to stop the progress of his success; and early in the spring set out from *Egra* with his whole army, accompanied with king *Ferdinand*, who commanded six hundred cuirassiers, a thousand hussars, and ten companies of foot; and *Maurice* and *Augustus*, dukes of *Saxony*, at the head of a like number of troops. Thus attended, *Charles*

⁹ JOACH. CAM. ubi sup. SIM. STEN. vit. Mau. Sax. Elec. ex Fich. t. iii. p. 525 & seq. THUAN. Hist. l. 2. p. 76. & seq. SLEID. Com. l. 18. p. 218, 219, 221.

marched

marched with such dispatch, that he had well nigh taken the elector by surprize; for he had detached his *Hungarian* and *Spanish* horse with orders to secure the roads, and apprehend every person they should meet, that his march might be kept secret. This precaution succeeded so well, that he had already entered *Misnia*, and was very near the troops of the elector, before they had the least intimation of his approach. When he was within a day's march of them, the two armies being separated by the river *Elbe*, and understood from his scouts that the elector was encamped near *Mulberg* with nine thousand men, he advanced in order to attack him; and several officers, perceiving the *Hungarian* and *Spanish* troops on the other side of the river, advised the elector to retire to *Wirtemberg*. But that prince, who could not believe that the emperor was so near him, mistook those troops for the forces of duke *Maurice*, which he despised, and would not at any rate decamp till after service, because it happened to be the Lord's day. Before the emperor arrived on the banks of the river, duke *Maurice* sent some officers to inform the elector of his imperial majesty's approach, and to advise him to send deputies to *Charles* to sue for peace. He at the same time promised to use all his influence in his behalf, and gave him to understand that the emperor was very well disposed to listen to terms of accommodation. The elector answered, he was not yet reduced to the necessity of suing for peace, as he was possessed of three great advantages, which hindered him from dreading the attempts of his enemy; that he was secured by a deep river, a vast forest, and the town of *Wirtemberg* in the neighbourhood, of which he would not fail to profit, according to the emergency of his affairs. He, therefore, rejected the advice of duke *Maurice*, and made proper dispositions of his forces and artillery on the banks of the river, in order to hinder the imperial troops from fording or throwing a bridge over it, as well as to defend a bridge of boats which he himself had made. But seeing the emperor arrive, and his guards attacked by about a thousand *Spaniards*, who had courage enough to wade the river, and even use their bows in the middle of the stream, he set fire to his bridge of boats, one part of which was consumed, while the other, being separated from the bank, was carried down by the course of the river. Upon this occasion, some of the *Spanish* soldiers swam across with their swords in their mouths, and notwithstanding a shower of arrows that was discharged upon them, seized the boats and carried them to the other side, where, together with those the emperor had brought thither upon waggons, they were formed into a bridge sufficient

The elector
is defeated
and taken
prisoner.

cient for the passage of his army and baggage. The elector, who during this transaction was at church hearing sermon, being informed of their success, ordered his army to decamp and march towards *Wirtemberg*; but the emperor, who knew the fate of that day depended upon his expedition, commanded his hussars and light horse to pass the river without delay, and pursue the Saxons, while he himself followed with the rest of his army. Accordingly, he overtook the elector in the forest, about three miles on the other side of the *Elbe*; and, after having exhorted his people to do their duty, began the attack, his cavalry being divided into two bodies; in the first of which were the duke of *Alba*, *Lanoy*, *Antonio de Toledo*, *Baptista Spinella*, and duke *Maurice*, while the second was conducted by the emperor in person, accompanied by king *Ferdinand*, with his two sons, and the prince of *Savoy*. The elector would have been in a condition to stand his ground, had all his troops been assembled in one body; but he had left part of them at *Wirtemberg*, while *William Thumstrien* commanded another detachment in *Bohemia*, which the activity of the emperor did not give him time to call in; so that, after an obstinate engagement, which lasted till night, he was overwhelmed by the number of his enemies, and compelled to surrender prisoner of war (X).

As soon as the elector of *Brandenburg* understood the event of this battle, he waited upon the emperor, who had gone to besiege *Wirtemberg*; and though *John Frederic*, elector of *Saxony*, was already condemned as a rebel to be be-

SLEID. l. 19. p. 227. HORTLEDER, t. ii. l. 2. c. 68, 69. THUAN. l. 4. p. 141. SAGITT. Hist. Jo. Fred.

(X) This battle was fought in a wood called *der Schwainhart*, where the elector was wounded in the cheek while he fought with great intrepidity. At length, being surrounded by the enemy, so that he could not possibly escape, he surrendered to one *Thilon Trotte*, a gentleman of *Misnia*, who conducted him to the duke of *Alba*, by whom being presented to the emperor, "I surrender myself (said he) prisoner to your imperial majesty, and all the favour I ask is a pri-

son suitable to my rank." Charles answered with an air of disdain, "You own me then at length your emperor---well, I will treat you as you deserve." So saying, he turned his back upon him, and went away, while king *Ferdinand* reproached him in much harsher terms. *Ernestus* duke of *Brunswick* was also taken prisoner in this battle; but the electoral prince, though wounded, found means to escape to *Wirtemberg*, with about four hundred men. Heiss. l. 3. c. 4.

headed,

headed, with a confiscation of his electoral dignity and dominions, which were conferred upon duke *Maurice*; the elector of *Brandenburg* solicited so pressingly, and so effectually in his behalf, that his life was saved upon conditions which he himself was glad to ratify. In consideration of this pardon, he renounced the electoral dignity for himself and his children, leaving to the emperor the power to dispose of it according to his good pleasure: he promised to restore to *Charles* the towns of *Wirtemberg* and *Gotha*, with their artillery and one-third of their provision, the other two-thirds, with all the moveables and utensils, being appropriated to the use of the duke. It was likewise stipulated, that the garrisons should march out without colours; that the elector should set at liberty *Albert* marquis of *Brandenburg*, and restore all he had taken from him, while the emperor should behave in the same manner to *Ernestus* duke of *Brunswic* and his son; that the prisoner should yield up all he had taken during the war from the counts of *Mansfeldt* and *Solmer*, as well as from the master of the order of *St. John* of *Prussia*; that he should renounce his right to *Magdeburg*, *Halberstadt*, and *Hall*, obey the imperial chamber, contribute towards the maintenance of its officers, and procure the release of *Henry* duke of *Brunswic* and his son, who were kept prisoners by the landgrave of *Hesse*; that he should abandon every alliance he had engaged in against the emperor and *Ferdinand*, and enter into none for the future without comprehending them, their provinces, and allies; that he should have an allowance of fifty thousand crowns a year for the maintenance of himself and his family, to be deducted from the electorate and the other lands conferred upon duke *Maurice*; that, with the permission of the said duke, and under the good pleasure of the emperor, he should retain the town of *Gotha*, after having demolished the castle and fortifications; on these conditions, all other punishment should be remitted, except that of his remaining in custody under a guard of the emperor or the prince of *Spain* his son. By virtue of this treaty, the city of *Wirtemberg* was immediately put into the hands of the emperor, after the princess *Sybilla* of *Cleves*, the prisoner's wife, her son, and brother-in law, had retired from it with the garrison. This great affair being thus determined, the elector of *Brandenburg* and *Maurice* duke of *Saxony*, resolved, if possible, to effect an accommodation between the emperor and the landgrave of *Hesse*; for whom they interceded so powerfully, that *Charles* agreed to the project of a treaty, importing, that the

The elector of Brandenburg intercedes in his behalf.

Conditions of his pardon.

The elector of Brandenburg and the duke of Saxony propose articles of accommodation between the emperor and the landgrave of Hesse.

landgrave should come in person and ask pardon on his knees of the emperor; that he should, for the future, behave himself with that respect and obedience which he owed to his imperial majesty; observe the decrees made for the good of the commonwealth; submit to the judgment of the chamber, and contribute to its support, as well as to that of the war against the *Turks*; renounce all sorts of confederacies, and in particular that of *Smalcalde*, and deliver all the writings of that league to the emperor; that he should make no alliance in which the emperor and king *Ferdinand* should not be included; that he should defend the frontiers of his country against all the emperor's enemies; that he should not undertake the defence of any person whom the emperor wanted to chastise; but, on the contrary, punish all those of his subjects who should presume to carry arms against his imperial majesty, to whom, in case of necessity, he should grant a free passage through his territories; that he should recal all his vassals and subjects in the service of any power at war against the emperor; and if they would not obey the summons in fifteen days, confiscate their estates for his imperial majesty's use; that towards the expence of the war he should, in four months, furnish an hundred and fifty thousand crowns, demolish all his fortresses and castles, except *Ziggenheim* and *Cassel*, and oblige the garrisons to enter into the service of the emperor, without whose permission no place in his dominions should, for the future, be fortified; that he should deliver up all his artillery and munitions of war, of which his majesty would occasionally supply him with what should be barely necessary for the defence of those places that remained; that he should set at liberty *Henry* duke of *Brunswic* and his son, restore their country, and repair the damage they had sustained at his hands; that he should part with all he had usurped either from the order of *St. John of Jerusalem*, or the *Teutonic* order; engage in no enterprize against the king of *Denmark*, or any other of those who had favoured or assisted the emperor; but, on the contrary, release all the prisoners of war without ransom; that he should appear at trial, in order to satisfy all those who should have any demands upon him at law; that these articles should be ratified by his children, and the nobility and commonalty of his country, who should oblige themselves to deliver him up to the emperor, in case he should infringe any part of his promise; and that the elector of *Brandenburg*, duke *Maurice*, and *Wolfgang* count palatine, should become guarantees of the treaty, and employ their forces against him, in case he should violate his engagements. These conditions being thus concerted,

certed, were communicated to the landgrave, who, by the advice of the states of his country, accepted them, with the proviso, that he should not be obliged to submit to any future clause.

THE emperor, seeing this affair in such forwardness, put duke *Maurice* in possession of the city of *Wirtemberg*, and advanced towards *Hesse*, with a view to invade it, in case the landgrave should alter his resolution; but that prince repaired to *Hall*, in order to wait upon him, and signed a treaty, tho' he at first hesitated upon an additional clause, importing, that the emperor reserved to himself a right of explaining all doubts that might arise upon any of the articles. The treaty Charles being thus executed, he was conducted by the elector of *Brandenburg* and *Maurice* duke of *Saxony* to the emperor, *receives* the submission of the landgrave, seated upon his throne, before which he kneeled, while his chancellor read a paper, signifying that the landgrave asked pardon for the offence he had committed against his imperial majesty, and humbly begged to be re-admitted into his favour, which he should endeavour to deserve by his future fidelity, respect, and obedience. The emperor answered by the mouth of *George Hilde*, that though the landgrave had deserved a very severe chastisement, as he himself owned, yet out of regard to the intercession of some princes, who interested themselves in his behalf, he was neither condemned to death, proscription, nor the loss of his estate, the emperor contenting himself with the execution of the articles specified in the treaty, and being pleased to pardon his vassals and subjects, provided they would faithfully adhere to the letter of this accommodation, and acknowledge, as became them, the favour they had received. The landgrave believing the emperor was sincere, returned thanks for his clemency; and, as he had remained a long time on his knees, rose up on his own accord. In the evening he was invited to supper, together with the elector of *Brandenburg* and duke *Maurice*, at the lodgings of the duke of *Alba*, where he found himself arrested by order of the emperor. His two friends, the elector and duke *Maurice*, were extremely concerned at this unjustifiable act of oppression; and, in order to console the prisoner, staid with him all the night, assuring him they would use their whole influence in procuring his release. Accordingly they, next day, waited upon the emperor, to whom they complained of this outrage, humbly beseeching him to set the landgrave at liberty, according to the convention which they guaranteed, in consequence of his majesty's promise. The

Who is arrested, contrary to the articles of the treaty.

Id. ibid.

The electors of Saxony and Brandenburg protest against this breach of faith.

emperor answered, that he had never promised the prisoner should not be detained, but that he should be exempted from perpetual imprisonment; and to support this assertion, produced the treaty, in which his ministers, in order to elude the true meaning of the accommodation, had perfidiously foisted in one word for another (Y), which, instead of securing the landgrave's liberty, subjected him to imprisonment^u. The two intercessors protested against this alteration; and, after long debates, the emperor sent notice to the landgrave, that he might go about his business; but, at the same time, refused to favour him with a safe-conduct, notwithstanding the earnest solicitations of the princes in his behalf; and two days after he was ordered to follow the emperor, a command which he obeyed with the greater resignation, as the elector and duke *Maurice* had assured him they would not leave the emperor until he should be set at liberty. Accordingly they attended his imperial majesty to *Naumburg*, renewing their importunities without ceasing, until they were forbid to proceed farther, otherwise the landgrave should be sent into *Spain*. Thus restricted, they were fain to desist, after having communicated their reasons to the prisoner, whom they advised to pay the hundred and fifty thousand crowns without delay, and give security for the execution of the other articles of the treaty: circumstances which, in all probability, would induce the emperor to give him his freedom; and they assured him, they would not fail to be at the diet appointed to meet on the first of *September* next at *Augsburg*, where they would exert their whole power for his interest. According to their advice, the landgrave, who bore his captivity with extreme impatience, ordered the money to be raised, and the fortresses to be demolished, with a view to facilitate his enlargement; but after the sum was paid, the forts demolished, and the cannon delivered up, he found himself still a prisoner as much as ever. This perfidious behaviour of the emperor with regard to the landgrave, incensed not only the princes who had negotiated the accommodation, but likewise almost all the states of *Germany*, before whom they resolved to lay their public complaints at the ensuing diet. In effect, some time after the opening of that

^u SAND. Hist. del imperad. Carl. V. l. 29.

(Y) The original expression was *ohne einige gefangus*, which, in the German language, signifies, without being confined in any prison; but in lieu of *einige*,

signifying any, the ministers of Charles had writ *civige*, that is perpetual. *Spond. Con. t. ix. p. 241.*

assembly, the ambassadors of *Saxony* and *Brandenburg* did not fail to join the princess of *Hesse* and her sons in soliciting the liberty of the landgrave, and in remonstrating that the prisoner had already fulfilled all the conditions of his treaty with the emperor^x. But *Charles* eluded their solicitations, by giving the diet to understand, that of three points on which they were chiefly to deliberate, the discussion of that which concerned the interest of particulars ought to be delayed until they should have come to some resolution on the other two, which regarded the general good of the empire: for he declared his principal aim was to re-establish the peace of *Germany*, by a re-union of those who had been divided on the score of religion, and by a free and impartial administration of justice under the authority of the laws, which had been trampled upon, to the disgrace of the *Germanic* nation^y.

The emperor explains himself to the diet.

THE first article created long and obstinate disputes; for the pope had transferred the council of *Trent* to *Bologna*, where he resolved to continue the sitting, notwithstanding the pressing instances of the emperor and the princes of the empire, who besought him to remit the council to *Trent*, and protested against all the proceedings at *Bologna*. This inflexibility of the pope obliged *Charles* to find out some medium, by which he might please both parties, and the best expedient he could pitch upon, was to employ learned men in composing a regulation upon all the controverted points of religion, until the council should have published a final decree, by which the orthodox faith would be established. As he thought it would still be his interest to keep measures with the pope, he sent this project of regulation to his holiness, who objected to two articles contained in it, namely, the marriage of priests, and the administration of the communion in both kinds to the laity. Notwithstanding this opposition of the pope, it was presented to the diet, where it was received as a kind of decree, for which the elector of *Mentz* thanked the emperor, in the name of the states, although they had vested him with no such commission. The Catholics murmured at this formula, which was called *ad interim*, as if they had thought the emperor intended to change the essence of religion; but he told them, that what he had done related only to the *Lutherans*, whose affections he wanted to conciliate by this indulgence; but that as for the Catholics, they were at liberty to adhere to their ancient customs; and, indeed, in his constitution they are expressly

Where the Formula ad interim is received,

^x THUAN. Hist. l. 4. p. 149. CHYTRÆ. l. 17. p. 437.
^y HEISS. l. 3. c. 4.

enjoined to stand firm in their faith, for the advantage and union of the church².

HAVING taken this measure, which was agreeable to neither party, and only received by compulsion, he proceeded to the deliberations of the administration of justice, and the authority of the laws, when he insinuated to the states, that if they would leave these matters to his care, he would employ his whole attention in redressing that grievance; and, in the mean time, as the imperial chamber was in a manner overwhelmed with business, he proposed to add ten to the number of assessors, that the causes might be decided with more dispatch. The states subscribed to his advice without hesitation, and referred the whole affair to his management, promising to contribute to any additional expence he should think necessary. As for the last point, concerning the particular interest of some princes and states of the empire, *Charles* declared that he himself would take cognizance of these complaints; and, in order to appease *Maurice* duke of Saxony, who still insisted upon the landgrave's being set at liberty, he in full diet confirmed to him the territories of *John Frederic*, duke of Saxony, and the electoral dignity, not only for himself and his heirs male, but these failing, for his brother duke *Augustus* and his sons; still, however, deducting those lands which were reserved for the maintenance of *John Frederic* and his successors. *Charles*, having disembarassed himself of this troublesome business, had no other point to gain at this diet except that of persuading the states to grant him a considerable supply for the necessities of the empire; and he succeeded so well in his endeavours, that they were prevailed upon not only to comply with his request, but also to grant a hundred thousand crowns a year to king *Ferdinand*, till the expiration of his truce with the *Turk*. They moreover agreed, that all the provinces which the emperor possessed in *High* and *Low Germany*, should be put under the protection of the empire, on condition of their contributing their quota of subsidies in proportion with the other states, in all public emergencies, without, however, suffering any innovation upon their own laws and jurisdictions; and lastly, that the general peace of the empire might be the better secured, it was resolved that the constitution of public peace, enacted by his grandfather the emperor *Maximilian*, should be renewed and augmented; and this was actually corroborated with another new constitution, having the full force of a law through the whole empire³.

The emperor confirms the electoral dignity to Maurice duke of Saxony.

² SPOND. CONT. t. ix. p. 255.
p. 178.

³ THUAN. HECTOR. l. 5.

BEFORE the diet was dismissed, he ordered letters patent to be expedited, inviting and requiring the states, particularly those of the confession of *Augsburg*, to assist at the council as soon as it should be re-established at *Trent*, promising that all points should be examined and discussed, according to the scripture and doctrine of the holy fathers: and that the prelates and theologicians of the Protestant faith, should be as favourably received as those of the other persuasion (Z).

A. D.
1549.

THE deputies were no sooner departed, than the emperor set out for the *Low Countries*, having ordered his son *Philip* to meet him at *Brussels*: that young prince being in *Spain*, could not arrive in *Flanders* till the beginning of the following year, when he was acknowledged as the presumptive heir of *Charles*, in the *Low Countries*, the states of which did homage to him in that quality ^b.

Charles sets out for the Low Countries
A. D.
1549.

SOME time after this transaction, the emperor, as a testimony of his zeal for the church, issued an edict against all who should profess any other than the Catholic orthodox religion, and even established divers tribunals of inquisition, to proceed against those who should transgress the edict, and condemn them to the penalties therein expressed. This decree was the torch that lighted up a flame which could never be extinguished; for the governors of those provinces, with a view to signalize their own conformity with the zeal of their master's, successively extended their power to such acts of tyranny and oppression, that the subjects, thinking themselves authorised by that necessity which can stoop to no law, shook off the yoke, had recourse to arms, and put themselves in a posture of defence. In a word, this revolt prospered to such a degree, that the oppressors, far from being able to reduce the rebels to obedience, were obliged in the sequel to receive them as friends, and own them for sovereigns; and had the mortification to see not only *Lutheranism*, but also all

Where he establishes tribunals of inquisition.

^b SLIDAN. l. 21. p. 261.

(Z) About this time, *Vergorius*, whom we have had occasion to mention as the pope's ambassador to the princes of *Germany*, renounced the *Roman* Catholic religion, and embraced the doctrine of *Luther*. Hearing that he had been represented to the pope as a favourer of the Protestants, he, in order to refute the aspersion, undertook

a work against the apostates of *Germany*; but in examining the arguments on both sides, he was so struck with the force of truth, that he became a zealous defender of the doctrine he intended to impugn; and afterwards made a convert of his brother *John Baptista*, bishop of *Pola*, in *Istria*. *Slidan*. l. 21. p. 255.

forts

sorts of religions introduced and tolerated in the country; so ture it is that violence and restraint in matters of religion are very dangerous and impolitic remedies.

The Protestants protest openly against the Formula ad interim.

A. D.
1550.

THIS unlucky edict filled all the *Low Countries* with consternation and despair; but particularly affected the *German* merchants who traded at *Antwerp*; and it gave such umbrage to the *Lutheran* princes and states, who had resumed their courage on seeing part of the emperor's troops disbanded, that they ventured to protest openly against the *Formula ad interim*, which even those rejected by whom it had been formerly received^c. At the ensuing diet, which was held at *Augsburg*, *Charles* loudly complained of this protest, with a view to prevent all troublesome consequences; and, in order to please the Protestants, abolished the inquisition in the *Low Countries*, so far as it regarded foreign merchants. He, moreover, in confirming the decree of *Interim*, assured the states, that the differences in religion would soon be determined by the council, which pope *Julius* the third had, by this time, re-established at *Trent*; where Christians of all denominations, even those who had changed their religion, should have liberty to propose their sentiments, under his protection and safe-conduct. Thinking by these expedients, which met with no opposition, that the Protestant princes were satisfied, he dismissed the assembly; and his son *Philip*, who had been there in person, soon after set out for *Italy*, on his return to *Spain*, with his brother-in-law *Maximilian*, son of *Ferdinand*, who accompanied him thither, in order to carry back with him into *Germany* his wife *Mary*, who, by this time, was delivered of two children.

Charles is solicited to set the landgrave at liberty.

A. D.
1551.

FROM *Augsburg* the emperor removed to *Innsbruck*, where he resolved to pass some months, that he might be near the council of *Trent*, and at hand to make the necessary provision for the war of *Parma*, against *Henry* the second, king of *France*, who supported the interest of *Octavius Farnese*, lord of *Parma*, which the pope wanted to possess in exchange for some other territory^d. Hither *Charles* was followed by the ambassadors of *Saxony* and *Brandenburg*, who pressingly solicited him to set the landgrave at liberty: he was likewise importuned, on the same subject, by the king of *Denmark* and several other princes, who endeavoured to prevent the evil consequences which the long and severe captivity of that prince might intail upon *Germany*. The emperor continued to amuse these intercessors with vain promises, and declared

^c HEISS. Hist de L'Empire, l. 3. c. 4. SPOND. CONT. t. ix. p. 273. ^d BELLEFÖR. l. 6. c. 71.

that he would actually accommodate the affair with *Maurice* elector of *Saxony*, whom he ordered to attend him for that purpose. *Maurice*, who from this answer, which had been so often repeated, foresaw that nothing was to be expected from the justice or good-will of *Charles*, resolved to put an end to the negotiation, and take another method which would be more effectual. He likewise wanted an opportunity of effacing (if possible) the bad impression of his character, which his conduct had made among those of his own religion, who believed he had sacrificed to his ambition *John Frederic*, duke of *Saxony*, his own kinsman and benefactor, who they suspected was still detained in prison by means of his secret intelligence with the emperor. With a view, therefore, to regain their esteem and affection, which he knew he should never retrieve but by attacking *Charles*, whom they considered as the tyrant of their consciences and liberty, he endeavoured by all possible means to put himself in a condition to support a war against the emperor; and, indeed, he conducted himself with such secrecy and address, that the world was surprised to find he had, by the intervention of *Albert* marquis of *Brandenburg*, entered into a league with the king of *France*, and retained in his service not only the *German* troops which had been employed in the siege of *Magdeburg*, but also those who had evacuated the city in consequence of the accommodation (A). He had likewise secured the assistance of *Joachim* elector of *Brandenburg*, *Frederic* count palatine, the dukes of *Wirtemberg*, *Deux-ponts*, and *Mecklenburg*, and *Ernestus* marquis of *Baden*; but he determined to declare himself at this time, because he looked upon it as the most favourable conjuncture that ever could occur; for the emperor was on one hand occupied in the war of *Parma* against the *French*; and on the other, *Ferdinand* was embroiled with the *Turk*, who had marched into *Hungary*, on pretence that he and the emperor had broke the truce; the last in besieging and taking the town of *Afric* in *Barbary*, and the other in seizing certain places in *Hungary*, which had been possessed by the *Turks*: besides, *Charles* had scarce

A. D.

1552.

Maurice makes preparations for war.

* THUAN. l. 8. p. 281.

† Bos. Hist. Jerosol. p. 3. l. 15.

(A) The city of *Magdeburg* had been proscribed by the emperor, because the inhabitants would not obey the decrees of the diet, and turned the clergy out of their benefices. The

town was besieged by *Maurice* duke of *Saxony*, at the desire of the states, and, after a very obstinate defence, surrendered upon capitulation. *Stridan. l. 23. p. 284.*

any

and takes
the field.

Charles
being
struck
with con-
sternation
sends his
brother
Ferdinand
to the elec-
tor with
proposals of
peace.

any other troops than those he had withdrawn from *Saxony*, to assist at the siege of *Magdeburg*, during which, *Maurice*, who commanded in chief, had gained a great number of the officers over to his interest. Thus prepared, he took the field with his army, at the same time publishing a manifesto, that contained his reasons for having recourse to that extremity: he at once made himself master of the towns that were in his route; and advancing into *Suabia*, invested the city of *Augsburg*, which he reduced in a few days; from thence he marched towards the *Alps*, in order to secure the passages against the *Spanish* and *Italian* troops; and his approach immediately dissipated the council of *Trent*: the bishops who composed that assembly having fled to different places of greater safety, after they had prorogued the council for two years, or longer, provided an accommodation among the princes could not be effected before that period. Mean while, the emperor himself was struck with such consternation at this unforeseen progress of *Maurice*, that he forthwith dispatched king *Ferdinand* to treat with him about conditions of peace.

THESE two princes had an interview at *Lintz*, where the elector, who designed to surprize the emperor at *Inspruck*, endeavoured to amuse *Ferdinand* with pacific professions, and a mutual agreement, importing, that an assembly should be held at *Passau*, on a certain day, to deliberate upon the means of concluding an accommodation, and that a truce for fifteen days should commence on the first day of meeting. This stratagem in some measure succeeded; for while *Ferdinand* returned to the emperor, to give an account of his negotiation, *Maurice*, resolving to make the best use of the intermediate time, advanced with great expedition, and forcing, with equal gallantry and success, the passes of the vallies that lead to *Inspruck*, took the castle of *Ereniberg*, and would certainly have seized the emperor's person had not *Charles* fled in the night, being conveyed in a litter on account of the gout, by which he was tormented, and having no other attendants than his brother *Ferdinand* and *John Frederic* of *Saxony*, to whom he granted his liberty on this occasion. These three, without any other equipage, which, indeed, the hurry of their flight would not permit them to prepare, retired with great fear and precipitation to *Villacha* on the *Drau*; and *Maurice* advanced with such expedition, that next day he entered *Inspruck*, where all that belonged to the emperor's court was abandoned to pillage, though the equipage of *Ferdinand* was spared, and the citizens carefully protected from violence and plunder, he being desirous to convince them that

that he had not taken up arms to enrich himself, but solely to redress the grievances of those who were oppressed &.

WHILE the elector pursued *Charles* with such activity, the king of *France*, in consequence of the treaty which he had subscribed, marched to the frontiers with a powerful army, and possessed himself of *Verdun*, *Toul*, and *Metz*, together with *Nanci* and the whole country of *Lorraine*, from whence he advanced to *Hagenau*, in order to make a diversion in favour of his allies ^h.

The king of France makes himself master of Verdun, Toul, Metz, and Nanci.

THE emperor, having posted himself in a place where he could no longer apprehend any insult from the elector of *Saxony*, his whole care was employed in assembling as great a number of troops as he could bring together at the foot of the *Alps*, that he might be in a condition not only to oppose the progress of the enemy, but also to support the *Roman Catholic* party, during the continuance of the assembly at *Passau*, where the princes actually met upon an appointed day, in order to concert measures for an accommodation. Before the deliberations began, the Protestants received a message from *Charles*, importing, that he would send the landgrave's head to *Maurice*, provided he should refuse to accept the terms of peace proposed. This menace had its weight with the elector and the chiefs of his party; and both sides exerted their endeavours towards an agreement so heartily, that in a few months they concluded the famous treaty known by the name of the *Pacification of Passau* ⁱ (B).

The pacification of Passau.

IN consequence of this peace, the landgrave was set at liberty; but afterwards arrested at *Maestricht*, by order of queen *Mary*, governess of the *Low Countries*, who said she could not enlarge him, until she should know the emperor's pleasure more particularly on that subject. Her pretence for apprehending him was, that *Reiffenberg*, who was in the service of the landgrave's son, had, with his troops, joined *Albert* marquis of *Brandenburg*, one of the princes engaged in the Protestant alliance with *France*. This conduct she considered as a violation of the peace. But he was soon discharged, by the command of the emperor, and in six days after arrived in his own territories.

^h BEUTHER. Com. l. 7. p. 86.
p. 952,

^h MEZ. Abr. Chron. t. ii.

ⁱ THUAN. Hist. l. 10. p. 365.

(B) As this treaty is considered by the Protestants as the basis of their religious liberty, we shall insert it verbatim at the end of this history.

The emperor
marches
against the
king of
France.

Is joined by
the mar-
quis of
Branden-
burg, and
besieges
Metz,
from
whence he
is obliged
to retire.

A. D.
1553.

CHARLES the fifth, whose chief aim in granting their indulgences to the Protestants, was to procure their assistance against *Henry* the second of *France*, found means to engage their whole force in his interest; and seeing himself at the head of fourscore thousand men, resolved to be revenged upon his rival without delay. For which purpose he immediately began his march to *Strasburg*, where he was very well received by the magistrates of the city; and, while his army passed the *Rhine*, he chose his head-quarters in a village near *Haguenau*. Six whole days were consumed in transporting his troops, cannon, and baggage, when advancing to *Landau*, he remained inactive sixteen days longer, and did not begin the siege of *Metz* until the twenty-second of *October*. By these delays the duke of *Guise* had time to take all the necessary precautions, and accordingly he supplied the cities of *Metz* and *Nancy* with all sorts of munitions of war; and a good number of gentlemen volunteers went into those places, in order to signalize themselves in their defence. *Albert* marquis of *Brandenburg* had hitherto continued firmly attached to his engagements with *France*, and at that time occupied a post near *Pont a Mousson*, with fifty companies of foot and a good number of cavalry: but having changed his sentiments at the approach of the emperor, he carried on a secret negotiation with that prince, and, on the fourth of *November*, actually joined him in his camp before *Metz*, after having routed and made prisoner the duke d'*Aumale*, who, being informed of his intention, had come to secure his person, and hinder his junction with *Charles*. To convey a just idea of the valour, resolution, and obstinacy of the besieged, let it suffice to observe, that the place was attacked by an army of a hundred thousand foot and twelve thousand horse, and battered by a hundred and fourteen pieces of cannon, under the eye of the emperor himself; yet his efforts were vain, and, towards the end of *December*, he was fain to raise the siege, after having lost one third of his army by the coldness of the weather and contagious distempers, as well as by the uncommon valour of the enemy. One part of his troops he put into winter-quarters in the country of *Triers*, and with the rest retired to the *Low Countries*, as much mortified as the king of *France* was rejoiced at his disappointment*. He was not, however, discouraged by this disgrace; on the contrary, he took the field in the beginning of the spring, to revenge the injury

* CAMMERAR. Ann. Rer. præc. An. 1552. CRYPT. l. 17. p. 462. SCHARD. t. ii. p. 543.

he had received; and marching to *Terouane*, the place was taken by assault, and razed to the ground; but whether his bodily infirmities, or the decline of his faculties, which no longer retained their former vigour, hindered him from acting with his usual spirit, or that he had other designs in his head, certain it is, he proceeded no farther on that side; but leaving his army under the command of *Emanuel Philbert*, son of *Charles* duke of *Savoy*, he converted his attention to other objects, endeavouring to prevent the troublesome consequences of an intestine war, which was kindled in Germany by *Albert* marquis of *Brandenburg* (C), since his retreat from *Metz*, as well as to effect a match between his son *Philip* and *Mary*, daughter and heiress of *Henry* king of *England*, which was soon after actually consummated¹.

He destroyed
effects a
match be-
tween his
son Philip
and Mary
queen of
England.

A. D.
1554.

THIS interesting affair being settled to his wish, he resolved to put an end to the practices of *Albert*, who in a severe battle fought near the river *Weser*, had been defeated by *Maurice* elector of *Saxony*, though the victory cost this prince his life, he having received a wound of which he died in two days. *Albert* escaped into *Franconia*, where he found means to re-assemble some troops; but being again routed by the forces of *Ferdinand*, and the neighbouring princes, he was compelled to seek refuge in *France*; and the emperor having determined to proceed against him as a perturber of the public peace, as well as to remedy the disorders which had been produced by his rebellion, he convoked several diets successively, which proved abortive through the intrigues of *Albert*'s friends, and the absence of the emperor, who was disabled by his infirmities from attending in person.

¹ BELLEFOR. l. 6. c. 78. UPL. vit. Car. V. l. 5.

(C) *Albert* marquis of *Brandenburg*, after the pacification of *Passau*, to which he refused to subscribe, continued the war against the *Roman Catholics*, and, among other violences, extorted the promise of severe contributions from the bishops of *Wurzburg* and *Ramberg*, who complained to the emperor, and were absolved from those compulsive bargains, which, however, were confirmed again to *Albert* when he joined *Charles* at the siege of

Metz. The bishops adhered to the first sentence; and when *Albert* had recourse to military execution, they appealed to the imperial chamber, who made a decree in their favour. At the same time, the emperor exhorted him to desist, and submit to the determination of the law; but far from giving ear to this admonition, *Albert* laid waste the country with fire and sword, and committed terrible ravages, which gave rise to a civil war. *Beutb. l. 7. p. 87. &c. seq.*

At length the marquis, whom the king of *France* had favoured with his protection, was, on the part of that prince, comprehended in the treaty of truce, which was concluded in the abbey of *Vaucelles* near *Cambray*, by the ambassadors of the emperor, and his son *Philip*, king of *England*, on the one part, and those of *Henry* the second, king of *France*, on the other; a truce to be observed by sea and land, in the *Low Countries*, *Italy*, and elsewhere, for the term of five years, on condition that both parties should keep the towns and territories which they had at present in possession^m.

Resolution
of the diet
at Augs-
burg.

THAT very day on which the treaty was signed, *Ferdinand* opened the diet at *Augsburg*, in the name of the emperor, in order to execute the treaty of *Passau*; but the debates concerning the regulations on the subject of religion, were carried on with such heat and obstinacy of altercation, that after a very long session they could hardly be brought to agree to an occasional resolution, by which it was decreed, that no Catholic or Protestant should be injured or insulted on account of his religion, but all differences be determined according to the laws and customs of the empire; that if any archbishop, bishop, prelate, or other ecclesiastic, should renounce the old religion, his dignity and benefice should be forfeited without any prejudice to his character, and his place be filled up by the chapter or college possessed of the power of election; that as some ecclesiastical revenues had been seized upon by certain states of the empire and their predecessors, and converted to other religious purposes, such as the maintenance of schools and ministers, these alienations should not be disputed at law; that the ancient ecclesiastical jurisdiction should not extend to the religion, faith, ceremonies, and ministerial functions of those who adopted the confession of *Augsburg*, but remain suspended, and without effect, until the determination of all the differences of religion, though it should continue in force in all other matters; that the clergy should for the future enjoy their estates, rights, and privileges, without, however, encroaching upon the temporalities which the laity possessed before this division in religion; that the necessary expence for the service of the church, the maintenance of schools, charities, and hospitals, should be equally levied upon the professors of both religions, and, in case of any dispute, arbitrators be chosen to decide the difference within the term of six monthsⁿ.

WHILE *Ferdinand* thus regulated the affairs of *Germany*, the emperor, feeling his health daily decline, and the vigour

^m MEZ. Abr. Chron. p. 970.

ⁿ CAMER. Annot. ex Fich. t. iii. p. 562. SLEID. Com. l. 26. p. 337.

of his mind decay, resolved to deposit the burden of government, and repose himself in the shade of private life. Perhaps, alarmed at the power and prosperity of *Henry the second of France*, whom he considered as his rival, he was afraid of seeing those laurels withered which he had gathered in the course of a long reign; and, in order to prevent that disgrace, thought proper to oppose the youthful spirit of his son *Philip* to the enterprizing genius of the *French king*. Be that as it will, he had for some time cherished the thoughts of abdicating the throne, and actually recalled his son, on whom at his marriage he had bestowed the kingdoms of *Naples* and *Sicily*, together with the dutchy of *Milan*. Having assembled the states of the *Low Countries* at *Brussels*, he created *Philip* chief of the order of the Golden Fleece, and then resigned to him the sovereignty of all those provinces. In consequence of which resignation, he received the oath and homage of the states, in quality of their new sovereign, as soon as his father quitted the assembly. Charles, soon after this transaction, divested himself of all his royalties and signories in *Europe* as well as in *America*, conferring them all upon *Philip*, and reserving to himself no more than a pension of two hundred thousand ducats, to be deducted from the revenue of *Spain*; and now nothing remained but to quit the empire in favour of his brother *Ferdinand*: however, this abdication he postponed for a year, during which he hoped that prince would accept the imperial crown, on condition that *Philip* should be elected king of the *Romans*, and declared his successor; but here he was disappointed in his expectation by the address of *Ferdinand*, who found means to secure the empire to his own son, and to elude his brother's solicitations in behalf of *Philip*.

Divests himself of all his royalties and signories in behalf of his son Philip.

THE emperor finding his brother inflexible on this subject, and resolving to set out for *Spain* without delay, signed a formal resignation of the empire, which was put into the hands of *William de Nassau*, prince of *Orange*, *Gregory Sigismund Hilde*, vice-chancellor of the empire, and *Haller* his secretary, whom he sent as his ambassadors to the next diet, to signify his abdication to the electoral princes, and to deliver the scepter, crown, and other regalia, to *Ferdinand* king of the *Romans*. Charles having thus entirely dispossessed himself of all his dominions, and made the necessary preparations for his passage into *Spain*, where he had chosen his retreat, he departed from *Brussels*, accompanied by five crowned heads, namely, his son *Philip* king of *Spain*, *England*, and *Naples*; his son-in-law *Maximilian* king of *Bohemia*; the king of *Tunis*; his two sisters, *Eleonora* queen-dowager of *France*,

And makes a formal resignation of the empire to his brother Ferdinand A. D. 1556.

Embarks
at Fleſſin-
gen, ar-
rives in
Spain,

and ſhuts
himſelf up
in the cloi-
ſter of St.
Juſtus,
where he
dies.

France, and Mary queen-dowager of Hungary and Bohemia; together with the dukes and dutcheſſes of Savoy, Lorraine, and Parma, and a great many other perſons of diſtinction. At Ghent, he diſmiſſed the ambaffadors of foreign princes, after he had deſired them to recommend his ſon to their reſpective maſters; then, continuing his journey, embarked at Fleſſingen with his two ſiſters, and in a few days arrived in Spain. When he landed at Laredo, he is ſaid to have proſtrated himſelf upon the ground, and kiſſing the earth to have exclaimed, 'O my beloved country, may heaven ſhower down its bleſſings upon you: naked I came from my mother's womb, and naked I return to thee, which I regard as a ſecond parent. In return for all I owe thee, I now conſecrate to thee my fleſh and bones, the ſole offering which I have now to beſtow.' Then caſting his eyes upon a crucifix, which he had uſed by way of ſtandard in all his battles, he gave thanks to Jeſus Chriſt, by whoſe goodneſs he was permitted to re-visit, in his latter days, that province which he had always cheriſhed with particular veneration and eſteem. At his landing he was met by the nobility and clergy of the kingdom, whom he received very graciously, and then repaired in a litter to Valladolid, where he ſaw his grandchild Don Carlos, whom he enriched with many pious advices. From thence he removed into the province of Eſtramadura, and ſhut himſelf up in the cloiſter of St. Juſtus, of the order of St. Jerom, where he lived two years as a ſimple friar, conforming to all the ſtrictest rules of the convent; and here he died of a gouty fever, in the fifty-eighth year of his age, after having received the eucharift in both ſpecies; a circumſtance which hath induced ſome people to believe that he favoured the Proteſtant religion (D). His

• THUAN. l. 16. p. 570. CAMMERAR. ex FICH. t. iii. p. 564.
• GODELIV. ex SCHARD. Oper. Hiſt. t. ii. p. 189.

body

(D) He married *Iſabella*, daughter of *Emanuel* king of *Portugal* by *Mary* of *Caſtile*, though he had before been betrothed to five different princeſſes, namely, *Claudia*, daughter to *Lewis XII.* king of *France*; *Mary*, daughter of *Henry VII.* king of *England*; *René*, another daughter of *Lewis XII.* *Louiſa*, daughter to *Francis I.* while ſhe

was yet an infant; and *Mary*, daughter of *Henry VIII.* king of *England*. By *Iſabella* of *Portugal* he had *Ferdinand*, who died in his infancy; *Philip II.* king of *Spain*; *Mary*, matched with the emperor *Maximilian II.* *Jane*, married to prince *John* of *Portugal*, to whom ſhe bore a poſthumous ſon, who aſcended the throne after the death

body was deposited at *Granada*, near those of his mother, grandfather, and grandmother; but it was afterwards translated to the escurial, by the order of *Philip* the fourth. He was survived but three weeks by his sister *Mary*, widow of *Lewis* king of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*, who had been governess of the *Low-Countries* for the space of five and twenty years, his other sister *Eleonora* having died in the month of *March* in the same year. Such was the end of *Charles* the fifth, who was certainly the most powerful prince that ever sat upon the imperial throne. His person was agreeable, though inclining to corpulence: he was of a middling stature, with blue eyes, an aquiline nose, and pointed chin; and his hair, which was sandy, he always wore so short, that one half of his ears were uncovered. Though he had made no great progress in learning, he was perfectly well acquainted with the *Flemish*, *German*, *Spanish*, *French*, and *Italian* languages, and understood a little of the *Latin*. He ordered the courtier of count *Balthazar de Chatillon*, *Machiavel's* prince, and *Polybius*, to be translated for his own private use. He delighted in reading the history of *Philip de Commines*, which he very much esteemed, and the commentaries of *Sleidan*, whom by way of raillery he used to call his liar. He often amused himself with drawing, was passionately fond of the exercise of arms, and perfectly well skilled in horsemanship, plain in his apparel, and familiar with his domestics; at the same time, circumspect in his actions, and pleasing in his discourse; but often artful and ambiguous in his expressions: he was patient in giving audience, judicious in his answers, firm in supporting his ambassadors and officers, and grateful towards those who had served him with fidelity: yet he was rather narrow than liberal, for no prince ever expended less upon his pleasures, or took more pains in regulating his oeconomy: he was naturally amorous, but he carefully concealed this weakness, that irregularity might not be authorised by his example: he was so moderate in eating and drinking, that when attacked by the gout, he, without repining, allowed the physicians to regulate his diet by weight and measure; and drunkenness was an excess which he could never forgive. In the beginning of

*A sketch of
his por-
trait and
character.*

death of his grandfather. Among the natural children of *Charles V.* are reckoned, *John* of *Austria*, who was governor of the *Low Countries*, and *Margaret*, married first to *Alexander*

of *Medici's* duke d'*Urbino*, and afterwards to *Octavius Farnese*, duke of *Parma*, upon whose death she was created governess of the *Low Countries*, and died in 1586. *Heiss. l. 3. c. 4.*

his reign, he manifested more discretion than courage ; but in the sequel, gave many extraordinary proofs of personal valour : yet he is accused of having erred against sound policy, in letting *Luther* escape ; in setting *Francis* the first at liberty ; in restoring *Tunis*, and in neglecting the defence of the *Goletta* ; in conferring the electorate of *Saxony* on duke *Maurice* ; in elevating the house of *Medicis* ; in creating *Ferdinand* king of the *Romans* ; in making war upon the pope ; in abdicating the empire ; in marrying his son *Philip* to the queen of *England*, upon dishonourable conditions ; and in being too much attached to strangers, particularly the inhabitants of the *Low-Countries*, whom he employed as his principal ministers, in preference to the *Germans* and *Spaniards*, who took umbrage at his partiality⁹.

⁹ HEISS. l. 3. c. 4.

C H A P. XIV.

Containing an Account of the Evangelic Union ; and the War in Hungary.

F E R D I N A N D.

Ferdinand *succeeds to the empire.* **C**HARLES the fifth was succeeded in the empire by his brother *Ferdinand*, who was born at *Alcala de Henares* in *Spain*, and by his grandfather provided with a preceptor and governor, who not only trained him up in the usual exercise of princes, but likewise inspired him with the love of the belles lettres, to which he applied himself with extraordinary attachment. *Francis Ximenes*, cardinal of *Toledo*, who had the care of his brother's education, persuaded *Charles* that he ought to remove *Ferdinand* into *Germany*, because he had perceived that the *Spaniards* expressed more affection for that young prince, who was born and bred among them, than for his elder brother, who was a native of the *Low-Countries*. He was accordingly sent into *Flanders*, where *Erasmus* was engaged to superintend the rest of his education. When *Ferdinand* married *Anne* of *Hungary*, *Charles* made over to him as his patrimony, *High* and *Low Austria*, with all the domains appertaining to that house, in *Germany*, *Suabia*, along the lake of *Constance*, in the *Hercynian* forest, the *Brisgaw*, and on both sides of the river *Ill*. His bother-in-law, *Lewis* the

the Young, being slain in the battle of *Mohais*, he, by virtue of his wife's title, was crowned king of *Bohemia* at *Prague*; and after having defeated *John de Zapolles*, count of *Scepus* *Vairode* of *Transylvania*, who was his competitor for *Hungary*, he entered into quiet possession of that kingdom, and was crowned at *Belgrade*, in consequence of the ancient treaties subsisting between the kings of *Hungary* and the princes of the house of *Austria*. He was afterwards invested with the duchy of *Wirttemberg*, by his brother *Charles*, at the diet of *Augsburg*; then being elected king of the *Romans* at *Cologne*, he received the crown at *Aix-la-Chapelle*, as we have already observed, notwithstanding the protestations of the electors of *Saxony* and *Brandenburg*, who, nevertheless, acknowledged his election a few years after in the city of *Cadan* in *Bohemia*. In the mean time, as one part of the *Hungarian* nobles was still in the interest of the count *de Scepus*, *Ferdinand* concluded a treaty with him, by which it was stipulated, that each should keep possession of what he at present occupied; and that upon *Zapolles*' death, the whole kingdom should devolve to *Ferdinand*. Accordingly, upon the death of that prince, the king of the *Romans* claimed the performance of this contract; but *Solyman*, upon pretence of protecting the widow and son of *Zapolles*, made himself master of a great part of *Hungary*, from whence he could never be intirely expelled. Since the last diet at *Augsburg*, where the affairs of religion were regulated with the Protestants, he had been continually employed on the side of *Hungary*, in opposing the *Turks*, who had made repeated efforts to extend their conquests in that kingdom; and, after having fortified the principal places with good garrisons, and all other munitions of war, he returned to *Germany*, whither he was called to assist at the diet of *Frankfort*, where the ambassadors of *Charles* the fifth arrived with the act of renunciation in favour of *Ferdinand*, which, after due deliberation, was unanimously approved by the electors. In consequence of this approbation, they proceeded to the election of *Ferdinand*, to whom they swore allegiance, after having transferred upon him the imperial dignity with all the accustomed ceremonies: but pope *Paul* the fourth would not admit of the validity of the renunciation of *Charles*, or the election of his brother, because in neither case the consent of the holy see had been obtained^r. He even refused audience to Don *Martin de Gusman*, whom *Ferdinand* had sent to take the usual oath in his

The pope refuses to admit the validity of the election.

^r THUAN. Hist. l. 21. p. 707.

A. D.
1559.

But is con-
firmed in
the impe-
rial digni-
ty by Pius
IV.

status; and that his refusal might appear to be founded upon substantial reasons, he appointed certain cardinals to examine into the merits of the affair. These commissaries were of opinion, that the pope could not admit the ambassador to any audience or public action, until he should have demonstrated in what manner the empire became vacant, and by what right *Ferdinand* pretended to succeed his brother, as all the proceedings at the diet of *Frankfort* were null and void, because carried on by heretic electors, without the consent of the pope. It would therefore be necessary to examine the motives which had induced *Charles* to resign the empire, and if they should be found to be just and reasonable, *Ferdinand* should renounce all that had been done at *Frankfort*, and submit to a new election. The emperor looked upon these reasons as vain and frivolous; and, without paying the least regard to the remonstrances of the pope, ordered his ambassador to make the necessary protest, and take his leave, if, in three days after this intimation, he should not be favoured with an audience; for he considered that ancient custom of procuring the confirmation of the pope, and going to receive the imperial crown at *Rome*, as a superfluous ceremony, after having obtained the consent of the electors; an opinion which hath been adopted by all his successors in the empire. The ambassador punctually executed the orders of his master; and though almost all the princes of *Christendom* condemned this conduct of the pope, yet he persisted in his refusal, even after the death of *Charles*; but he himself dying soon after, *Pius* the fourth, who succeeded him, confirmed the imperial dignity to *Ferdinand*.

THIS prince, upon his promotion, being desirous of settling the affairs of the empire, issued orders for convoking a diet at *Augsburg*, where he invited the princes and states to appear in person, he himself resolving to be present among them. There he earnestly exhorted them to submit to an oecumenical council, as the only means capable of re-establishing the union of *Germany*; and he promised to manage matters in such a manner, that they should be more favourably heard in that assembly than they had been in the council of *Trent*; but finding it impracticable to prevail upon them to consent to this proposal, he still indulged them with the free exercise of their religion within their own dominions, that the public peace of the empire might not be infringed, though, at the same time, he vehemently solicited the pope to call a new council, and endeavoured to engage the kings of *France* and

* GODELIV, ex Schard. Oper. Hist. t. ii.

Spain to second his solicitations. But all their joint endeavours would have been vain, had not *Francis* the second resolved to convoke a national council, in order to concert measures for stopping the progress of *Calvinism*. Pope *Pius* the fourth, being alarmed at this resolution, determined to oblige the princes of *Christendom* with a general council, which they had so long demanded; and, after having hesitated for some months in his opinion, sometimes inclining to a continuation of the council of *Trent*, which had been suspended by *Julius* the third, and at other times disposed to call a new one, he at length adhered to the former suggestion, and published a bull for renewing the council of *Trent*, whither all princes, prelates, and ambassadors, were invited to repair.

A. D.
1560.

Where-
upon the
council of
Trent.

On the publication of this bull, the Protestants obtained permission of the emperor to assemble at *Naumburg* in *Saxony*, where they were visited by two nuncios, whom the pope had sent into *Germany* to invite them to the council. Their arrival and business was no sooner notified, than the assembly sent an escort to attend them. They were immediately introduced, and politely received by the princes, who heard their harangue with great attention; and having received the bulls and briefs of the pope, to which they promised an answer should be given, they ordered them to be reconducted to their lodging with the same ceremony: but they were no sooner returned, than the pope's briefs were sent back by the hands of three gentlemen, who told them, in the name of the assembly, that the princes observing the pope had in the inscription distinguished them by the appellation of his *Sons*, they could not receive his briefs on these terms, as they could not acknowledge him for their father. The nuncios replied, that this was no more than a form which his holiness observed in writing to all Christian princes; but the messengers, without taking notice of this reply, left the briefs upon a table, and retired. This was the prelude of the resolution which, a few days after, the princes sent to the nuncios by ten of the counsellors, specifying, that they would receive no invitation from the pope to repair to a council, which he had no power to convoke; this being the prerogative of the emperor, to whom alone, as their sovereign, they were bound to explain themselves on the subject. At the same time, the assembly expressed their esteem for the persons of the nuncios, who would have met with a better

The Pro-
testants as-
semble at
Naum-
berg, and
refuse to
submit to
the council.

¹ SPOND. CONT. t. ix. p. 364. ² BEUTHER. append. p. 111.
THUAN. l. 28. p. 131. HEISS. Hist. de L'Empire, l. 3. c. 5.

reception,

reception; had not they been invested with that odious title. After they had been dismissed with this declaration, the princes put an end to their sitting with a remonstrance, importing, that they would adhere to the confession of *Augsburg*, whatever should be determined in the council of *Trent*^x.

A. D.

1562.

Maximilian, the emperor's son, is elected king of the Romans.

MEAN while, the emperor resolving to establish the imperial crown in his own family, issued orders for convoking a diet at *Frankfort*, where he managed his interest with such address, that his son *Maximilian* was elected king of the Ro-

mans, with the unanimous consent of all the princes and states, that prince having been already promoted to the crown of *Bohemia*. *Ferdinand* likewise took this opportunity of once more attempting to persuade the Protestants to submit to the council; but they continued unshaken in their resolution, demanding a free council, in which the pope should not be both judge and party, where they might deliberate with freedom upon the morals and ecclesiastical conduct of

A. D.

1563.

Rome, the depravity of which was the subject of universal complaint. The emperor, finding them inflexible in this point, resolved to take another method, in order to re-unite them to the church; and for this effect, in concert with *Charles* the ninth, king of *France*, concerted a remonstrance to the fathers of the council, exhorting them to undertake a reformation of manners among the ecclesiastics, in order to remove that stumbling block, of which the Protestants and *Calvinists* so justly complained. An ample memorial of these abuses, together with the means of reforming them, was actually drawn up by order of the emperor, and sent to the council, whither also the king of *France* dispatched the cardinal of *Lorraine*, with instructions upon the same subject: but the pope affirming, that such a reformation was the province of him alone, would not allow the council to take cognizance of the affair. The emperor had the mortification not only to find his purpose thus baffled, but likewise to see himself disappointed in a demand which he had made in favour of the Protestants of *Germany*, among whom he requested that the communion in both species, and the marriage of priests, should be allowed; but his holiness would consent to neither, although the greatest part of the Catholic doctors judged such a condescension necessary, in order to facilitate the re-union of the Protestants with the *Roman* church^y. This was the last public transaction in which *Fer-*

^x ONUPH. in Pio IV. SCHARD. Epit. Rer. sub. Ferd. ^y Ap
GOLDAST. Const. Imp. t. ii. Resc. de Sect. Evan. verb. Calixt.

Ferdinand was concerned ; for in the month of *February* of that same year, he was attacked by a fever, which terminated in a dropsy, that put a period to his life. He died at *Vienna* on the twenty-sixth of *July*, and the sixtieth and first year of his age. His obsequies were performed in the same city, *Vienna*, on the month of *August*, of the year following ; after which ceremony his body was carried to *Prague*, where it was interred by that of queen *Anne* his wife, with whom he had lived in the utmost harmony of conjugal affection. Ferdinand dies at A. D. 1564.

FERDINAND governed the empire as well as his own kingdoms with uncommon equity, clemency, and moderation. He was remarkable for his prudence, justice, liberality, and unwearied application to business ; and though he was zealously attached to the *Roman Catholic* religion, he did not manifest his zeal by fire and sword, although often solicited to make use of these expedients ; but endeavoured to reconcile the differences in religion, by force of argument and truth, in pacific conferences and councils. Above all things, he was scrupulously observant of his word ; insomuch that having once promised a gratification to an old officer, who afterwards rendered himself unworthy of his favour, he performed his promise, saying, that he ought to have more regard to his own word and reputation, than to the demerits of the delinquent ^z (E). His character.

M A X I M I L I A N II.

FERDINAND was succeeded by his son *Maximilian*, who was born at *Vienna*, and educated in *Spain* with his uncle *Charles* the fifth, in whose army he made the first Maximilian succeeds him on the imperial throne.

^z HEISS. l. 3. c. 5.

(E) He married *Elizabeth Anne*, only daughter of *Uladislaus* king of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*, by whom he had four sons, namely, *Maximilian II. Ferdinand II.* surnamed *the Prudent* ; *John*, who died young, *Charles II.* archduke ; and eleven daughters, viz. *Elizabeth*, who married *Sigismund Augustus* king of *Poland* ; *Anne*, married to *Albert* duke of *Bavaria* ; *Magdalen*, who died a nun at *Vienna* ; *Katharine*, first match-

ed with *Frederic* duke of *Mantua*, and afterwards with *Sigismund II.* king of *Poland* ; *Margaret*, *Magdalen*, and *Helen*, who died without issue ; *Barba*, married to *Alphonfus II.* duke of *Ferrara* ; *Jane*, who married *Francis of Medicis* duke of *Florence* ; *Eleonora*, married first to *William* duke of *Mantua*, and afterwards to *Sigismund Augustus* king of *Poland* ; and lastly, *Mary*, married to *William* duke of *Juliers*. *Spond. Con. t. 9. p. 463.*

campaign,

campaign, during the war with *France*. He likewise signalized his courage in that which was carried on with some of the princes of the empire; and afterwards opened the diet at *Augsburg* by a discourse, which he pronounced in presence of the emperor, and the princes of the empire. When this assembly broke up, he repaired to *Spain*, where he espoused *Mary*, daughter to *Charles* the fifth, and governed that kingdom three years in the name of his father-in-law. At his return into *Germany*, he greatly contributed to the pacification at *Passau*; after which he continued in *Austria*, till the day of his father's death.

We have already observed, that he received the crown of *Bohemia*, and was afterwards unanimously elected king of the *Romans* at *Frankfort*; yet his election had well nigh proved abortive by the death of *John Jebhard*, elector of *Cologne*, who happened to die at that very juncture. However, the chapter of *Cologne* being desired to nominate a new archbishop, *Frederic* count *de Weid* was chosen without delay, and immediately repaired to *Frankfort*, where he assisted at the election.

MAXIMILIAN had attained to the age of thirty-seven when he ascended the imperial throne, succeeding his father *Ferdinand*, not only in his dominions, but also in his good qualities, particularly, his humanity, prudence, and moderation. By his acquaintance with the *Latin*, *German*, *French*, *Italian*, *Spanish*, and *Slavonian* languages, he acquired a surprising facility in governing the different nations that were under his sway, and in supporting a correspondence, which he carefully maintained with all his friends and neighbours. In all disputes, especially those of religion, he preferred pacific expedients to violent measures, often observing, that spiritual things ought not to be decided by the temporal sword; and affirming, that those who espoused the contrary opinion, were enemies to union and tranquility. In consequence of this humane disposition, the whole empire breathed nothing but peace, if we except the disturbance occasioned by *Jahn Albert*, duke of *Mecklenburg*, who all of a sudden interrupted the repose of *Germany*, by undertaking the siege of *Rostock*, against which he was incensed, because, since it was restored to that house by *John* king of *Danmark*, the populace had been guilty of diverse insurrections, and the city being now exhausted by the plague, and otherwise in a very senecless condition, the duke would not lose such a favourable opportunity of reducing them to subjection: and, indeed, he

The duke
of Meck-
lenburg
besieges
Rostock.

A. D.
1565.

made such advantage of the conjuncture, that they were fain to submit, in order to avoid their total destruction. It was accordingly agreed, that the duke should take possession of the city with his troops; that the inhabitants should be maintained in their privileges, and all other differences referred to the decision of the emperor. The duke, however, finding himself master of the town, disarmed the citizens, and condemned them to pay a fine of sixty thousand rixdollars, and beheaded two of their number, who had been ringleaders of the last revolt. After he had taken all these necessary precautions to secure himself in the possession of the city, his brother duke *Ulric* set up a claim to one half of the acquisition, and the other refusing his demand, threatened to support his right by force of arms; but the affair was accommodated by the authority of the emperor, who prevailed upon them to agree that they should possess the town in common, and that the inhabitants should pay the same homage to both ^b.

WHATEVER inclination *Maximilian* had to cultivate *The emperor* peace on all sides, he was obliged to arm against *John Sigismund*, prince of *Transylvania*, who had assumed the title of *king of Hungary*, and against whom he sent an army under *John Sigismund* the conduct of *Lazarus Schuendi*. This general acted with such vigour and success against *Sigismund*, that after having taken *Tekay*, and some other places, he would have driven him intirely out of his own country, had not the progress of his arms been stopt by an accommodation of the emperor, by the intercession of *Solyman* the second, who protected *Sigismund* as his vassal ^c.

THIS war being happily determined, *Maximilian* repaired to the diet he had convoked at *Augsburg*, which was opened by a speech of *Albert* duke of *Bavaria*, who, in the emperor's name, offered diverse proposals to the states for strengthening the peace with the Protestants, and extirpating certain sects not comprehended in that peace; for executing the preceding regulations of the empire, and abridging the tedious proceedings at law; and, above all things, he pressed them to resolve upon granting such succours as should be sufficient to withstand the invasions of the *Turk*. Much time was consumed in deliberations upon these subjects, in the course of which some of the states took occasion to accuse *Frederic* elector palatine, of professing a religion contrary to the statutes of the empire; a charge, in consequence of which, that prince in open diet declared, that he professed no other religion than that which was conformable to the doctrine of

A. D.
1566.
The diet
at *Augs-*
burg.

^b Id. *ibid*.

^c *THUAN. Hist. l. 37.*

The pope
protests a-
gainst the
discussion of
religious
matters.

Proceed-
ings a-
gainst
Grom-
bach and
John Fre-
deric duke
of Saxony.

the prophets and apostles, as contained in the confession of *Augsburg*, and the apology for that confession, which had been approved of in the last assembly of the Protestants at *Naumburg*. Nay, so much was he affected by this accusation, that by the hands of duke *John Casimir*, his son, he presented the bible and confession of *Augsburg* to the Protestant states, desiring he might be convicted of his error from those two books; a proposal by which he shut the mouths of these envious persons, who had thus impeached his character. This enmity against the elector was fomented by the practises of cardinal *Commendori*, who was sent thither by pope *Pius* the fifth, with orders to protest publicly against the discussion of any religious point; and in case the diet should proceed, notwithstanding that caveat, to threaten the whole assembly with excommunication, and in particular to declare, that his holiness would depose the emperor, and divest him of all his dominions^d.

IN this diet it was proposed to execute the decree of a former diet, issued against a certain gentleman of *Franconia*, called *Grombach*, who had been put under the ban of the empire, for having assassinated *Melchoir Hobil*, bishop and prince of *Wurtzburg*. The decree, though issued about seven years, could not be hitherto executed, because *John Frederic*, duke of *Saxony*, son of the elector of that name, protected him in his fortress of *Gotha*. However, as the impunity of such a criminal might be attended with very bad consequences in the empire, it was now ordained, that the duke should be compelled by force to surrender *Grombach* and his accomplices. Nor was this the only resolution taken upon the subject; for as it was well known that *John Frederic* granted his protection to those criminals, that he might have a pretext for arming, and that the troops he levied were not so much designed for the defence of such malefactors, as for recovering the electorate of which his father had been divested, and even seizing upon the imperial throne itself, according to the vain prediction of a magician, who had acquired his confidence; for these reasons, I say, the diet resolved, that he should be pursued as a perturbator of the public peace, while the emperor promised to furnish a body of troops sufficient to force his town of *Gotha*, and make sure of himself and his fortress; and as he thought the conduct of this expedition could not be entrusted with a more proper person than *Augustus*, whom he had already invested with the electorate of *Saxony*, that prince

^d THUAN. l. 39. GABUT. in vit. Pii. l. ii. p. 1. SPOND. CONT. t. ix. p. 476.

was accordingly employed to command the army, and execute the decree of the diet^c. *Maximilian*, having regulated all the interior affairs of the empire, earnestly exhorted the states to provide for its exterior occasions; and, particularly, to find some means for opposing the *Turks*, who now again threatened *Hungary*; for *Solyman* was actually employed in making preparations for revenging upon that kingdom the affront which he had received before *Malta*, from whence he had, the preceding year, been obliged to make a shameful retreat, after a siege of four months, during which he had lost a great number of troops. The states for this service granted supplies sufficient to maintain forty thousand foot and eight thousand horse; and, as there was no time to lose, *Maximilian* dismissed the diet, and repaired to *Vienna*, in order to make the necessary preparations; for, by this time, the army of the *Turks* was said to amount to two hundred thousand men. The emperor exerted himself so industriously on this occasion, that he was soon in a condition to take the field with fourscore thousand foot and twenty thousand horse; and having received intelligence that *Solyman* had already invested *Zighet*, of which the brave count *Zerini* was governor, he marched directly to *Javarin*, from whence he might observe the enemy. But he was advised to remain wholly on the defensive, without hazarding a battle; and while he looked tamely on, the *Turks* had leisure to ruin all the fortifications of the city, and reduce the governor to such extremity, that he resolved to sally out upon the besiegers with three hundred chosen men, who, with himself, were surrounded and cut in pieces; so that the town was taken in course. *Maximilian* was no sooner apprised of the fate of this place, than he made his retreat to *Austria*; for which he is justly accused of misconduct, because he might have taken advantage of that consternation which prevailed among the *Turkish* generals on account of the death of *Solyman*, who was carried off by a fit of the apoplexy two days before the town was taken, and *Selim*, his son and successor, being absent, they were necessarily involved in perplexity and confusion, because they had no orders to act, and knew not what measures to take^f.

*Zighet is
besieged
and taken
by the
Turks.*

*The death
of Soly-
man.*

BEFORE the emperor left *Hungary*, he placed strong garrisons in the principal towns of that kingdom; so that *Selim*, foreseeing that it would be difficult to make much progress on that side, was the more disposed to listen to the proposals for

^c HEISS. l. 3. c. 6. ^f BEUTH. ap. in fine. ISTHMANFF. & BIZ. de Bell. Pannon. Sanfovin in vita Imp. Turc.

A truce is concluded for twelve years. a truce, which was actually concluded between the two emperors for twelve years, on the usual conditions, specifying that each should retain the conquests he had made; an article which redounded to the advantage of *Maximilian*, whose general *Schuendi*, had taken a great many places from the enemy. These precautions being taken, *Maximilian* at his return sent a reinforcement of troops and other necessaries to the elector of *Saxony*, who had not yet finished the siege of *Gotha*; and that prince, being thus reinforced, soon compelled the town and fortress to surrender, on the conditions which he was pleased to impose. He was no sooner master of the place, than he punished *Grombach* and his accomplices, with different kinds of death, according to the quality of their crimes. Duke *John Frederic*, whom he had made prisoner, was sent to the emperor, by whose orders he was imprisoned during life; and, that the place might never afterwards yield a retreat to the disturbers of their country, the fortifications of the town and castle were razed to the ground. This affair being ended, *Maximilian* convoked a diet at *Falde*, in order to take measures for preventing the troubles to which *Germany* might be exposed from the divisions and disorders which every day increased in the *Low Countries*. He had likewise observed, that some princes of the empire interested themselves too much in the affairs of the *Huguenots* of *France*; to the assistance of whom, prince *John Casimir**, son of the elector palatine, had already marched with seven thousand horse and three thousand foot. He, therefore, took wise precautions, and persuaded the diet to issue out several decrees for the maintenance of peace in *Germany*; for that was the goal to which all his thoughts and all his endeavours were directed. From the same motive, he interposed in a difference, that happened the following year, between the city of *Triers* and the elector, who had never been able to reduce the inhabitants to obedience. He pretended, that the town was immediately subject to him, as superior and sovereign, to whom they owed the oath of allegiance; that it was his prerogative to lay the necessary taxes, establish the magistracy, keep the keys of the gates, judge all criminal processes, and order the laws to be put in execution. The citizens, on the contrary, alledged, that from time immemorial these rights belonged to them, without depending on the archbishop, except under certain conditions. The elector, therefore, seeing he had nothing to expect by fair means, invested the town on the sixth of *June*, and the siege lasted

A. D.
1567.
Grombach is put to death, and John Frederic duke of Saxony condemned to perpetual imprisonment.

A. D.
1568.

* MEZ. Abr. Chron. t. iii. 1048,

to the month of *August*, when the emperor and the other electors interposed, in order to mediate an accommodation. Accordingly they effected a treaty, in which it was stipulated, that the archbishop should raise the siege; that he should do no injury to the persons or effects of the inhabitants; that he should enter the city with some companies of horse and foot; that the general officers and guard of the elector should lodge in the place, and quarters be assigned to the rest elsewhere; and finally, that the difference should be referred to the determination of the emperor and electors^b.

A. D.
1569.

MAXIMILIAN's inclination for peace being perfectly well known, the Protestants of the states of *Austria*, to whom he had formerly refused the free exercise of their religion, resolved to take the advantage of his present disposition for obtaining that indulgence. They had the more reason to expect success, because at this time they had done him a very singular favour, in cancelling a considerable debt, which he had incurred by borrowing sums from them for the expence of the war against the *Turk*. In effect, the conjunction was so favourable for them, that, after pressing solicitations, the Protestant nobility were indulged with the free exercise of their religion in their castles, cities, and villages. To this condescension he was swayed, not only by motives of gratitude, but likewise by a natural sweetness of disposition, and a full persuasion that constraint and persecution serve only to widen the breach in all religious disputes.

The Protestants of Austria are indulged in liberty of conscience.

In consequence of this moderation, he could not, without great pain and anxiety, hear the reports that were made of the horrible cruelties which the duke of *Alva* and *Reguesenes*, great commander of *Castile*, practised in the *Low-Countries*, with a view to force the consciences of the people: he, therefore, sent his brother *Charles* to *Philip* king of *Spain*, to intreat that prince to moderate those proceedings, lest an entire desertion of the provinces should ensue, and the states of the empire be affected by the evil example of such violence and persecution. These remonstrances, however, produced no effect; on the contrary, the war in the *Low-Countries* began to rage more than ever, and in a little time was attended with those important consequences which are so well known.

A. D.
1570.

FROM the same principle, he refused to *Charles* the ninth of *France*, the permission to make levies in *Germany*, for acting against those of the reformed religion: but the Protestants of *Germany* did not fail to send succours to the *Hugue-*

^b THUAN. Hist. l. 43. t. ii.

nots of *France*, being not only moved with sympathy and compassion for their brethren in distress, but also induced by motives of self-preservation; for they understood that the pope had entered into a league with the kings of *France* and *Spain*, for extirminating all dissenters from the Catholic religion; and that the duke of *Alva* acted on the same principle in the *Low-Countries*. Whatever alliance of this nature those princes might have formed, certain it is the scheme was never carried into execution. The king of *France* even excused himself from engaging in the league against the *Turk*, alledging that his finances were utterly exhausted, and his kingdom reduced to a deplorable condition, by the intestine war which he maintained against the *Huguenots*¹.

The Christian princes engage in an alliance against the Turks, who are defeated by sea at Lepanto.

A. D.
1571.

IN the mean time, the king of *Spain* joined his maritime forces with those of the pope, *Venetians*, duke of *Savoy*, *Genoese*, and *Maltese*, in order to act in concert against the infidels, from whom they apprehended some new design, as *Selim*, flushed with the conquest of *Cyprus*, which he had taken from the *Venetians*, still kept his naval army assembled about the gulph of *Lepanto*. The Christians, apprised of their situation, set sail in quest of them, under the conduct of *John of Austria*, natural son of *Charles* the fifth, who was invested with the supreme command, and a famous battle ensued, in which the *Turks* were totally defeated².

THOUGH the emperor would not engage in this alliance of the Christian princes against the *Turk*, on account of the truce which he had some time before concluded, he, nevertheless, took all necessary precautions for the security of his *Hungarian* dominions. For this purpose he concluded a treaty with *John Sigismund*, prince of *Transylvania*, who thereby obliged himself to renounce the title of king of *Hungary*, which, in imitation of his father, he had usurped, and to acknowledge himself a vassal of the emperor, although he was tributary to the *Turk*; but this prince dying in a few days after he had ratified the treaty, *Maximilian* renewed it with *Stephen Bathori*, whom the *Turks* of *Transylvania* had elected in his place.

THE emperor not only secured the peace of *Hungary* in this manner, but also managed the states with such dexterity that they were prevailed upon to elect his eldest son *Rodolphus* as his successor to the crown of that kingdom. Then he returned to *Vienna*, in order to secure him in his succession to the throne of *Bohemia*, and afterwards to procure

A. D.
1572.

¹ HERRS. Hist. de L'Emp. l. 3. c. 6. t. iii. p. 1074.

² MEZ. Abr. Chron.

his being elected king of the *Romans*. For his second son, he fixed his eyes upon *Poland*, at that time vacant by the death of *Sigismund*, the last of the house of *Jagellous*; but in this project he was disappointed by *Henry* duke of *Valois*, brother of *Charles* the ninth of *France*, who obtained that crown in preference to all his competitors.

YET *Maximilian's* hopes were revived by the abdication of *Henry*, who, in about a year after his election, abandoned this throne in order to ascend that of *France*, the crown of which was devolved to him by the death of his brother. This second vacancy, however, was not more favourable to the emperor than the first; for whether he was not industrious enough in canvassing among the principal palatins of *Poland*, or these noblemen were afraid of augmenting the power of the house of *Austria*, they rejected his proposal, and chose *Stephen Bathori* (F) prince of *Transylvania*, who, by his merit and valour, had acquired their love and veneration¹. *Maximilian*, far from dropping his pretensions, resolved to support them by force of arms; because he foresaw that should he once make himself master of that kingdom, he would be in a condition to check the progress of the *Turks*, by whom he was incessantly molested. He, therefore, began to make preparations for asserting his claim with the sword; but, at the same time, continued, with great application, to negotiate with the states of *Bohemia* and the electors of the empire in favour of his son *Rodolphus*, who was actually crowned at *Prague*, and afterwards created king of the *Romans*.

A. D.

1574.

Stephen
Bathori
elected king
of Poland,in preference
to the
emperor.Rodol-
phus cre-
ated king
of Bohe-
mia.

A. D.

1575.

THE emperor, having thus regulated the affairs of his own family, employed his whole attention, for several months, on those of the empire. He likewise explained to the diet his design upon *Poland*; but this, and all his other projects, were interrupted by a distemper, which induced him

¹ ISTHUAUF. l. 24. FLORIM. l. 4. c. 12.

(F) The competitors were *Maximilian* the emperor; *John* king of *Sweden*; *Alphonso* duke of *Ferrara*; and *John Basilowitz* great duke of *Muscovy*. The emperor was actually elected by the majority of the senators, and proclaimed by the archbishop of *Gnesnia*; but as this proclamation was not in the usual form, and the greatest

part of the nobility was of opinion, that they ought to chuse some prince of their own country, they afterwards elected *Ann*, sister of the late *Sigismund Augustus*, for their queen, with the proviso, that she should marry *Stephen Bathori*, who was expressly recommended to them by sultan *Amurath*. Ext. lit. ap. Natal. l. 26.

The death
of Max-
imilian.
A. D.
1576.

to relinquish all worldly affairs, and turn his thoughts entirely upon the concerns of his soul. He had, for a long time, in his familiar parties, been accustomed to discourse upon the immortality of the soul; and even seemed to take pleasure in meditating upon death, which he now encountered with great constancy and resignation, in the fiftieth year of his age ^m.

THIS prince was extremely affable, and accessible to those who wanted to speak with him on any particular business; insomuch, that he never mortified one person with a refusal, or harsh word: he was of a forgiving temper, averse to flattery, an enemy to slander, and a passionate lover of truth: he despised luxury, avoided all excess, and was never known to purchase one jewel for his personal attire: he was well versed in war, which he conducted with equal skill and activity, notwithstanding his want of success in *Hungary*. So regular was his œconomy, that a set hour was assigned to every different action of his life; and every day, after dinner, he allowed even the meanest of his subjects to approach him, when they had any complaint to make, or any thing of consequence to propose: in a word, he was a tender parent and affectionate husband, having lived, for the space of twenty-nine years, in the utmost harmony with *Mary* his empress, by whom he had fifteen children ⁿ (G).

R O D O L P H U S II.

Rodol-
phus II.
succeeds to
the impe-
rial throne.

RODOLPHUS II. king of the *Romans, Hungary, and Bohemia*, who ascended the imperial throne in the twenty-fourth year of his age, inherited the disposition, and imitated the conduct of his father *Maximilian*; for, during his whole reign, he preserved *Germany* from those wars, which, after his death, embroiled all *Christendom*: his sole aim in maintaining the repose of the empire by the union of its members being to provide a powerful resistance against the infidels.

His brother, the archduke *Matthias*, had already acquired such reputation for valour and prudence, that the prince of

^m SPOND. CON. t. ix. p. 584.

ⁿ THUAN. t. iii. l. 62.

(G) The children of *Maximilian*, by *Mary*, daughter of *Charles V.* were *Rodolphus*, *Ernest*, *Matthias*, *Maximilian*, *Albert* cardinal, *Winceslaus*, and *Ferdinand*, who survived him;

those who died before him were *Albert*, *Frederic*, and *Charles*. Of five daughters, *Ann* and *Elizabeth* were married: *Mary*, *Margaret*, and *Eleonora* died young. *Heiss. Hist.* l. 3. c. 6.

Orange

Orange and the confederated states of the *Low Countries*, which had thrown off the *Spanish* yoke, solicited him to accept of the government of their provinces. He accordingly embraced the proposal, with the consent of the emperor; and going thither, at first conducted their affairs to their satisfaction: but, in the sequel, they were induced, by the jealousy they entertained of all the princes of the house of *Austria*, to dismiss him from this employment, though he was very honourably discharged, and his place supplied by the duke of *Anjou* ^o.

THE emperor was warmed with all his father's zeal for the *Roman Catholic* religion, without that charity and moderation which had induced *Maximilian* to indulge the Protestants with liberty of conscience. He pretended, that those of *Austria* had extended their privileges beyond the concession which had been made in their favour; and therefore abridged them in the exercise of their religion, which he confined to the country-houses of certain gentlemen; though he resolved scrupulously to observe the pacification of *Passau*, by which, among other things, it was stipulated, that every prelate, in renouncing the *Catholic* religion, should be deprived of his benefice ^p.

A. D.
1577.
He lays the
Protestants
of Austria
under re-
strictions
in point of
religion.

AT the desire of *Philip* king of *Spain*, and *John* of *Austria*, at that time governor of the *Low-Countries*, *Rodolphus* had sent ambassadors to the confederate estates, exhorting them to listen to terms of accommodation, return to the ancient religion they had relinquished, and the allegiance which they owed to their natural prince. To this admonition they replied by a representation of their grievances, and the oppression under which they groaned from the tyranny of their governors, who in the exercise of their power, had expressly infringed the articles of the treaty of *Ghent*. They, therefore, implored the good offices of the emperor, and sent an ambassador to the diet, which *Rodolphus* had convoked at *Worms*, in order to take cognizance of their affairs. Here *Philip de Marnix*, sieur de *St. Aldegonde*, who was their deputy, expatiated in a noble harangue upon the miseries of the *Low-Countries*, and pathetically supplicated the assistance of the empire, which, however, he could not obtain, on account of the weight and influence of their oppressors, who represented them as a set of contumacious fanatics, in an actual state of rebellion ^q; so that, disappointed in this quarter, they put themselves under the protection of *Elizabeth* queen of *England*.

A. D.
1581.

^o HEISS. l. 3. c. 7.
l. 66.

^p Id. ibid.

^q THUAN. t. 3.

Proceed-
ings of the
diet at
Augsburg

Trusches
archbishop
and elector
of Cologne
renounces
the Roman
Catholic
religion,

and is ex-
pelled from
his domi-
nions.

A. D.
1583.

DURING the next diet, which the emperor called at *Augsburg*, in order to regulate the affairs of the empire, and particularly those of religion, which he had very much at heart, *Gebhart Trusches*, archbishop and elector of *Cologne*, who had espoused the *Lutheran* doctrine, sent deputies to the assembly, where he knew there was a good number of Protestant princes, with a view to obtain liberty of conscience in his diocese; and he would have, doubtless, accomplished his aim, had he not met with an obstinate opposition from the senate of *Cologne*, and the chapter of the cathedral, by which he was so much irritated, that, on pretence of defending the confines of his archbishopric against the enterprizes of the *Flemings*, he assembled a body of troops, and being assisted by some Protestant princes, surprised the city of *Bonn*, pillaged the treasure of the church, which was kept in the castle of *Breulle*, granted liberty of conscience to his subjects, and publicly married *Agnes*, canoness of *Gurishim*, and daughter of *John George* count *de Mansfeld*, of whose exquisite beauty he was very much enamoured. The pope and the emperor employed their whole endeavours and exhortations, in order to reclaim this apostate from the church of *Rome*; but finding him unshaken in his new principles, he was excommunicated, formally deposed, and his place supplied with *Ernestus*, son of *Albert* the fifth, duke of *Bavaria*. This new-elected archbishop, being obliged to support his new dignity by force against his deposed predecessor, he took the field with a body of his father's troops, reinforced by those of the emperor; and after several engagements, in which victory sometimes declared for one side, and sometimes for the other, *Trusches* was at last expelled from his dominions, and obliged to retire with his fair *Agnes* into *Holland*, where he spent the rest of his days in very narrow circumstances; while *Ernestus*, having got possession of the archbishopric, would suffer no religion to be exercised but the *Roman Catholic*, which hath been ever since maintained in that place; and the emperor, by an investiture, confirmed his new dignity.

RODOLPHUS, that he might have the more leisure to apply himself to the affairs of the empire, had taken the precaution to prolong the truce for eight years with *Amurat* the third; nevertheless the *Turks*, without paying any regard to this prolongation of the truce, began to make incursions into *Hungary* and *Croatia*; and a body of ten thousand actually carried their ravages as far as the frontiers of *Carniola*,

SPOND. Cont. t. 9. p. 650.

from whence they carried off a great number of Christians and cattle, together with a vast quantity of effects; but the archduke *Ernestus*, the emperor's brother, pursued them into *Croatia*, where they were utterly defeated, and their general slain.

Amurath
III. breaks
the truce
with the
emperor.

A. D.

1584.

A. D.

1588.

THE same success did not attend his brother *Maximilian*, who three years afterwards was elected king of *Poland*, by part of the states of that kingdom, vacant by the death of *Stephen*. He was obliged to support his claim by force against *Sigismund*, the son of *John* king of *Sweden*, who was likewise elected by a greater number, and that of the strongest party. The two competitors taking the field soon came to battle, in which *Maximilian* was routed and taken prisoner by his antagonist, who detained him in captivity till next year, when he was released in consequence of having renounced his claim to the crown of *Poland*.

AMURATH the third, notwithstanding the truce which he had renewed with *Rodolphus*, without any provocation marched an army into the field, made himself master of *Repitch*, *Wibitsk*, and some other towns of *Croatia*; and even arrested at *Weissemburg*, *Frederic Krecovier*, the emperor's ambassador, whom he ordered to be shut up in a tower, where he soon after died. The emperor, provoked at these hostilities, and this outrageous violation of the law of nations, sent into the field with great expedition, an army consisting of five and forty thousand men, which, having found the *Turks* between two rivers near *Sisség*, an abbey and strong castle in *Croatia*, attacked them with such vigour, that they were intirely defeated; their bashaw, together with several other officers and soldiers, being either killed or drowned; while the Imperialists lost not above an hundred men. *Amurath* no sooner received the news of this defeat, than he sent thither another army, which took *Sisség*: then he marched another stronger still into *Hungary*, where it committed great devastations, and took *Wesprin*, together with some other places: but the emperor having reinforced his troops, they advanced towards *Belgrade*, where a battle ensued, in which the *Turks* lost upwards of twelve thousand men. A few days after this success, *Tieffembach*, the emperor's lieutenant-general in *High Hungary*, having collected a body of twenty thousand men, surprised and took by assault *Zabatic*, a fortress at that time deemed impregnable, and put all the *Turks* of the garrison to the sword, after he had defeated the succours which the bashaws of *Buda* and *Temiswaer* had endeavoured

The *Turks*
are defeat-
ed near
Sisség.

A. D.

1593.

And at
Belgrade.

* THUAN. Hist. t. iv. l. 80.

* ISTHUANF. l. 26.

to throw into the place. In less than a month he retook *Fillick*, and eleven other strong castles, which had been for thirty years in the possession of the *Turks*. He likewise delivered from slavery, an infinite number of Christians, and freed many towns and countries from the tribute of those infidels. The emperor, resolving to profit by his good fortune, sent into *Hungary* his brother *Matthias*, who made himself master of *Novigrad* by composition, while the counts *de Serin* and *Nadaſti* drove the *Turks* from the fortresses of *Bressens*, *Seczin*, and *Segeſt*, in *Lower Hungary*. These conquests were followed by the battle of *Hatvan*, fought on the first day of *May*, in which the Imperialists were again victorious^u.

Proceed-

ings of the
diet at Ra-
tisbon.

A. D.

1594.

THE extraordinary expence in which the emperor was engaged by this war, obliged him to convoke a diet at *Ratisbon*, where having explained the infidelity of the *Turks*, in attacking his dominions without any regard to the truce which he had renewed, the necessity of repelling force by force, and the extraordinary expence of the war, he told them he was obliged to have recourse to their assistance; and the states, having taken the case into consideration, granted a supply of some *Roman* months, with which he was very well satisfied. They made divers regulations touching the levies, quarters, march, and pay of the troops: they likewise laid the chamber of justice under certain restrictions, and took cognizance of some other affairs^x. But with regard to the *Low-Countries*, notwithstanding the complaints that were brought to the diet from that quarter, they took no other resolution but that of deputing some princes of the empire to the confederated states, in order to concert measures for an accommodation. At the same time, they intimated this resolution to the archduke *Ernestus*, the emperor's brother, who was at that time governor-general of the *Low-Countries*; but that prince died the following year, before any thing of consequence could be transacted. The diet ended with the ceremony of investiture, which the emperor conferred upon the elector of *Cologne*, the palatine, the dukes of *Pomerania* and *Wirtemberg*, and some other states, that they might peaceably enjoy their principalities and fiefs. Then *Rodolphus* returned to *Prague*, in order to make the necessary preparations for the defence of *Hungary*, which was now become the object of his whole attention, as the grand vizir *Sinan*, general of the *Turks*, being reinforced with a powerful army of *Tartars*, had constrained the archduke *Matthias* to raise the siege of *Graan*. This vizir likewise had made himself mas-

^u HEISS. l. 3. c. 7.

^x THUAN. Hist. t. v. l. 109.

ter of the fortresses of *Thata* and *St. Martin*, and invested *Raab* or *Faverin*, of which he soon obtained the possession, by the cowardice and villainy of the governor, who, in consideration of a sum of money, delivered up that important place.

THIS progress of *Sinan*, however, was stopt by those troops which the emperor ordered to advance and reinforce the army of his brother *Matthias*; but that which chiefly contributed to the repulse of the infidels, was the behaviour of *Sigismund Bathori*, prince of *Transylvania*, who quitted the side of *Amurath*, and engaged in a particular alliance with the emperor, by which it was stipulated, that they should join their forces, and act in concert against the *Turks*. In the beginning of the following year, *Bathori* engaged the vaivodes of *Moldavia* and *Walachia* in the same league; and these three princes so vigorously attacked the *Turks* and *Tartars*, who had entered their dominions, that few or none of either nation lived to return to their own countries. On the other hand, the archduke *Matthias* had invested *Graan*, and given the direction of the siege to his lieutenant-general, *Charles count de Mansfeld*, a brave and experienced officer; and the *Turks* approaching to succour the place, a battle was fought, in which they were intirely routed with the loss of five thousand men, and almost all their leaders. The consequence of this engagement was the surrender of *Graan*, the strongest place of that country; and this conquest was followed by that of several other fortresses and castles, which he took with extraordinary diligence and success.

The *Turks*
are again
worsted
before
Graan.
A. D.
1595.

THE following year was not so fortunate to the Imperialists. *Mahomet* the third, who some months ago had succeeded to his father *Amurath* in the *Othoman* empire, resolved to signalize the beginning of his reign by some great exploit; and for that purpose marched with an army of an hundred and fifty thousand men to the siege of *Agria*, one of the most important places of *High Hungary*. At first the garrison made a resolute defence, in expectation of a powerful succour, which the emperor had sent to them under the conduct of his brother the archduke *Maximilian*: but that prince being retarded by the rains and bad roads, the soldiers of the town, *Agria* sur- who had been always licentious, grew impatient at the de-rendered lay, and even compelled the governor to capitulate, and sur-to Maho- render the place upon dishonourable conditions. This base- met III. ness was revenged by the *Turks* themselves, who enraged at the great loss they had sustained before the town, disregarded

A. D.
1596.

the capitulation, and put the whole garrison, man, woman, and child to the sword ².

THE archduke *Maximilian*, being mortified with this misfortune, and inflamed with a desire of revenge, approached the enemy's camp, and harraſſed them with all his power. At length a battle ensued, in which the *Turks* were routed, with the loss of twelve thousand men, their artillery taken, and without doubt the action would have been decisive, if an *Italian* renegado, who perceiving that the Imperialists, instead of pursuing their victory, amused themselves with plunder, had not returned to the charge with fresh troops, by which the fortune of the day was reversed, and the *Germans* put to flight in their turn. He would not, however, venture to pursue them farther than the field of battle; so that the archduke, prince of *Transylvania*, *Tieffembach*, and other officers, had time to rally their forces, and recollect themselves from the confusion produced by this check, which cost them five or six thousand men. After this battle, *Mahomet* seeing his army greatly diminished by the siege of *Agria*, and this last encounter, resolved to return to *Constantinople*, where he abandoned himself to his pleasures.

He left ten thousand men in *Agria*, and shared the command of the rest of his army among his generals, who were so much divided by jealousy, that they could not act in concert, and when the sultan retired, gave themselves no farther concern about the progress of his arms. This neglect having raised the spirits of the Imperialists and *Hungarians*, they, under the conduct of count *Nadaſti*, and the barons of *Bern-Pappa areſteen* and *Palfi*, formed a scheme for surprising the fortress of *Tata* in *Hungary*, and actually carried it into execution; while the Imperialists, the archduke *Maximilian*, reinforced by the emperor with a new supply of troops, made preparations for attacking the town of *Pappa*, near *Raab*, which was accordingly taken ¹.

Who likewise take *Raab* and *Buda*.
A. D. 1598.
THE following campaign commenced with a very extraordinary exploit of *Adolphus* baron of *Schwartzenberg*, who, understanding that the *Turks* in garrison at *Raab* were very remiss in their duty, resolved, if possible, to surprise that fortress. Having concerted the measures with a *French* gentleman, whose name was *Vaubecour*, they applied a petard to one of the gates, which being burst open, the troops entered the place, and made themselves masters of it, after an action which lasted four hours, during which sixteen hundred *Turks* were killed upon the spot, and seven hundred taken

² THUAN. Hist. t. v. l. 115.
h 3. c. 7.

¹ HEISS. Hist. de L'Empire,
prisoners.

prisoners. The archduke *Matthias*, who commanded in *Lower Hungary*, practised the same expedient, with the same success, at *Buda*, where he found a great booty, with upwards of eighty pieces of cannon, and delivered seven thousand Christians from slavery: but he was obliged to retire without having reduced the castle; and that miscarriage provoked him to set the town on fire. In order to revenge these insults, the *Turks* and *Tartars*, to the number of an hundred and fifty thousand, entered *Upper Hungary*, with a resolution to force the town of *Waradin*, which was defended by *Melchior de Redren* baron de *Friedland*, grand marshal of the archduke *Maximilian*, with a garrison of two thousand soldiers, assisted by the inhabitants. During six weeks, he sustained the siege with such vigour, that the *Turks* were constrained to make a shameful retreat, after having lost a great many men in different sallies from the place, in which no more than seven hundred fighting men remained when the siege was raised ^b.

ABOUT that time, the archduke *Maximilian* was established governor of *Transylvania*, in consequence of the cession which *Sigismund Bathori* had made of that province to the emperor, in exchange for some duchies in *Silesia*, with an annual pension of forty thousand crowns: but after *Bathori* had staid two months in his new territory, perceiving that the bargain he had made was far from being advantageous, he privately returned to *Coloszar*, or *Clofomburg*, in *Transylvania*, where he had left his wife, who was daughter of the archduke *Charles* of *Austria*; and notwithstanding the levity which appeared in his disposition, he was joyfully received by the states of the country, who dreaded the dominion of the princes of the house of *Austria*, whose sway, they said, extended to the souls as well as the bodies and effects of their subjects. Besides, they were afraid that the young prince might be provoked by a refusal to reclaim the protection of the sultan, who would not fail to establish him in his dominions at their expence ^c.

A. D.
1598.

THE *Turks*, in the mean time, to the number of sixty Progress of thousand men, under the conduct of *Ibrahim Bassa*, had so the war successfully advanced their affairs on the other side of the in Hun-
Danube upon the confines of *Lower Hungary*, that, after gary.
having repulsed the duke de *Mercoeur*, who attempted to throw succours into *Canise*, they made themselves masters of that and several other places; but the duke having received from the emperor a reinforcement of troops, which, together

^b THUAN. Hist. l. 121, t. v.

^c ISTHUAUF. l. 30.

with

With his own, composed an army of five and twenty thousand men, he resolved to take his revenge; and advancing into *Transylvania*, retook by assault the town of *Cronveissenburg*, and gained several other advantages over the infidels. Nevertheless, after he retired, they renewed their attempts on this place, and next year reduced it again to their dominion.

As all these expeditions could not be carried on without a very great effusion of human blood, both sides began to be tired of the war in *Hungary*, and serious thoughts of peace were entertained. A negotiation was first begun with *Stephen Botsckay*, an *Hungarian* nobleman, of the *Calvinist* persuasion, who, since the defeat of *Bathori*, and his retreat into *Poland*, had, with the assistance of the *Turk*, seized the principality of *Transylvania* and that portion of *Hungary* which *Bathori* possessed (H).

A. D.
1605.
A treaty
concluded
between
the emper-
or and
Botsckay.

A TREATY was accordingly concluded between the emperor, the states of *Hungary*, and this prince *Botsckay*, importing among other things, that the Catholics, *Lutherans*, and *Calvinists*, should enjoy the free exercise of their religion in *Hungary*; that *Botsckay* should remain prince of *Transylvania* during life; that a peace should be negotiated with the *Turk*; that the states of *Hungary* might, in the absence of the emperor, choose the archduke *Matthias* for their palatine or governor; that all the other posts should be conferred upon the natives of the country; and that the jesuits should possess nothing of their own, except the presents made to them by the emperor^d.

Peace
established
with the
Turks.

A. D.
1606.

THERE was more difficulty in treating with sultan *Achmet*, who had succeeded *Mahomet* the third; for the negotiation lasted near two years, when at length an accommodation was concluded on these conditions; that the sultan should treat the emperor as father, and the emperor treat the sultan as son, in all their letters and negotiations; that the king of *Spain* should (if he pleased) be comprehended in the treaty, as well as the *Tartars* upon the *Turks* assurance, that they would forbear from making incursions on the Christians;

^d THUAN. t. 6. l. 133.

(H) *Sigismund Bathori*, being a man of an unsteady mind, devoid of resolution, and afraid of the emperor's resentment, resigned his right to *Transylvania* in favour of his cousin cardinal

Andrew Bathori, who was defeated and slain by the troops of the emperor; while *Sigismund* fled into *Poland*. *Spond. Con. t. ix. p. 806.*

that

that this truce or cessation of arms should continue twenty years; that both parties should mutually send presents to each other every three years, and the emperor begin without delay, by sending one to the amount of two hundred thousand florins, which should afterwards be requited by another of the like value from the sultan; that each should possess what he occupied, without pretending to impose any other taxes on their new acquisitions, than those which they paid before the war; that they should not, on any pretence whatever, attack each other in any particular place; that they should be at liberty to repair their respective fortresses; and that the agreement made with *Botsckay*, prince of *Transylvania*, should subsist in its full force^e (I).

THESE treaties being ratified by the two emperors, the states of *Hungary* assembled at *Presburg*, were informed that *Rodolphus*, on account of his infirmities, was neither able nor willing to visit them, in consequence of their pressing solicitations, that the affairs of the kingdom might be settled on the ancient footing. They likewise understood, that in prejudice of his brothers, he expressed a strong inclination to favour and raise the archdukes *Ferdinand* and *Leopold*, his first cousins, who were entirely under the direction of the jesuits, whom the Protestants considered as their declared enemies. These reasons induced the *Hungarians* to invite and receive the archduke *Matthias* as their governor, according to the liberty granted to them in the treaty concluded with the prince of *Transylvania*. Nay, in order to deprive *Ferdinand* and *Leopold* of any hope they might entertain of ascending the throne of *Hungary*, they, in consideration of the emperor's infirmities and want of issue, elected his next heir *Matthias* for their king, on condition that he should confirm all their privileges, and indulge them with the liberty of professing in public, the new religion, which the greatest part of them had embraced^f.

The arch-
duke Mat-
thias elect-
ed king of
Hungary.
A. D.
1607.

THE report of this election, and the conditions under which it was made and accepted, being spread through all *Germany*, the Protestants of *Bohemia* began to bestir them-

^e Id. l. 136.

^f HEISS. de L'Empire, l. 3. c. 7.

(I) About this time, an ambassador arrived at *Prague* from *Persia*, in order to dissuade the emperor, from making peace with the *Turks*: the same person had been sent to *Spain* for

the same purpose, with very rich presents, among which were several cups of glass of such a texture that it could not be broke. *Thuan. Hist. t. 6. l. 138.*

selves,

selves, and actually sent some of the most considerable among them to persuade *Matthias* to come into *Bohemia*, where they did not doubt of prevailing upon the states to follow the example of the *Hungarians*, provided he would secure them in the same privileges. *Matthias*, in consequence of this invitation, assembled his troops without loss of time, and marched towards that kingdom, taking his route through *Austria*, of which also he endeavoured to make himself master.

THE emperor, irritated at this conduct, had taken measures for opposing the designs of his brother; but the electors and princes of the empire, apprehending troublesome consequences from such a dispute, sent deputies to meet *Matthias*, to represent the danger that would attend his enterprize, and to persuade him, if possible, to listen to terms of accommodation with the emperor, who (they assured him) was very well disposed for that purpose. On this assurance he complied with their advice, and matters were managed so much in his favour, by the interposition of the princes, that a treaty was concluded and signed at *Prague*, by which the emperor, for the sake of peace, yielded to him *Hungary* and *Austria*, and even promised to secure him in the succession to *Bohemia*, provided he himself should die without male issue. In consequence of this accommodation, *Matthias* received the royal ornaments of *Hungary*, by the hands of cardinal *Dietrichstein*, who presented them in presence of the archduke *Maximilian*, and a great number of princes and noblemen; then he retired with his army towards *Vienna*, which he entered in triumph. There he took possession of the archduchy, and ratified the truce with the Grand Seignior's ambassador, who afterwards repaired to *Prague*, to obtain the same ratification from his imperial majesty.

A. D.
1608.

MATTHIAS, having been inaugurated by the states of *Austria*, returned to *Hungary*, on the frontiers of which he was received by the principal noblemen of the kingdom, at the head of ten thousand men, who conducted him to *Presburg*, where he granted authentic letters, confirming them in their privileges and liberty of conscience, and afterwards consecrated with the usual ceremony.

THE emperor in the mean time, instead of disbanding his troops, according to the agreement at *Prague*, allowed them to live at discretion in the bishopric of *Passau*, from whence they made incursions into *Bohemia*, ravaging the country, as they had formerly acted under the command of

the archduke *Leopold*, his cousin-german. These disorders gave disgust to the states of the empire, as well as to those of *Bohemia*; and the Protestants, who were the greatest sufferers, took occasion with those of *Austria*, to avail themselves of their number and strength, and oblige *Rodolphus* by force to indulge them in that which they could not obtain by dint of intreaty and solicitation. The conjuncture was the more favourable, as a new quarrel, about this time, happened between the emperor and *Matthias*, this last having perceived that the other intended to make one of the archdukes of *Gratz* king of the *Romans*, to his prejudice; he, therefore, made preparations for opposing this design; and *Rodolphus*, fearing that he would be joined by the Protestants, whom he was known to favour in private, was fain to redress their grievances. They were, accordingly, by letters patent, indulged in liberty of conscience, and allowed to build churches and schools upon their own funds, in any place whatever, and even without the permission of the lord of the fief or high-justice.

Indulgences granted by the emperor to the Protestants of Austria and Bohemia.

A. D. 1609.

ENCOURAGED by this condescension, the other Protestants of the empire solicited the same indulgence, which being refused, they resolved to consult their own safety by other means; and a new alliance or association was proposed. In a little time, this was actually concluded between the prince palatine elector, the duke of *Wirtemberg*, *Maurice* landgrave of *Hesse*, *Ernest* marquis of *Osnobach*, *Frederic* marquis of *Badendaurlach*, *Christian* prince of *Anhalt*, and several other princes, together with the greatest part of the imperial towns.

A new Protestant alliance, called the evangelic union.

The alliance was distinguished by the name of the union, and the princes engaged in it assumed the appellation of correspondents, of which the elector-palatine was declared the chief. This association was opposed by another, formed on pretence of preserving the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman religion, by the electors of *Mentz*, *Cologne*, and *Triers*, the archbishop of *Salzburg*, the bishops of *Bamberg*, *Wirtzburg*, and *Aichstedt*, the duke of *Bavaria*, who was constituted chief, the archdukes of *Austria*, and others. It was called the Catholic league, and differed from the nature of the union, in comprehending foreigners, such as the pope and the king of *Spain*: nay, the bishop of *Spire* and the seignior *Helfenstein* were sent into *France*, to engage that crown in this alliance^a.

THE chief motive that induced each party to take these precautions, was the succession to the dutchies of *Fuliers* and

^a HEISS. Hist. de L'Empire, l. 3. c. 7.

The affair of Juliers and Bergue. *Cleves*, in which both either, directly or indirectly, interested themselves. *John William* duke of *Cleves*, *Juliers*, and *Bergue*, count *de la Marck* and *Ravensbourg*, had died without children; but he had several collateral heirs by his four sisters, *Maria-Eleonora*, *Anne*, *Magdalen*, and *Sybilla*, who were married in the families of *Brandenburg*, *Neuburg*, *Deux-ponts*, and *Austria-Burgaw*. The principal competitors were *John Sigismund*, elector of *Brandenburg*, son of *Anne*, eldest daughter of *Albert-Frederic*, marquis of *Brandenburg*, and duke of *Prussia*, and of *Mary-Eleonora*, who was the eldest of those four sisters; and *Wolfgang-William*, son of *Philip-Lewis*, duke of *Neuburg*, and of *Anne* of *Cleves*, the second.

Contest about the succession of Juliers and Cleves.

These two princes, though both of the Protestant religion, openly disputed the succession. As for *John* the second, duke of *Deux-ponts*, son of *John* the first, and of *Magdalen* of *Cleves*, third sister of the same duke *John-William*; and *Charles* of *Austria*, marquis of *Burgaw*, who had married the fourth called *Sybilla*, they took no other than the ordinary course for supporting their pretensions. Besides these, there were other pretenders, namely, the dukes of *Saxony*, as descendants of *John-Frederic*, elector, and of *Sybilla* of *Cleves*, sister of *William* duke of *Cleves*, father of *John-William*, and of his four sisters; the duke of *Nevers*, of the same family, and the count of *la Marck*, marquis of *Maulivrier*; but the different claims of these three were of no importance¹.

ALL these competitors published manifestos, and the most powerful of them prepared to maintain their right by dint of arms; a step which gave great offence to the emperor, who complained of it in a mandate addressed to the council of *Juliers*, in which he observed, that the constitutions of the empire prohibit those who have a claim upon any fief of *Germany*, from seizing it by their own private authority, but expressly enjoin them to obtain possession in the ordinary course of justice; he, therefore, in support of his own dignity, as well as to prevent the evil consequences which may arise from the conduct of those who disregard it, forbids any of the pretenders to the succession of *Juliers*, to take possession of their own accord, and cites all the claimants to appear within four months in his court, either personally or by proxy, in order to explain the nature of their several pretensions.

RODOLPHUS affirmed, that by the law of the empire, all such fiefs ought to be sequestered until the dispute should be determined, and this plea was not altogether without

¹ *BARRÉ. Hist. d'Allemagne, t. ix. p. 386.*

foundation;

foundation; but there is great reason to suspect his design was to protract the contest, and in the mean time convert the fiefs to his own use. This suspicion alarmed the marquis of *Brandenburg*, and the prince of *Neuburg*, who in effect had the best title to the succession; and *Maurice* landgrave of *Hesse* having offered his mediation, they embraced his proposal of referring the difference to arbitration: in the mean time, they agreed to repair together to *Dusseldorp*, in order to assume conjunctly the administration of the estates belonging to the late duke of *Cleves*, and to join their forces against all those who should attempt to seize upon the succession. This transaction was agreeable to the regency of the country, and ratified by the king of *France*, whose protection they had implored.*

AN assembly being at that time held in *Dusseldorp*, the duke and the marquis were received in that city by the magistrates, who resigned to them the government of the provinces of *Juliers*, *Cleves*, &c. of which they declared them legal possessors; but it was not so easy to gain possession of the countries situated on this side the *Rhine*; for while the states were sitting at *Dusseldorp*, the party attached to the house of *Austria*, had privately made themselves masters of *Juliers*, and the court of *Vienna* immediately sent *Leopold* of *Austria* thither in quality of governor, with orders to rule all the dependances of the dutchy in the emperor's name.

The marquis of Brandenburg and prince of Neuburg are declared legal possessors of Juliers.

LEOPOLD, by virtue of the powers with which he was invested, published an edict forbidding the inhabitants to take the oath to the princes, on pain of confiscation of goods, and threatening all others who should favour their party with the pains of death. At first, this new governor behaved with good order and moderation, but at the same time tampered with the garrisons; and making himself master of those places which were weakly guarded, furnished them with soldiers, arms, and provisions: yet he did not succeed every where with the same facility, for which reason the emperor issued a new decree stronger than the first, declaring all princes guilty of leze-majesty, and ordering the magistrates, military officers, and soldiers, to abandon them, on pain of being put to the ban of the empire.

THE court of *Vienna* having taken this measure, both sides prepared openly for war. The emperor and princes of his house were anxious to know in what manner *France* would interest itself in this affair, as they well knew the event would be favourable to the cause which that crown should espouse:

* LUDOLPH. l. 9. c. 2.

the archdukes of *Flanders*, therefore, sent *John Richardot* to the king, and he was soon followed by the count of *Hohen Zollern*, in quality of his imperial majesty's ambassador. These two ministers represented to *Henry* the fourth, that the emperor had no design to invade the rights of the claimants; but had sent *Leopold* to *Juliers*, in order to govern the dominions of the late duke, according to the laws of the empire, until the dispute about the succession should be fairly determined.

HENRY had too much penetration to be duped by these pretences; he knew the ambition of the house of *Austria*, and was resolved to be a check upon its growing greatness. The matter was debated before the president *Jeannin*, by the two ambassadors of *Rodolphus*, and the envoys of the princes sent thither to defend their cause; and the king declared in favour of these last, who had assisted him in his wars. He promised to succour them in his turn, and actually ordered some troops to defile towards the frontiers of *Champagne*, in order to support the marquis of *Brandenburg* and the duke of *Neuburg*¹. The house of *Austria* was not idle upon this occasion; it circulated a report that the sole aim of the *French* was to enrich themselves with the pillage of the provinces in question, on pretence of supporting an alliance, to which in effect they had no real attachment: and this artifice in a great measure succeeded, by arousing the jealousy of the *Germans*^m.

The Catholics are expelled from Donawert by the Protestants; upon which the city is proscribed, besieged, and surrendered.

WHILE these things were in agitation, the city of *Donawert* kindled a sort of a war in *Suabia*. The Protestants, who were the most powerful party, had expelled the Catholics, made themselves masters of the town, and rejected all the proposals of accommodation which were made by the emperor and his commissaries.

IN consequence of this obstinacy the town was proscribed, besieged, and compelled to sue for peace, by the duke of *Bavaria*, who, though he could have taken it by assault, would not expose it to the pillage of the troops; but preferred gentler methods to force, hoping, by this example of clemency, to prevent the cities of *Ulm*, *Nuremberg*, *Nortlingen*, and the other Protestant states of *Suabia*, from having recourse to such extremities; but he was disappointed in his aim, for they joined their brethren of *Bohemia*, who, being daily threatened with the loss of their religious liberty and other privileges, were already in commotion; and all

¹ Contin. CHYTRÆI, 'p. 169.
lemagne, t. ix. p. 389.

^m BARRE Hist. d'Al-

together complained of their grievances to the assembly, which at that time was held at *Hall* in *Swabia*, by the princes of the evangelic union, who accordingly promised to protect them.

THESE princes had assembled to deliberate upon the affair of *Juliers*, and almost all of their persuasion were present. In short, there was such a concourse of princes, deputies, and ambassadors, among whom was the *sieur Boissie*, from *Henry* the fourth of *France*, that the number of votes amounted to forty. They agreed to undertake in good earnest the defence of the two princes possessors of *Juliers* and *Cleves*, to expel the sequestrator, who had been appointed by the emperor, and for that purpose besiege the city of *Juliers*, where he was established. They likewise regulated the several proportions to be contributed for this service, in order to facilitate which, the ambassador of *France* promised eight thousand foot and two thousand horse, in the name of his master.

THE emperor, being apprised of this resolution, called a diet at *Wirsburg*, where all the electors, princes, and cities of his party, were invited to appear; and there measures were concerted for supporting the archduke *Leopold*, by means of a powerful army to be set on foot. After these consultations, nothing was to be seen through all *Europe*, but levies of troops and preparations of war, from which no state was exempted: a circumstance which plainly demonstrated, that besides the affairs of *Juliers*, there was some other great design upon the anvil.^a

THIS consideration, in a little time, obliged *Rodolphus* to convoke another diet at *Prague*, whither several princes of both parties repaired: there, among other things, they proposed a reconciliation between the emperor and his brother *Matthias*; the election of a king of the *Romans*; the restitution of *Donawert*; and an accommodation in the affair of *Cleves* and *Juliers*. Touching the two first articles, nothing positive was determined; as for *Donawert*, it was ordained, that without any exception, the elector of *Bavaria* should leave the place in possession of its former liberty, after having indemnified himself for the expences of the siege. With regard to the affair of *Juliers*, the emperor proposed that the estates of the late duke *John-William* should be settled upon the elector of *Saxony*, and the princes of his house, on condition that he should prove his title to be better than that of any other competitor; that nothing should be

The emperor con-
vokes a
diet at
Wirsburg

A. D.
1610.

^a HEISS, l. 3. c. 7.

changed in point of religion; but that he should satisfy the demands of the duke of *Nevers*, and the marquis of *Burgaw*, and pay the charges of the war, which had been incurred by the emperor and *Leopold*. Though this proposal was disagreeable to the greatest part of the assembly, it was carried in the affirmative; and the prince of *Saxony*, having agreed to fulfil the conditions, was invested with all the estates of the succession.

NOTWITHSTANDING the proceedings of the diet upon this last article, *Maurice* prince of *Orange*, and the prince of *Anhalt*, resolved to prosecute their design upon *Juliers*; and having assembled their troops, invested it without delay. This army was joined by twelve thousand foot, and two thousand horse, sent thither by the king of *France*, under the command of the marechal *la Chatre*, and the place so vigorously pressed, that it was fain to surrender upon capitulation, and again delivered into the hands of the princes of *Brandenburg* and *Neuburg*, together with the other places belonging to the dutchy of *Juliers*, which durst not make resistance^o.

NOTWITHSTANDING these transactions, both parties expressed a desire of seeing this grand affair accommodated, and the city of *Cologne* was named as a proper place for the conferences: thither repaired several princes, who were friends to both sides, together with the ambassadors of the emperor, the kings of *France* and *England*, the elector-palatine, the landgrave of *Hesse*, the duke of *Saxony*, and the united provinces. A sequestration was proposed, though of a very different nature from that which had been effected by the emperor; but it was rejected by some, and among the rest by the duke of *Neuburg*; so that the assembly broke up without being able to bring matters to accommodation.

A reconciliation is effected between the houses of Saxony and Brandenburg.

SOME months after this fruitless meeting, another was held in a castle near *Leipsic*, where the common friends of *Saxony* and *Brandenburg* endeavoured to compromise the affair between the two electors; and their efforts were crowned with such success, that they were prevailed upon to sign a treaty, importing among other articles, that the estates of *Cleves* and *Juliers* should be possessed and governed by the elector and princes of *Saxony*, conjunctly with the elector of *Brandenburg*, and the princes of *Neuburg*; that the emperor should be entreated to ratify this transaction; and that the family of *Saxony* should retain the investiture of these estates, which he had received from his imperial majesty, without

* TESCHENMÄCHER, an *Julia* ad An. 1610.

prejudice to that which *Brandenburg* and *Neuburg* had a right to demand. Nevertheless, this agreement was for that time ineffectual, because the duke of *Neuburg* would not give his assent; so that he and the duke of *Brandenburg* still remained masters of the succession ^P.

BUT this affair was not the only source of discord between the *Roman Catholics* and the *Protestants*: these last loudly complained of other particular grievances in *Bavaria*, in the bishoprics of *Strasburg* and *Passau*, as well as at *Aix-la-Chapelle*. Those of *Bohemia* were likewise incensed, on account of the inquisition which the emperor wanted to establish in that kingdom, and of the mortifications which they daily suffered, in contempt of the privileges and liberty which they had formerly obtained. These outrages they suffered patiently for a long time; but, at length, they could no longer restrain their resentment, when they saw the archduke *Leopold* march into *Bohemia*, and surprise the little town of *Prague*, where he cantoned those troops which he had obliged himself to discharge, and evacuate the bishoprics of *Strasburg* and *Passau*.

*Leopold
surprises
Prague.*

UPON this emergency, they had recourse to king *Matthias*, who promised to assist them; and, in consequence of this promise, actually marched into *Bohemia* at the head of his army, resolving to oblige the emperor to withdraw his troops, and adhere to all the articles of his agreement with the *Protestants*. Accordingly, *Rodolphus*, alarmed at the expeditious march of his brother, and the number of his forces, immediately embraced the terms of accommodation that were proposed: and it was, among other things agreed, that the troops of the archduke *Leopold* should be forthwith paid and disbanded; and that the *Protestants* should be maintained in the liberty of conscience and other privileges which had been granted to them heretofore. But as the principal aim of *Matthias* in this expedition was to profit by the conjuncture in securing to himself the crown of *Bohemia*, he managed the pusillanimity of *Rodolphus* with such dexterity, that this weak prince consented to resign that kingdom in favour of his brother, and actually ceded it by an authentic deed, in which he commanded the states to acknowledge his brother *Matthias* as his successor in that kingdom. This resignation being very agreeable to the *Bohemians*, who were heartily tired of the emperor's sway, they next day proclaimed *Matthias* king of *Bohemia*; and he was crowned at *Prague*, in the chapel of *St. Wenceslaus*, with nearly the same

*Matthias
assists the
Protestants;*

*and is pro-
claimed
king of
Bohemia.*

A. D.
1611.

ceremonies which were observed at *Præburg* when he was crowned king of *Hungary*†.

THE emperor, having thus divested himself of the kingdom of *Bohemia*, resolved likewise to transfer the small trouble he took concerning the affairs of the empire upon a king of the *Romans*, who should well acquit himself of the charge. For this purpose, he convoked a diet at *Mulhausen*, from whence it was translated to *Nuremberg*, for the convenience of his going thither in person, with a view to concert measures with the princes electors, and finally determine upon the choice of a proper person to succeed him on the imperial throne; but he being taken ill, the business for the present miscarried‡.

Remon-
strance of
the diet at
Nurem-
berg.

THE diet, however, sent ambassadors to *Prague*, where they found *Rodolphus* without any other company than the duke of *Brunswic*; and there they made remonstrances touching the situation of the empire. They, in the name of the electors, demanded that new regulations should be made for the administration of justice; that his imperial majesty would change his ministers and counsellors, and summon a diet to be held in the beginning of the spring. They expressed their disapprobation of the step which *Matthias* had taken with regard to the emperor, whom, nevertheless, they, in some measure, blamed for the mal-administration of affairs; observing, that the cause of a great many disorders had been his omitting to imitate his predecessors, in communicating the most important affairs to the princes electors, who now besought his imperial majesty to let them know where he intended to fix his abode in case he should be disposed to leave *Bohemia*. With regard to a king of the *Romans*, they said they would do nothing except in concert with him; and that as they were inclined to pitch upon some prince of the house of *Austria*, they begged to know the person whom he wished to succeed him on the throne§.

To these remonstrances *Rodolphus* replied, that he should be glad to see another diet convoked in some place where he could be personally present, before they should proceed to the election of his successor. Mean while, however, the electors agreed among themselves in private upon the person to be elected king of the *Romans*, having chosen him from the number of the competitors, who were king *Matthias*, the archduke *Ferdinand* of *Gratz*, the archduke *Leopold* of *Innsbruck*, and *Maximilian* duke of *Bavaria*; but the decision of

† LONDORP. t. i. p. 96. ‡ STRUV. per. 10. § 7. p. 2045.
§ BARRÉ Hist. d'Allemagne, t. ix. p. 405.

this, and other affairs, was referred to another diet, summoned to meet at *Frankfort* in the spring of the following year. During this interval, *Matthias* married the archduchess *Ann Katharine* of *Innsbruck*, his own cousin-german; and the nuptials were solemnized at *Vienna* with great magnificence, though the emperor could not be present on the occasion.

THAT prince, who, by the insinuations of *Tycho Brahe*, was rendered jealous of his nearest relations, became every day more and more melancholy and distrustful, insomuch as to shut himself up in his palace, from which he never stirred, not even to church, till at length he was seized with a swelling and inflammation in his legs, of which, in a few weeks, he died unmarried in the fifty-ninth year of his age, and in the thirty-sixth of his reign, leaving to his successor abundance of gold and silver, together with a great quantity of jewels. *The emperor dies.*

THIS prince was of a middling stature, and pleasing aspect; remarkable for a sweetness of temper, a vivacity of parts, a delicacy of judgment, and an uncommon extent of capacity and understanding, by which he had acquired the reputation of an accomplished prince before he ascended the imperial throne; while, by his zeal for religion, he had captivated the affections of his people. With these advantages he began his reign, the happy presages of which were, however, soon falsified by his future conduct; for, as he advanced in age, he proved himself altogether unfit for governing his dominions either in peace or war. His chief attention was engrossed by the sciences, particularly the study of mechanics; to which he was so much addicted, that he spent whole days in the shops of clock-makers and turners. His palace was filled with chymists; and one of his principal amusements consisted in the practice of that art. He passed many leisure hours in the stables among his horses, which he took great delight in contemplating; and often went thither in the dress of a groom, in order to avoid the eyes of the public. These occupations, so unbecoming an emperor, joined with a natural timidity, inspired his enemies with a contempt of his character, and encouraged them to undertake a great many schemes to the prejudice of the imperial authority. (K). *His portrait and character.*

1 HEISS. l. 3. c. 7.

* Id. ibid. BARRE ubi supra.

MATTHIAS,

(K) Notwithstanding these authors represent him as one of the best princes that ever wore the

A. D.
1612.

MATTHIAS, being advertised of the emperor's death, set out immediately from *Vienna*, with his queen and some noblemen; and arriving at *Prague* on the thirtieth of *January*, caused one *Rasius* to be apprehended for having favoured the faction of the archduke *Leopold* in *Bohemia*, and abused the authority of the emperor by levying large contributions in that kingdom. He was accordingly prosecuted with such rigour, as looked more like the rancour of personal enmity than the regular enquiry of justice; and the poor man, believing his adversaries implacable, made away with himself privately, in order to avoid the disgrace of a public execution. This effect of his despair confirmed the accusations that were brought against him. His body was delivered to the executioner, by whom it was dismembered, and his quarters exposed upon gibbets. An example of revenge rather than of justice; and a cruel affront to the memory of an emperor, who had always governed *Bohemia* with moderation *.

* KHEVENHULLER, l. 7. p. 441.

the imperial crown, not only for his industry and address in pacifying the troubles of *Germany*, but also for his prowess and spirit in maintaining wars against the *Turks*. *And. Mauroc. Hist. Venet. Anno 1612.*

deposited in the cathedral church of *Prague* on the sixth day of *February*; and about the beginning of *October*, his funeral rites were performed with great solemnity. *Heiss. ubi supra.*

The body of *Rodolphus* was

C H A P. XV.

Comprehending the Transactions of the Empire from the Death of Rodolphus, to the Election of the Elector-palatine to the Crown of Bohemia.

M A T T H I A S.

IMEDIATELY after the death of *Rodolphus*, the elector of *Saxony* published a diploma in the provinces which follow the *Saxon* law, announcing the emperor's decease, exhorting the nobility and people to keep the peace, and have recourse to his tribunal for the decision of their affairs. As *Frederic* the fifth, elector-palatine, was not yet of age to exercise the vicariate, and take upon him the government of his own dominions, *John* count-palatine, duke of *Deux-ponts*, acted

acted as his tutor, by the appointment of his deceased father ; but *Philip-Lewis*, count palatine, duke of *Neuburg*, disputed with him this prerogative, as being nearer in blood to the elector ; and these two separately published their patents as vicars and administrators of the empire ^y.

IN the mean time, the archbishop of *Mentz* summoned the electors to repair to *Frankfort* upon the *Maine*, by the fourteenth of *May*, in order to elect a king of the *Romans* ; and he himself was the first who arrived at that place with a grand retinue. He was soon followed by all the other electors, except the marquis of *Brandenburg*, who commissioned *Adam Putlitz*, marshal of his court, to represent his person. After much deliberation, in the course of which *Albert* of *Matthias Austria*, *Maximilian* of *Bavaria*, and the duke of *Savoy*, is elected were severally proposed, *Matthias* was at length elected emperor, and crowned with universal applause.

HAVING obtained the imperial dignity, he recommended *He recom-* union and peace to the electors, princes, and states, protest- *mends una-* ing that his chief care should be to re-establish and main- *nimity to* tain the tranquility of the empire. He then set out for *the princes.* *Prague*, where he employed some months in regulating the affairs of that kingdom ; and these being settled, repaired to *Vienna*, where he fixed his residence.

DURING his stay at *Prague*, he had dispatched *Negroni* to the *Othoman Porte*, to complain of the enterprizes of *Bathori*, and of the protection which was granted him by the sultan. This minister being introduced to the divan, the prime vizir ordered the secretary to read the articles of peace concluded between the Grand Seignior and the emperor *Rodolphus*, as *Negroni* affirmed, that, according to the treaty, *Botskai* dying without heirs male, *Transylvania* ought to revert to the house of *Austria*. No such article being found, the emperor's minister did not scruple to say that the copy was altered, and produced the two original treaties, signed by both parties, in which the article in question was inserted. The vizir declared that *Botskai* had no authority from the *Porte* to insert such a clause : *Negroni* replied, that the bashaw *Amurath* had actually signed the copy in which it was contained ; the dispute lasted a full hour, and at length the determination of the affair was postponed, until *Negroni* should receive new instructions from the emperor ^z.

ABOUT this time, an ambassador arrived from *Persia*, and another from *Muscovy*, and both had audience of the em-

^y REICHSHÄNDEL, part 7. p. 208.
lcmagne, t. ix. p. 418.

^z BARRE Hist. d'Al-

Ambassadors arrive from Persia and Muscovy.

peror at *Prague*. The first complained that, contrary to the promise of *Rodolphus*, peace had been concluded with the *Turks*: he advanced divers reasons for breaking that treaty, and concluded with demanding a categorical answer without delay.

MATTHIAS answered, that he had the strongest inclination to maintain the friendship which his brother had contracted with the *sophi*; that the rebellions in *Hungary* had obliged his predecessor to make peace with the *Turk*; but in all probability it would not be of long continuance, as the empire would be under the necessity of undertaking the defence of *Moldavia* and *Transylvania*, which the *Turks* had already begun to harass; that at the next diet he would concert measures with the princes, for restoring the tranquillity of these two provinces, and make the *sophi* acquainted with the resolutions that should be taken on that subject. The ambassador returned to his own country with this answer, and was accompanied by *Adam Dorm*, in quality of the emperor's resident at the court of *Persia*.

The Russians sue for the emperor's patronage and protection.

As for the *Muscovite* minister, he besought his imperial majesty to interpose his mediation, so as to terminate the war between *Muscovy* and *Poland*, and to bestow upon *Russia* a prince who should re-establish the quiet of that country, which had been for many years dissolated by the tyranny of their dukes. He then expatiated upon the cruelties of *Boris*, *Demetrius*, *Zuiski*, and other arbitrary princes, "What excesses (said the envoy) authorize our senate to claim your protection, and intreat that we may live according to our own laws, under a prince of your appointing, who shall rule his subjects in equity and peace."

A. D.
1613.

MATTHIAS, having heard this address with secret pleasure, promised to satisfy the *Muscovites*, and even to employ his whole power in retrieving their peace; but, in order to be more certainly informed of the situation of their affairs, sent *Peter Herman* into *Muscovy* along with the ambassador.

In the midst of these transactions, *Elizabeth* princess of *England* was married to the elector-palatine, and the nuptials were solemnized at *Heidelberg* with great magnificence^b.

WHILE the palatine house was filled with rejoicings on account of this event, that of *Austria* was extremely concerned and perplexed about the demands of the *Othoman Port*. The *Turk* sent a *chiaoux* to *Matthias*, to congratulate him upon his accession to the throne, and at the same time, to

^a BARRE Hist. d'Allemagne, t. ix. p. 420.
p. 62.

^b WILSON.

demand the cession of some cities and towns depending upon *Strigonia*, with an entire renunciation of his pretensions to *Transylvania*. *Gabriel Bathori*, the present vaivode, saw himself threatened with the loss of his principality; and as he did not know which side to espouse, employed all his address in acquiring the good-will of both the emperor and sultan. He sent deputies to each, and loaded them with presents to dazzle the eyes of these two princes, or at least to suspend their differences; and his envoy at *Vienna* agreed with the emperor's commissaries, that *Bathori* should receive imperial garrisons in his towns, provided *Transylvania* should be attacked by the *Turks*, from whom the emperor expected nothing but war; for they had assembled an army at *Adrianople*, and there was great reason to believe they intended to use it either against *Hungary* or *Transylvania*.

The *Turks*
threaten
Transyl-
vania.

MATTHIAS was provided with troops to oppose the threatened irruption; but as he could not introduce *German* soldiers into *Hungary*, without the consent of the states, he convened an assembly at *Presburg*, and desired them to repeal the law by which it was enacted that no foreign troops should enter the kingdom; for he observed that *Hungary* was not powerful enough of itself to support a war against the *Turks*; and promised that his *German* troops should commit no irregularities in the kingdom.

THIS proposal met with strong opposition from the palatine and Protestants, who were afraid that the emperor, under pretence of defending *Hungary* against the *Turks*, would employ his troops in establishing an arbitrary authority, and in destroying the privileges of the kingdom (M). However, after long and obstinate debates, the assembly thought of a medium to qualify this article of the troops; and it was agreed, that upon a rupture with the *Turk*, the emperor as their king, might introduce *German* soldiers in *Hungary*, on condition that if the captain was a *German*, the lieutenant should be an *Hungarian*, and the pay of both be equal. Then they reduced the subsidy which the emperor demanded; but in order to make him amends, granted to the empress one hundred and twenty thousand florins, for the coronation of that princess as queen of *Hungary*. Accordingly that ceremony was performed by cardinal *Fortgasi*, in presence of the

(M) The emperor having liberty to say, that the wolf of *Germany* was as formidable as the bear of *Turkey*. *Barre Hist. d'Allemagne*, t. ix. p. 422.

states,

states, and then their imperial majesties set out from *Presburg*, on their return to *Vienna*^c.

*A diet is
summoned
to meet at
Ratisbon.*

MATTHIAS, in imitation of the preceding emperors of his house, employed all his industry and address in re-uniting the Protestants with the Catholic church; but all his endeavours proved unsuccessful, and served only to cool the regard which the *Lutherans* had entertained for his person, and even to detach them from his interests. This alteration he had occasion to see too plain, in their behaviour at the ensuing diet, which was held at *Ratisbon*. In the letters of convocation, the emperor assured the members, that his sole aim was to appease the troubles of *Germany*, and restore it to the fruition of its ancient splendor; to re-establish the visits of the imperial chamber; augment the number of assessors; abridge the proceedings at law, which chicanery had multiplied to excess; to reform the coin, which was very much debased; and to promote a spirit of unanimity, that all the forces of the empire might join together against the common enemy^d.

*Is harangued by
the emperor's
secretary.*

THE diet was opened by the landgrave of *Hesse*, who in a short speech touched upon the different subjects which were to fall under deliberation, and referred the assembly for further particulars to the emperor's secretary *Ducker*, who harangued upon the care his imperial majesty had always taken both before and after he ascended the throne, to maintain peace in *Germany*: he expatiated upon the abuses which had crept into the courts of justice, and the necessity of opposing the enterprizes of the *Turks*; he proposed a subsidy of five years to be levied in the dominions of the empire, for defraying the expence of a war against these infidels; and gave them to understand, that his imperial majesty would command the troops in person, and cheerfully expose his life and fortune for the safety of his subjects. He then made a transition to the coin; explained the malversations of the directors; exhorted the princes to recoin their money, and reduce it to the just value, so as that trade might no longer suffer from that defect: he afterwards enlarged upon the maintenance of four thousand horse, and twenty thousand infantry, a proportion which had been long ago settled in the matricular book, though always very much neglected; and he concluded by admonishing the states to agree among themselves, about the ceremonial of their sitting in the diet, which had often produced disputes that retarded the business for which they had met^e.

^c KHEVENHULLER, t. vii. p. 548.

^e HELVIC. l. 5. p. 140.

^d MEYER, t. i. p. 671.

BEFORE these points were discussed, the Protestants presented to the emperor a memorial, containing divers complaints against his privy council, which, they said, arrogated to itself the cognizance of religious affairs, contrary to the ancient constitutions of the imperial chamber, which regulated the power of every jurisdiction, reserving to the emperor and his council, no more than the articles of investiture of the fiefs, and the power of executing treaties of peace. They complained, that the privy council usually nominated commissaries to decide the differences on the score of religion, in the Protestant states, and from them there was no appeal except to the council; that the commissaries were always Roman Catholics, or if one was chosen of another communion, it was only with a view to save appearances, the appeals being always reserved for the privy council. They demanded that the president of the imperial chamber should be chosen indifferently from the body of Protestants and Catholics, as well as the assessors of that tribunal, and the officers of the chancery; and that there should be an equal number of judges, professing each religion. They intreated the emperor to inquire into the reasons that induced the imperial chamber to refuse to register the decrees signed by the elector-palatine, as vicar of the empire, while the throne was vacant; to lay injunctions upon that chamber to be more observant of the old and new constitutions; and forbid it to receive religious appeals, that should be brought by persons who are neither the states nor members of the *Germanic* body. They complained, that those of their communion, who were in possession of ecclesiastic principalities, were refused the rank which the Catholics formerly maintained in the diets, observing, that it was an unheard of piece of injustice to deprive a prince of his rank, because he happened to be of another persuasion. They deplored the condition of those Protestants who lived in Catholic states, as being grievously restricted in the exercise of their religion, and exposed to tyranny and fraud in the execution of their wills. Finally, they desired that those of their communion, who held fiefs depending on Catholic churches, should no longer be obliged to take the oath in the name of the saints; that in the diets and councils of the princes, where the Catholics were most numerous, the decisions should not depend upon a plurality of voices; and that his imperial majesty would maintain an equal balance thro' all the provinces of the empire^f.

The Protestants present a memorial to Matthias.

^f Hist. de Religions BESCHWEERDEN, l. 1. c. 3.

THIS

And re-
ceive an
evasive
answer.

THIS memorial was received by the emperor, who promised to confer upon it with the princes; but, in the mean time, gave them to understand that particular griefs ought not to hinder them from contributing towards the public weal; and that after they should have deliberated upon the points which his secretary had proposed, he would examine the nature of their complaints.

THE Protestants, far from being satisfied with this answer, presented a second petition, declaring that they could not assist at the diet, until their demands should be taken into consideration; and the emperor, having considered the articles of this second address, and advised with the three ecclesiastic electors, and the ambassadors of the duke of Saxony, sent an answer to the deputies, importing that he saw no reason which ought to engage the diet in deliberating upon their complaints, before it should proceed to the articles proposed in his declaration; that as their distresses did not interest the whole empire, they could not expect that the consideration of them should take place of those measures which were absolutely necessary for the general preservation of the empire; he, therefore, exhorted them to join the Catholics, in deliberating upon the enterprizes of the *Turks*, and promised to do them justice before the end of the diet.

They insist
upon the
redress of
their
grievances

THE Protestants still insisted upon the redress of their grievances, as a subject which ought to take place of all others, because a neglect in that particular might involve all *Germany* in a civil war; and observed, that the acts of former diets plainly proved it was the first care of those assemblies to compose intestine divisions, without which precaution no salutary measures could be taken for the commonweal.

MATTHIAS, who was in great want of troops and money, could not without chagrin behold the time consumed in such remonstrances, which served only to augment the troubles of the empire. He had already received and replied to three memorials, and at length the deputies presented a fourth, giving him to understand that they had orders from their principals to insist upon knowing his final resolution touching their affairs. This peremptory demand he communicated to the Catholic princes and electors, who advised him to give no other answer than they had already received; for as winter approached, and *Ratisbon* began to be sickly, he could not employ sufficient time for discussing such disputes, without running the risque of leaving undeter-

mined the principal affair for which they they were assembled^b.

MEAN while, the Catholics undertook to answer the memorials of the deputies, and recriminated upon the Protestants, whom they accused of having infringed the decrees of former diets, by introducing divers sects, which had occasioned numberless disorders in the empire; of having demolished churches, persecuted the clergy, abolished the jurisdiction, customs, and festivals of the church, and of having circulated defamatory libels against the pope and the Catholic states, whom it was the emperor's duty to avengeⁱ.

Their memorials are answered by the Catholics.

DURING this contest between the Catholics and Protestants, the arms of the *Turks* made great progress in *Transylvania*, where they supported *Bethleem Gabor* against *Gabriel Bathori*, who had rendered himself odious by his cruelty and misconduct. *Matthias* no sooner received the disagreeable account of these transactions, than he communicated it to the diet, in order to accelerate their resolutions in this conjuncture; he reminded them of the immediate necessity they were under to protect *Hungary*, which was the frontier of the empire, proposed that a powerful army should be raised without delay for that service, exhorted the states to live in peace with one another, and as the plague began to rage at *Ratisbon*, referred the discussion of other affairs to the next assembly.

The Turks make an irruption into Transylvania.

THE Protestants, who were not sorry to see the house of *Austria* embarrassed, declared that they were ready to contribute towards the expence of the war, provided they could obtain satisfaction with regard to their demands; and the emperor, finding all other methods ineffectual, commissioned his brother, the archduke *Maximilian*, to confer with them upon the articles of their complaints: but that prince, with all his insinuation, could not make the least impression upon the deputies, who would by no means swerve from their purpose; but, on the contrary, lodged a protest with the chancery of *Mentz*, against a new subsidy which the Catholic states about this time granted to the emperor, for enabling him to oppose the invasion of the *Turks*^k.

THE dispute about the succession of *Fuliers* and *Cleves* now raged with greater violence than ever: the elector of *Brandenburg*, tired of sharing the possession of these two states, made some attempts upon the rights of the duke of *Neuburg*,

^b LEHMANN. de pace Relig. part. 2. c. 74. part 4. l. 2. p. 119.

ⁱ SHADÆUS,

^k BARRÉ Hist. d'Allemagne, t. ix. p. 431.

The disputes about the succession of Juliers and Cleves revived.

who having complained of these encroachments to no purpose, had recourse to reprisals, and matters were insensibly inflamed to such a degree, that each employed his own arms, and those of his allies, to fortify himself in the places which he occupied, and even to surprize those of his antagonist. While the elector of *Saxony*, in consequence of the investiture which he had received from the emperor *Rodolphus*, obtained from the archduke *Albert*, governor of the *Low Countries*, possession of the house of *Cleves*, in the city of *Brussels*, together with all the fiefs depending upon the county of *Ravenstein*¹. The duke of *Neuburg*, finding himself unequal in power to the elector of *Brandenburg*, resolved to strengthen his interest by an alliance with the ducal house of *Bavaria*, and accordingly married the princess *Magdalen*, sister of duke *Maximilian*, and the elector of *Cologne*: then his cause was espoused by the emperor, the archduke governor of the *Low Countries*, and the king of *Spain*; and his rival being alarmed at this formidable conjunction, courted the alliance of the states-general.

BEFORE this politic republic would conclude a treaty with the elector, they proposed their mediation to the duke of *Neuburg*, that the affair might be amicably compromised; but this prince, having thanked them for their friendly intention, declined the proposal, unless the elector of *Brandenburg* would revoke every thing he had acted contrary to the agreement at *Dortmund*, and restore the domain of *Montjoien*, together with the revenues of the allodial funds, which he had unjustly seized.

THE friendship of the united provinces was not the only alliance courted by the elector of *Brandenburg*: he likewise endeavoured to support himself by the assistance of *Saxony* and *Hesse*; and an assembly being held for this purpose, at *Naumburg* in *Thuringia*, the ancient confederation between the three houses was renewed.

THE states of *Cleves*, though solicited to declare for one or other of the confederates, resolved to remain neuter; but by letters earnestly intreated the archduke *Albert*, the elector of *Cologne*, and the united provinces, to accommodate the difference; and the elector answered, that if the duke of *Neuburg* should sustain the least injury, he would undertake his defence^m.

MEAN while, the duke promised to submit his pretensions to this succession, to the decision of the imperial council;

¹ TESCHENMACHER, ann. Julix ad An. 1613.
FENDORF Rer. Suc. l. 20. c. 107.

^m PUR-

A. D.
1614.

whereas, the elector of *Brandenburg*, far from giving such an instance of his veneration and complaisance for that tribunal, openly declared that he would never own for judges those persons whom he knew to be prejudiced against him and his cause, and published certain proposals for accommodation, which were rejected by his antagonist; so that the breach between these princes seemed to widen every day.

THE elector's interest was espoused by the states-general *The duke* and the Protestants of *Germany*, while the duke of *Neuburg* of *Neu-* abjured *Lutheranism*, in order to make sure of the Catholic *burg ab-* league, the protection of the emperor, and the assistance of *pires Lu-* the court of *Spain*. The Protestants of *Juliers* and *Cleves* *theranism.* were alarmed at the duke's apostacy, apprehending that if ever he should become their sovereign, he would treat them as *Philip* the second had treated his subjects in the *Low-Coun-* tries. He, therefore, in order to calm their disquiets, published a declaration, allowing liberty of conscience to those of both religions, and protesting that he should always observe the articles of agreement he had made when he took possession of the countryⁿ.

THE electoral prince of *Brandenburg* was not so prudent in his political conduct. With a view to attach the united provinces the more strictly to his cause, he resolved to introduce *Calvinism* into the states of *Cleves* and *Juliers*; a novelty which would have produced an insurrection of the nobility and people, had not he published a declaration, in which he promised that no person should be disturbed on account of religion.

THE united provinces, in consequence of the treaty they *The united* had concluded with the elector, took possession of *Juliers*, on *provinces* pretence of holding it in sequestration; and protested, that *take posses-* far from having any design to trouble the repose of *Germany*, *sion of* their sole aim in this transaction was to accelerate an accom- *Juliers.* modation between the princes competitors. The duke of *Neuburg*, little satisfied with this declaration, put the other places in a posture of defence, and took the city of *Dussel-* dorp by stratagem: while the archduke governor of the *Low-* Countries, openly expressed his indignation at this step of the states-general; and the marquis *de Spinola*, who commanded the army in *Flanders*, threatened to break the truce, and invade the united provinces with fire and sword. The archduke, however, would not proceed to extremities, until he had demanded the restitution of *Juliers*, which being refused, his army, commanded by *Spinola*, passed the *Meuse* at *Maes-*

ⁿ MERCUR. Gallo-Belg. t. x. l. 3.

Spinola
takes Aix-
la-Cha-
pelle.

tricht, and took the route to *Juliers*, for which the states-general were in no pain, because it was well provided for making a vigorous resistance, and count *Maurice* had joined the electoral prince of *Brandenburg*, who had a sufficient number of good troops to thwart the enterprizes of the *Flemings*. But they were deceived by the finesse of *Spinola*, who, changing his route all of a sudden, marched to *Aix-la-Chapelle*, which was under the protection of *Brandenburg*; and the citizens, terrified at his appearance, surrendered their keys without opposition.

The pro-
gress of
count
Maurice.

FROM thence he set out for *Mulheim*, assuming the name of the emperor's commissary, and bearing the imperial eagle in his standard; and having put garrisons in the towns of *Dure*, *Burthen*, *Caster*, *Grewembroch*, and other places that submitted to him in his march, he passed the *Rhine* two leagues below *Cologne*, where he was joined by the duke of *Neuburg* with eight hundred horse and five thousand infantry. Then they advanced to *Mulheim*, which they dismantled; and afterwards undertook the siege of *Wesel*, which they took after a gallant resistance, notwithstanding the efforts of count *Maurice*, who, in order to indemnify himself for this misfortune, made several conquests on this side the *Rhine*. He surprised *Emerick*, one of the best places in the country of *Cleves*, and took *Rees*, before the Spanish general was in a condition to raise the siege; while *Goch*, *Gennep*, *Kaleal*, and other fortresses in the neighbourhood of the *Rhine* were obliged to receive his garrisons.

Accommo-
dation be-
tween the
princes pos-
sessors at
Santhen.

IN the mean time, *Spinola* made himself master of *Duisbourg*, and sent a detachment of his army to surprise *Santhen*; but his scheme miscarried; and that town, having all along maintained its neutrality, was the place chosen for the assembly, in which peace was concluded between the princes possessors. Here the conferences were opened by the deputies of *Brandenburg*, *Neuburg*, the states-general, the king of Spain, the archduke governor, the crowns of *France* and *England*, the electors of *Cologne*, *Palatine*, the duke of *Wirtemberg*, and several other princes of the empire; and after the respective demands of the princes possessors were examined and maturely considered, an accommodation was effected on these conditions: that no place belonging to the succession should be garrisoned, without the consent of the princes possessors; that the guard of each should consist of no more than of fifty horsemen, and one hundred foot soldiers; that all the effects, benefices, and offices which had been seized and alienated,

should be restored to those who enjoyed them before the misunderstanding happened between the princes; that commissaries should be nominated by both parties, in order to re-establish and regulate the police of the state, conformable to the transactions of *Dortmund* and *Hall*; and that these commissaries should be chosen from the noblesse of *Juliers*, *Cleves*, and *Bergue*, and be nominated in one month from the date of this agreement; that, notwithstanding the transactions of *Dortmund* and *Hall*, the two princes should have separate courts of judicature; that the court of *Cleves* should take place in the dutchy of the same name, and in the counties of *la Marck* and *Ravenstein*, and the dutchies of *Juliers* and *Bergue*, with their dependencies, have recourse to the court of *Dusseldorp*; that the towns and castles of *Juliers* and *Dusseldorp* should be governed by four officers, natives of these provinces, two of whom should be Catholics and two Protestants; that each of the four should have a company of one hundred soldiers, and that they should take the oath of allegiance to the elector of *Brandenburg* and the duke of *Neuburg*; that the presidents of the chanceries, and other tribunals, should determine no difficult cause without having first consulted one of the princes possessors; that the elector and the duke should alternately confer the benefices and posts belonging to the succession, and that if he whose turn it was to nominate should leave any place vacant for three months, the other might fill up the vacancy; that the pensions and appointments of all officers, either civil or military, should be paid from the revenues of the provinces, and the remainder be equally divided between the princes, without whose consent no tax should be imposed; that the accounts of the treasures should be inspected, and an exact inventory taken of the papers and titles concerning the succession, by the commissaries chosen by the princes; that the alienations, mortgages, and presents, made by one or other of the possessors before such a day, should remain in suspense until the definitive sentence of the succession; that an estimate should be made of what had been alienated by one prince in the other's territory, and a proper compensation be made from the revenue of the whole; and finally, that the two princes should bind themselves by oath to ratify the present transaction in six weeks.

THE execution of these articles was opposed by *Spinola*, who demanded, that the united provinces should promise not to intermeddle in the succession, provided another rupture

Spinola
retards the
execution
of the
treaty.

† *BARRÉ Hist. d'Allemagne, t. ix. p. 440.*

should happen between the princes possessors: he moreover pretended, that he could not withdraw his garrison from *Wiesel* without an express order from the emperor and the king of *Spain*; and every body perceiving that these were no other than subterfuges for eluding the articles of the agreement, the assembly broke up.

Bathori is reduced to extremity by the Turks, and slain at his own request. THE *Turks* still continued their hostilities in *Hungary* and *Transylvania*. The bashaw *Sandar* having passed the *Donube* with four thousand horse and twelve thousand janissaries, joined *Bethleem Gabor*, who waited for him on the frontier, while the bashaw *Ogli* advanced on the side of *Walachia*, at the head of another army. *Bathori*, fearing he should be surrounded, encamped at *Milebach*, the river *Marnex* being between him and the infidels, who, nevertheless, advanced to attack him; upon which he retired under the cannon of *Worms*, until he should receive the succours which he expected from the emperor. However, as this reinforcement was neither suitable to his expectation or his necessity, he endeavoured to make new levies towards *Trinau*; but he was so universally hated, that not one man would enlist; so that, seeing himself reduced to necessity, pursued by the *Turks*, detested by his own subjects, diffident of his troops, without money and ammunition, he would not survive his misfortune, and was at his own request, slain by one of his soldiers.

He is succeeded by Bethleem Gabor. THE principality of *Transylvania* was no sooner vacant by the death of *Bathori*, than the bashaw *Sandar* declared *Bethleem Gabor* vaivode of that province: a change which seemed to threaten it with a bloody war; but, contrary to the general expectation, peace was concluded with the *Turks* in forty days; and almost all the governors of places, who were supposed to be unalterably attached to the emperor, acknowledged *Bethleem Gabor* for their sovereign. Nevertheless, there still remained a party devoted to the house of *Austria*, who were sufficient to disturb this new vaivode, and even to seize some places in behalf of the emperor.

A. D. 1615. IN consequence of *Gabor's* complaints, the Grand Seignior sent a chiaoux to *Matthias*, demanding, that these places should be restored to the person whom he had appointed as successor to *Bathori*, otherwise he would support him by dint of arms. The emperor answered, it was an affair of such importance that he could not decide upon it, until he should have consulted the states of the empire; so that hostilities recommenced between the *Hungarians* and the infidels.

Hostilities are renewed between the Turks and the emperor. MATTHIAS, alarmed at these commotions, convened at *Lintz* an assembly composed of the deputies of all his hereditary countries, in order to lay before them the state of his affairs.

affairs, and to solicit their assistance in this emergency ; but some of them being very indifferent to his interest, and the *Hungarians* flatly refusing a passage to his troops, in their march to *Transylvania*, the assembly broke up without having come to any determination in his favour.

IN the mean time, *Bethleem Gabor*, with the assistance of the bashaw *Sandar*, invested the city of *Lippe*, and, in a few days, made himself master of the place, in consequence of a capitulation, importing, that it should not be garrisoned with *Turks*, or dismembered from the province of *Transylvania*. This clause *Gabor* could not observe without giving offence to the *Turks*, to whom he had promised this town, together with two others ; and he was not a little embarrassed by this consideration, when a very unexpected event delivered him at once from his apprehensions. The Grand Seignior having occasion for all his forces to terminate the intestine broils and foreign wars, under which his empire at that time groaned, resolved to make peace with *Germany*, and for that purpose sent an ambassador to *Vienna* with magnificent presents. A negotiation was immediately begun, and, after divers conferences, the treaty formerly concluded between *Rodolphus* the second and the sultan, was renewed and confirmed. All the places occupied by the *Turks* in *Hungary* were delivered up to the house of *Austria* ; and the lands which, during the war, had been alienated, were now restored to the right owners. This was the substance of the treaty by which peace was re-established in *Hungary* for the term of twenty years ; though not the least mention was made of *Bethleem Gabor's* usurpation, which was, for the present, overlooked, lest it should have introduced a dispute that might have retarded, if not prevented, the accommodation.¹

A treaty of peace is concluded.

IN the course of this year, a rupture happened between the duke of *Brunswic* and the city of that name, upon the same subject which had produced a quarrel in the reign of *Rodolphus* the second between the late duke *Henry Julius* and the inhabitants of that town. This was no other than a contest for their liberty, which they resolved to defend against the impositions of the duke, who wanted to exert a sovereign authority over them. *Frederic Ulric*, the present duke, had made some advances towards an accommodation ; but these proving ineffectual, he had recourse to arms, and forbade his subjects, on pain of death, to maintain the least commerce with the inhabitants of *Brunswic*. These republicans, depending upon their alliance with the hanse towns, treated this

A rupture between the duke of Brunswic and the city of that name.

¹ *BARRE Hist. d'Allemagne, t. ix. p. 446. HEISS. l. 3. c. 8.*

prohibition with contempt, and incensed him to such a degree, that he levied troops, invested the city, and carried on the siege with great fury, while the place was obstinately defended by the count *de Solmes*, strengthened by some auxiliaries from the hanse towns; till at length a treaty was concluded by the mediation of the prince of *Hesse* and the king of *Denmark*, who was uncle to the duke, and assisted at the siege in person^r. (N).

ABOUT the end of *January* the Protestant states assembled at *Nuremberg*, in order to deliberate upon the affairs of *Fuliers*, and every prince of that communion was present, except the elector of *Saxony*, who would not enter into their views, or join in the remonstrances they intended to make to the emperor, touching the possession of the states of *Fuliers*, and the liberty of the empire, which they conceived to be in danger from the conduct of the house of *Austria*. Finding the elector averse to their measures, they solicited the assistance of *France*; but that kingdom was too much engrossed by its own intestine divisions, to grant protection to strangers, so that they separated without having brought matters to any conclusion; and the war among the princes, who disputed the succession of *Fuliers*, began to rage again with great fury^s.

Grievances of the Calixtins in Bohemia.

MATTHIAS, after having a long time kept measures with the Protestants, now pulled off the mask, and resolved to make them feel that he was their master. *Bohemia* was divided by two religions, namely, that of the Catholics, and that of the *Calixtins*, or descendants of the *Hussites*, who were formerly so powerful that the emperor *Sigismund*, before they would own him as king of *Bohemia*, had been fain to indulge them with a privilege, importing, that there should be

^r METERANUS, l. 32. p. 155.
4. x. l. 3. p. 78.

^s MERCUR. Gallo-Belg.

(N) The chief articles of this treaty, which was concluded in the town of *Stadenbourg*, and afterwards ratified by the emperor, were these: that the duke should confirm the privileges, immunities, and customs of the city of *Brunswic*; and promise to obey the decrees of the imperial chamber, provided the senate and citizens would do him homage,

take the same oaths to him which they had taken to his predecessors before the year one thousand five hundred and sixty-nine, and acknowledge him as their lawful duke; and that the disputes which had arisen about his jurisdiction, should be determined by arbitrators, or by the imperial chamber. *Schadens*, part 4. l. 4. p. 272.

no citizen or magistrate in *Prague*, but such as were of their persuasion. *Maximilian* the second encroached upon this grant by allowing Catholics to enjoy the freedom of the city, and their number considerably encreased by the favour of the king's officers, all of whom were of the same religion. In the reign of *Rodolphus* the second, the Protestants of *Bohemia* obtained the emperor's edict for putting them and the Catholics upon an equality in all respects; but the officers refused to publish the decree, which they deemed prejudicial to the Catholic religion; and the court of *Vienna* was at no pains to enforce the execution of it: while the Catholics, under a prince of their own communion, occupied the first posts of the kingdom, enjoyed the confidence of the sovereign, and their clergy were restored to the possession of all the estates of which they had been deprived by the *Hussites*†.

THIS was the situation of affairs in *Bohemia*, when the emperor resolved to secure the crown of that kingdom to his cousin *Ferdinand*, archduke of *Gratz*, son of *Charles* of *Austria*, brother of *Maximilian* the second, who was the present emperor's father. This prince was accordingly presented to the states of the kingdom, assembled at *Prague* for that purpose, and recommended to their choice by the emperor in person, after he had given them to understand that his brothers *Maximilian* and *Albert*, who like himself were without issue, had resigned their pretensions in favour of *Ferdinand*; and that his sole view in this recommendation was to prevent the evils that might accrue to the kingdom, in case it should at his death be left without an head. *The archduke Ferdinand is elected king of Bohemia.*

THE proposal was embraced, and *Ferdinand* elected king, on condition, nevertheless, that during the life of *Matthias*, he should not intermeddle in affairs of state, except by the emperor's express permission; and having promised to observe this stipulation, he was solemnly crowned in presence of *Matthias* and his empress^u (O).

NOTWITHSTANDING the promise he had made to maintain the privileges of the kingdom, the Protestants did not fare the better for their new prince, but began to complain that the articles of their agreement, touching the exercise of re-

† BARRE Hist. d'Allemagne, t. ix. p. 451. part 4. l. 6.

^u SCHADÆUS.

(O) If we may believe *Struvius*, he was, on his return to his apartment, absolved by the pope's nuncio of the oath he had just taken. *Struv. period 10. sect. 8.*

ligion,

ligion, were not at all observed. In this very conjuncture, when they might have been easily satisfied, the archbishop of *Prague* ordered a church which they had built at *Clostergrab*, to be demolished, and with more rigour than discretion caused another at *Brunow* to be shut up. These proceedings induced some noblemen of the Protestant faith to complain of the outrage to the council which the emperor had left at *Prague*; but they received a supercilious answer, implying, that nothing had been done contrary to the privileges of the subjects, the edicts of the emperor, or the resolutions taken by the states of the empire.

The mal-contents of that kingdom make remonstrances to the emperor's council, some members of which are thrown from a window.

THE complainants, seeing themselves treated with such scorn and disrespect, resolved to convoke the states of the kingdom, in order to deliberate upon their grievances; and the emperor, being apprised of their intention, forbade them to proceed on pain of his displeasure; but their resolution being already taken, his orders came too late. Two days after the assembly was opened, several noblemen were sent as deputies to the council, where they repeated their remonstrances, and demanded justice in a peremptory manner. Among others who sat as judges were *William Schlabata*, president of the chamber, *Jarowslaw Borsita*, count *de Martinitz*, and *Philip Fabricius*, secretary of the council. These members treated them with great insolence, and rejected their demands with contempt, which irritated the deputies to such a degree, that they rushed upon them and threw them headlong from the windows of a second story into a ditch, the water of which saved them from being hurt: they had even the good fortune to escape some shot that were sent after them, and to reach *Vienna* without farther damage*. The burgrave of *Bohemia*, and *Popel* grand prior of *St. Mary*, suffered no insult, because they had behaved with moderation to the remonstrants, who, therefore, conducted them in safety to their own houses. The count *de la Tour*, who was the principal actor in this bold scene, finding he had proceeded too far to retreat, rode through the streets, attended by his associates, and harangued the populace. “ I do not propose
“ myself (said he) as your chief, but as a companion to ac-
“ company you in that career, which will lead us to happy
“ freedom, or glorious death. The die is already thrown:
“ it is now too late to recal what is repast, and misery will
“ be your portion if you suffer yourselves to be oppressed.
“ Your safety altogether depends upon your unanimity and
“ courage: you must break asunder your chains, or perish

* HEISS. l. 3. c. 8.

“ by the hands of an executioner. If you take arms, and
 “ triumph over your oppressors, you will be renowned for
 “ valour, and reap the delicious fruits of your resolution •
 “ whereas, if you tamely submit to arbitrary power, you will
 “ be treated with indignity, and punished as rebels.”

THIS sort of declamation met with universal applause; and many Protestants, who did not approve of the violence offered to the emperor's officers, foreseeing that his resentment would make no distinctions, joined the party of the count, and seriously prepared for war. These were reinforced by the greatest part of the Catholics, who perceived that their new king *Ferdinand* paid as little regard to the liberties of the realm, as to the complaints of the Protestants. The whole united body assembled at the *Carolin* college, where they resolved to exact an oath of the garrisons and inhabitants of the three towns of *Prague*, to secure the castle and furnish the other fortresses with troops. Then they elected thirty directors, whom they invested with the sovereign authority, concerted measures for the safety of other places, which they ordered to be fortified with all possible dispatch, gave directions for levying forces, and expelled the jesuits, together with all the Catholics, who did not favour their conduct, and whom they branded with the appellation of enemies to the edicts of his imperial majesty. Finally, they published a manifesto, that the emperor and all the world might be informed of the justice of their cause and conduct, in chastising those who were enemies of the state and perturbators of the public peace.

A. D.
1618.

The Bohemians revolt.

MATTHIAS was extremely incensed at the outrage which had been committed against persons of quality, invested with his authority, as well as at the subsequent proceedings of the perpetrators; but, as he no longer possessed that activity of disposition for which he had been formerly remarkable, he was loath to proceed to extremities, until he should have tried gentler methods; and endeavoured to reclaim the *Bohemians* by letters, edicts, and declarations: to which they paid very little regard; for tho' in their answers the emperor's person was mentioned with respect, they boldly accused cardinal *Klesel*, bishop of *Vienna*, who was his prime minister and favourite, of being author of all the errors of the administration.

Matthias tries in vain to reclaim them by gentle methods.

KLESEL, though a person of obscure birth, was endued with a good understanding, and an insinuating manner; but he was imperious and unquiet, an implacable enemy to those who

who thwarted his designs, and much more apt to ruin a kingdom already in disorder, than to re-establish its peace by a wise reformation of abuses. He was not always hated by the Protestants of *Bohemia*; on the contrary, they had once paid great honours to him, as the person who had prevailed upon the emperor to indulge them with that edict, by which they enjoyed the free exercise of their religion: but now, being persuaded that he counselled *Matthias* to disregard that very edict, and to invade the liberties and privileges of their country, they bitterly inveighed against him as the sole source of all their grievances.

The inhabitants of Silesia join the Bohemian malcontents.

AT the same time, *Silesia* abounded with malcontents, who complained of the same oppression which had excited the troubles in *Bohemia*. Some noblemen were disappointed in the expectation of certain dignities to which they pretended a right; and several benefices were bestowed upon Catholics, after they had been taken from those of the other communion. These impolitic steps of the emperor had produced a spirit of discontent and disaffection among the nobility, which gradually diffused itself through the whole province, and at length broke out in open rebellion, soon after the revolt of the *Bohemians*, with whom the states of *Silesia* actually entered into alliance and confederacy. This was the beginning of a bloody war, that raged for thirty years in the empire, which interested almost all *Europe*, and was not determined till the peace of *Westphalia*. *Ferdinand* was of opinion, that the rebels of *Bohemia* and *Silesia* ought to be immediately reduced by force of arms; but his influence did not as yet predominate in the councils of the emperor, who had resigned *Bohemia* in his favour, on condition, that he himself should retain the sovereign authority during his life: the same clause was inserted in the treaty of cession when he settled him on the throne of *Hungary*, which he had lately ascended.

FERDINAND was disgusted at these conditions, which he knew to have been suggested by cardinal *Klesel*, who, having always sit at the helm, could not bear to see the sovereign authority wrested from his hands, and therefore persuaded the emperor to retain the government of these kingdoms. The new king, incensed at his conduct on this occasion, represented him as an ambitious and turbulent minister, who had embroiled the kingdom of *Bohemia* on purpose to render himself the more necessary to the emperor; and his remonstrances being reinforced by the archduke *Maximilian*, *Matthias* was obliged to remove him from court. He was apprehended without his master's knowledge, stripped of his

his cardinal's robes, and conducted to the confines of *Stiria*, where he remained five years a close prisoner (P).

THE count *de la Tour* could not have found a more favourable conjuncture for the accomplishment of his designs, and accordingly took the advantage of it in assembling troops, and forming his army. He put garrisons in all the defensible places, from which he drove the officers and soldiers whom he suspected of disaffection to the cause, occupied all the passes, established magazines, collected money, and made all the dispositions for a vigorous resistance.

THE emperor, who was still unprepared for using force, proposed a general amnesty to the *Bohemians*, and promised to re-establish them in their prerogatives, and the free exercise of their religion; but these advances produced no effect. *La Tour* was persuaded that sooner or later *Matthias* and *Ferdinand* would revenge the insult they had suffered in the persons of their officers, and that there was no safety but in the success of his arms; he therefore demanded succours of the Protestant princes, and opened the campaign in such a manner as flattered his party that he would soon free *Bohemia* from the *Austrian* yoke. La Tour prepares for a vigorous defence.

CRUMLAW and *Budewitz* are two strong places upon the *Molde*, and form an important pass from *High Austria* into *Bohemia*; this the count *de la Tour* undertook to shut against the Imperialists, by making himself master of these towns, which declared for *Matthias*. He accordingly took *Crumlaw* by assault, and summoned *Budewitz* to surrender; but Takes Crumlaw by assault.

STRUV. Per. 10. Sect. 8. p. 2054. KHEVENHULLER, t. 9. p. 21.

(P) *Ferdinand* is said to have laid a scheme for killing the cardinal with a musket-ball during the firings at the ceremony of his coronation; but as the shot did not take place, he caused him to be arrested in the palace, stripped of his robes, in lieu of which he was cloathed in black apparel, and sent to the place of his exile, with an escort of two hundred horse, commanded by the baron *de Breuner* and the counts *Colalto* and *Temperon*. After he had been thus carried off, *Ferdinand* and the archduke *Maximilian*

went and imparted the whole transaction to the emperor, who was very much afflicted at the news; and pope *Paul V.* being extremely irritated at their presumption, employed all his influence to set the cardinal at liberty: but it was his successor *Gregory V.* who found interest to have him brought to *Rome*, where he was tried in a congregation of cardinals, and declared innocent; upon which he was set at liberty, and returned to his diocese with the consent of *Ferdinand II.* *Heiss.* l. 3. c. 8.

this

this place withstood all his threats and solicitations; and as he was not yet strong enough to besiege it in form, he encamped in the neighbourhood, while *Mansfeld*, with another army, reduced the other places of *Bohemia*.

Mansfeld's character.

THIS last general, so famous for his exploits in *Flanders*, where he served the king of *Spain*, was natural son of the count of *Mansfeld*, and renounced the religion of his ancestors, in order to embrace the Protestant faith. He was brave, enterprising, and ambitious; and though without money, arms, or estate, by his sole courage defied the whole power of the house of *Austria*. Wonderfully fruitful in expedients, and incredibly bold in execution, he derived from his defeats more honour than victory could bestow upon his conquerors. He was sober, vigilant, indefatigable, eloquent, and judicious, prodigal of his fortune, and covetous of wealth to expend in the enjoyment of his pleasures. He lived replete with the most sanguine hopes and magnificent designs, and died in a village on the frontiers of the *Venetians* and *Turks*, destitute of money and resource, in a strange country, where his body could scarce have the benefit of Christian burial² (Q).

THE archduke, governor of the *Low-Countries*, sent a body of forces to the emperor's assistance, under the command of the count *de Buquoy*, already famous for his valour and discretion; but before his arrival the count *de Dampierre* had, by the emperor's orders, entered *Bohemia* with the *Austrian* troops, and in his route made himself master of *Bistritz*, *Pilgram*, and *Polna*. His design was to possess the places situated upon the river *Saslava*, that he might make incursions to the very gates of *Prague*; but this project was disconcerted by the activity of *La Tour*, who after some skirmishes, in which the loss was pretty equal on both sides, hampered him in such a manner, that he was obliged to retire for want of provisions.

MEAN while, the states of *Bohemia* demanded succours of the Protestant princes of *Germany*. The *Silesians* furnished

² CLUVIER. Descr. German.

(Q) He died, not without suspicion of poison, at the age of forty-six. Finding his end approaching, he ordered himself to be dressed in his richest habit, with his sword by his side, and gave up the ghost

standing, being supported by two of his domestics. As he insisted on being well paid for the services he rendered to the *Dutch*, they used to say of him, *Bonus in auxilio, carus in pretio*. *Dictionnaire de Moreri*, p. 11. t. 6.

them

them with six thousand men, under the command of the count *de Swenbecci*; while the count *de Hohenloe* levied some excellent troops for their service, in the dutchy of *Branswick*, and the *Dutch* promised to supply them as soon as possible with men and money. In a word, their army soon amounted to thirty thousand soldiers, for the most part veterans, and commanded by experienced officers.

THE count *de Buquoy* likewise invaded *Bohemia*, by the frontier of *Moravia*, and made himself master of *Tentschbrod* and some other places, which having fortified with troops and provisions, he went to join the count *de Dampierre*, resolving to engage the *Bohemians*, whom accordingly he found drawn up in excellent order upon the two banks of the *Molde*. Astonished at the number and countenance of the Protestant forces, he durst not hazard a battle, nor even advance farther into the country; but was fain to retrench himself under the cannon of *Budewitz*, in order to wait for a reinforcement from *Vienna*, which, however, was not sufficient to put him on a footing with the malcontents.

Both armies take the field.

THE emperor, finding himself too weak to cope with them in the field, thought proper to offer them an accommodation, which had been proposed by the princes of the empire assembled at *Rothembourg*; and the duke of *Bavaria*, together with the electors of *Mentz*, *Saxony*, and the palatinate, were chosen arbitrators of the difference*. *Matthias* pitched upon *Pilsen* for the congress; but as that city was remarkable for its attachment to the house of *Austria*, the *Bohemians* demanded that some other place should be appointed; and before this dispute was decided, ordered *Mansfeld* to undertake the siege of that town. *Pilsen* was one of the most considerable places in *Bohemia*, and tolerably well fortified for those times; but its chief strength consisted in the courage of its inhabitants, who valued themselves upon having formerly sustained a siege of ten months, against *Ziskai* the famous chieftain of the *Hussites*. The importance of this town, and the wealth which the Catholics in the neighbourhood had carried thither, as to a place of safety, animated one side to *Pilsen is* attack, and the other to defend with the utmost resolution. *besieged* The besieged, of their own accord, reduced to ashes the *by Mans-* magnificent suburbs, which constituted the chief ornament of *feld.* their city, thereby giving the assailants to understand that they were determined to defend themselves to the last extremity.

* BELLUS. l. 2. p. 135.

ACCORDINGLY, the trenches were opened, and the siege carried on with uncommon vigour, while the inhabitants behaved with such obstinacy of valour, that they would have suffered themselves to be buried in the ruins of their city, rather than yield at discretion, had not the melancholy desolation of the place excited the compassion of their enemies, and induced *Mansfeld* to offer them their lives, effects, and liberty, provided they would take the oath of allegiance to the states of *Bohemia*. The condition was accepted, and the government of the town bestowed upon *John-George de Salms*, with whom *Mansfeld* left seven companies of soldiers, after having repaired the works, and filled the magazines with provisions and munitions of war ^b.

AFTER the loss of *Pilsen*, the Imperialists retained but a very few inconsiderable places in *Bohemia*, which the approach of winter would not permit the count *de la Tour* to invest; so that he cantoned his infantry at *Neubaus*, and in the neighbourhood of *Budewitz* and *Crumlow*; while the count *de Swenbecci*, at the head of the cavalry, made incursions to within nine miles of *Vienna*, took and garrisoned the abbey of *Swetal*, pillaged *Hoefurt*, *Veitre*, and several monasteries, and carried off a rich booty into *Bohemia*.

THE Protestant cavalry, being chiefly composed of *Silesians*, the emperor wrote to the states of that province, complaining of the disorders they had committed in *Austria*; and received an answer, importing, that they only made reprisals upon the *Austrians*, who had exercised unheard of violence in *Bohemia* and *Silesia*; and that their aim in making *Austria* the seat of war was to oblige their enemies to listen to terms of peace, and to facilitate the union of the Protestants of that country with their brethren of *Bohemia*. In effect, the *Austrian Lutherans*, both above and below the river *Enns*, held a private correspondence with the states of *Bohemia*, and only waited for a specious pretext to declare themselves. This they thought they should obtain, by building a fort upon the *Danube*, in order to cut off the communication between *Bohemia* and *Austria*; but the duke of *Bavaria*, and the magistrates of *Passau*, complained of this transaction to the emperor, who ordered the Protestants to demolish the fort, and furnish the count *de Buquoy* with provisions and necessaries for his army. Though this order was ill received, it was, nevertheless, partly executed, because the malcontents of *Austria* durst not yet pull off the mask; and such was the situation of affairs, when the emperor died at *Vienna* ^c.

The Protestants of Austria favour the Bohemians.

^b Relatio obsidionis Pilsnæ edita 1618. ^c KHEVEN. l. 9. p. 334.

AFTER his elevation to the empire, this prince had forfeited a great part of the reputation which he had formerly acquired, and could not perceive the decline of his character without infinite mortification, which was grievously increased by the embarrassed state of his affairs, and the miscarriage of his effort towards an accommodation with his revolted subjects: these causes of chagrin had been lately augmented by the death of the archduke *Maximilian*, and the loss of his empress; and altogether overwhelmed him in such a manner, that he sunk into a languishing distemper, which put a period to his life in the sixty-third year of his age, and the eighth of his reign^d (R).

The death
of the em-
peror Mat-
thias.

WHEN he found himself near his end, he called heaven to witness that his chief desire was to re-establish peace in *Bohemia*; and addressed himself to his successor *Ferdinand* in these words: "If you wish to see your subjects happy under your government, let them not feel the exertion of your power."

IMMEDIATELY after the decease of *Matthias*, *Ferdinand*, his successor in the kingdoms of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*, as well as in the dominions of *Austria*, resolved, if possible, to succeed him likewise on the imperial throne; and, that he might the more easily accomplish that aim, made advances towards an accommodation with the *Bohemians*, whose privileges he, of his own accord, promised to confirm; for this purpose, he wrote to the states of that kingdom, who, far from agreeing to the suspension of arms which he proposed, took offence at the title of heir of *Bohemia*, which he assumed in his letter, and affirmed, that as their crown was elective, they had a right to choose their own sovereign. He met with no better success in summoning the states of *Austria* to come and take the ordinary oath of allegiance; for they replied, the affairs of *Germany* were in such confusion, that they must have time to deliberate upon the submission which he required; and it was not long before he understood the true motive of this evasion, which was no other than the negotiation of a treaty of union between them and the states of *Bohemia*^f.

A. D.
1619.

^d HEISS. l. 3. c. 8. ^e BARRE Hist. d'Allemagne, t. ix. p. 446.
^f Mercur. Gallo-Belg. l. 12. p. 39.

(R) He married *Ann Katharine*, daughter of the archduke *Ferdinand*, by whom he had no issue; but he left a natural son, who was known by the name of *Don Matthias of Austria*. *Stryu. per. 10. sect. 8. p. 2055.*

Ferdinand
confirms
the Bohe-
mians in
their pri-
vileges. —

They de-
cline his
proffers,
and the
war con-
tinues.

WHATEVER inclination *Ferdinand* had to take vengeance on these his revolted subjects, the conjuncture was so unfavourable, that he resolved, to proceed by more pacific measures; and actually sent to the states of *Bohemia* the confirmation of the privileges which had been granted by their former kings: he moreover promised to observe all the edicts and agreements touching religion; never to bestow the government of *Carlsstein*, where the crown and other ensigns of royalty were kept, without the consent of the nobility of the kingdom, and of the magistrates of *Prague*; to confer posts and benefices upon none but natives; to alienate no demesne of the crown; but, on the contrary, re-purchase those that were alienated; to preserve the true value of the coin, without diminution or augmentation; to ratify all the donations which had been made by the kings his predecessors, except those that might be contrary to the ordinances of *Ladislav*; and, finally, to maintain the subjects of the kingdom in all their rights, customs, privileges, and immunities.

THE *Bohemians* taking it for granted that *Ferdinand* was more politic than sincere in these concessions; that he would not have granted so much, without an intention to revoke the whole; that his aim was to amuse them with negotiations, while he prepared for war; and that his design was to erase with the sword what he had written with the pen, fraught with these sentiments, I say, they sent back the letter and declaration to *Vienna*, because in the address to the directors he had omitted the words of both communions, the confirmation of privileges equally regarding the Catholics and Evangelics. Notwithstanding this mortifying repulse, *Ferdinand* would have willingly suppressed his resentment, and offered safe-conduct for such deputies as they should think proper to send to *Vienna*, in order to treat of an accommodation; but he received no answer to this proposal, and the war continued on both sides with great animosity.

THE count *de Buquoy*, at the head of his cavalry, daily alarmed the towns in the neighbourhood of *Budwitz* and *Grumlaw*; and *Kinski*, general of the Evangelic army, taking the field with a thousand horse and fifteen hundred arquebusiers, defeated a body of heydukes with great slaughter.

ABOUT this period, the Protestants of *Moravia*, *Silesia*, *Lusatia*, and *Upper Austria*, demanded the free exercise of their religion; and that, as well as the Catholics, they should be admitted to the posts and honours of their several provinces; but their demands being rejected at the court of *Vienna*, a spirit of discontent diffused itself through all that communion; and the directors of *Bohemia*, taking advantage of

his disposition, engaged them to shake off the *Austrian yoke*. The Protestants of *Upper Austria* were the first who assumed the title of states, and entered into a league with the *Bohemians*; and then the Protestants of *Moravia*, *Silesia*, and *Lucania*, taking the reins of government in their own hands, expelled all the Catholics who seemed to favour the house of *Austria*. This revolution was facilitated by *Henry count de la Tour*, who, at the head of fifteen thousand men, advanced towards *Moravia*, reduced *Iglaw*, *Trebichz*, and *Znaim*, in which last place he left a good garrison. Cardinal *de Ditrichstein*, who commanded for *Ferdinand* in that country, finding himself too weak to oppose the irruption, endeavoured to amuse the *Bohemians* until he should receive a reinforcement; and with this view, sent one of his secretaries to *La Tour* to know his reasons for invading *Moravia*. The count replied, that he had obeyed the orders of those who had a right to command him; and that the principal noblemen of *Bohemia*, who were in his army, had come on purpose to conclude with the *Moravians* a league offensive and defensive against those who should presume to attack their liberty, and change the form of their government. To this declaration, the cardinal made answer, that he had no intention to thwart the states of *Moravia*; that he had sent them the order of king *Ferdinand* to assemble at *Brin*, and would sign the general union with *Bohemia* and the other provinces, provided there was nothing in it contrary to the fidelity which he owed to that prince. The assembly, however, was not held in that place; but at *Znaim*, under the protection of the count *de la Tour*.

DIETRICHSTEIN, who maintained a private correspondence with the senate of *Brin*, took the necessary precautions to preserve that place for *Ferdinand*: he threw one hundred and twenty men into the castle of *Spilberg*, and ordered the barons of *Nachot* and *Valstein* to assemble their troops in one body, and join the count *de Dampierre* with the *Hungarians*, that they might march together against the Evangelic army. This junction, which might have laid the count *de la Tour* under great difficulties, was prevented by the address of that general, who gained over to his interest *Stabenloff*, lieutenant of the cavalry which *Nachot* commanded, and which by his example declared for the Protestants; so that *Nachot*, being abandoned by his troops, retired towards *Austria*. Every thing at *Brin* conspired to favour the same cause. Cardinal *Ditrichstein*, the prince of *Lichtenstein*, the

Swen-
becci takes
possession of
Brin.

senate, and the deputies of the Catholic states, were destitute of forces to maintain their authority. The citizens inclined towards the Protestants, and conferred a whole hour with the deputies of the assembly at *Znaim*, who, under an escort of eight hundred horse, commanded by *Swenbecci*, alighted at the hotel of *Anderlitz* for that purpose. During this conference, the burghers of *Brin* crowded together in the market-place, and *Eudenbourg*, one of the Evangelic deputies going down to the street, exhorted them to live in amity with the states of *Bohemia*. Inflamed by his harangue, they immediately ran to arms, and introduced *Swenbecci* with seven troops of German horse, who took possession of the city, which was no sooner secured, than the deputies, repairing to the market-place, persuaded the burghers to take an oath in public, to maintain the liberty of conscience, together with the authority and privileges of the states: then they went to the cardinal, and forbid him from thenceforward to assume the title of grand-master and captain-general of *Moravia*: the keys of the city and castle were taken from the senate and given to *Stubenloff*, together with the government of the place, for which he took the oath to the states^h.

FERDINAND, alarmed at these insurrections, began to be afraid of losing *Silesia*, whither he sent *Otho Melcander*, in order to maintain peace and prevent disturbances; and that minister promised to the inhabitants, the friendship of the king his master, and the confirmation of their privileges, provided they would continue quiet; but to these assurances the Evangelics replied, "Let his highness *Ferdinand* of *Austria* begin by appeasing the troubles of *Bohemia* and the incorporated provinces, and then in due time and place we shall act according to the dictates of our dutyⁱ."

La Tour
marches
into Au-
stria.

THE directors of *Bohemia*, being assured of *Hungary*, *Moravia*, and *Silesia*, ordered *La Tour* to march towards *Austria*; and in consequence of that order he passed the river *Teia*, and invested *Laba* before the *Austrians* had the least intimation of his approach. The states, however, of both communions sent deputies, desiring him to raise the siege of a place which ought not to be considered as an enemy's town; and he answering, that his sole aim in besieging *Laba* was to expel the foreign garrison, the count *de Buchein*, chief of the Catholic deputies, undertook to give him satisfaction on that score; and having performed his promise, the *Bohemian* general quitted the place, and with his army took the route to

^h BARRE Hist. d'Allemagne, t. ix. p. 471.
François a l'An. 1619.

ⁱ Mercur.

Vienna,

Vienna, in the suburbs of which he quartered his troops without resistance, while *Ferdinand* remained in the city, in order to prevent an insurrection of the Evangelics.

LA TOUR would not begin the siege until he should have made all the necessary provisions for such an important enterprize; and content with having blocked up the place, confidently waited for a revolution within, which would spare abundance of bloodshed. He was so sure of taking *Vienna*, that he had already regulated the plan of government to be established in *Austria*, from whence he was resolved to drive the princes of that house, as well as to prevent *Ferdinand's* being elected king of the *Romans*. But while he continued inactive, waiting for the effect of his intelligence, matters took a very different and unexpected turn. The count *de Buquoy*, profiting by his absence, privately quitted his retrenchments at *Budewitz*, and fell upon the troops of *Mansfeld* with such fury, that they were intirely defeated^k, and their general obliged to fly to *Prague*, which he filled with consternation and alarm, while the victor took fourteen hundred prisoners, and afterwards made himself master of divers important places. *La Tour* no sooner received the news of this misfortune, than he gave up his project upon *Vienna*; and reassembling all the forces of *Bohemia*, resolved to repair the disgrace of *Mansfeld*; but the count *de Buquoy* had retired to his intrenchments, which were too strong to be forced; so that the other, having retaken some fortresses, returned to *Prague*, where an act of confederacy was signed by the deputies of *Silesia*, *Moravia*, and *Lusatia*, for their common defence.

Mansfeld is defeated by the count de Buquoy.

A confederacy is signed by the deputies of Silesia, Moravia, and Lusatia.

By this treaty *Ferdinand* was stripped of a fine kingdom, and the richest provinces belonging to the house of *Austria*; he was likewise deprived of the dignity of elector, consequently of the easiest means for ascending the imperial throne, from which the confederates were resolved to exclude him. As their intention was no secret from the beginning, he had endeavoured to defeat it by disposing *Matthias* to hasten his election; but that scheme miscarried in consequence of the emperor's death. Besides, the *Germans*, who were tenacious of their liberty, and jealous of the power of the *Austrian* house, and particularly the Protestants, who interested themselves in the commotions of *Bohemia*, did not seem disposed to elect *Ferdinand* king of the *Romans*, or to take any step which might aggrandize a family, which numbered *Hungary*, *Bohemia*, and even the empire among its inheritances. In-

^k HEISS. l. 3. c. 9.

deed, the *Bohemians*, who pretended that their crown was elective, offered the sovereignty to the duke of *Savoy*, who by his mother was grandson of the emperor *Maximilian* the second; and it was not till after he had declined the proposal, that they made a tender of it to the elector-palatine¹.

The duke
of Bavaria
declines
being elect-
ed king of
the Ro-
mans.

WITH regard to the election of a king of the *Romans*, four electors, three of whom were Protestants, promised their suffrages to *Maximilian* duke of *Bavaria*, that in chusing a Catholic prince, the world might see they had no intention to exclude *Ferdinand* from the imperial throne, on account of his religion, but solely to re-establish the *German* liberty. In all likelihood this scheme would have succeeded, had not the ministers of the pope and the king of *Spain* exerted all their address in dissuading *Maximilian* from accepting an offer which might be attended with dangerous consequences, and in deferring the election, which was accordingly postponed till the twenty-eighth day of *August* New-style^m (S). Towards the latter end of *July*, the electors of *Mentz*, *Cologne*, and *Triers*, together with the ambassadors of *Saxony*, the palatinate, and *Brandenburg*, arrived in great pomp at *Frankfort*, whither also repaired *Ferdinand* as king of *Bohemia*, after having left the regency of his *Austrian* dominions to his brother *Leopold*.

THE states of *Bohemia* resolving (if possible) to hinder *Ferdinand*'s admission to the electoral diet, sent thither deputies, who being refused entrance at *Frankfort*, retired to *Hanau*, from whence they wrote a letter to the elector of *Mentz*, complaining that he had sent the act of convocation to *Ferdinand*, though he had not as yet taken possession of the kingdom of *Bohemia*; consequently could not enjoy the privileges of an elector, which were attached to that crown; for that the electorate was not a personal but a local dignity, which no king of *Bohemia* could exercise except in the name of the states. To these allegations *Ferdinand* replied in a manifesto, that the *Bohemians*, in a general assembly, had acknowledged him as successor and grandson of the emperor *Ferdinand*, and as heir of *Anne* queen of *Bohemia*, in which quality he had been proclaimed sovereign of that kingdom.

THIS dispute was canvassed in several assemblies held by the electors and deputies; and the archbishops of *Mentz*,

¹ BARRE Hist. d'Allemagne, t. ix. p. 474.
Memoir. l. 1. p. 137.

^m SPANHEIM.

(S) We shall adhere to the new stile in the sequel of this history.

Triers, and *Cologne*, would have proceeded to the election of a king of the *Romans* without further delay; but the ambassadors objected to such precipitate measures, until they should know the pleasure of their masters on this subject. The elector-palatine endeavoured with all his might to delay the election, without, however, openly contesting the right of *Ferdinand*; and in order to demonstrate his attachment to the *Bohemians*, attacked and defeated the count *de Solms* in his march through the *Palatinate*, with five hundred horse, to join the count *de Buquoy* in *Bohemia*. This action, which he performed on pretence that they had entered his territories without permission, was followed by the defeat of *Dampierre*, who commanded a flying camp on the frontiers of *Moravia* and *Austria*: he had attempted to surprise the castle of *Joslawitz*; but his scheme miscarried through the vigilance and valour of the *Moravian* horse, which amounted to four thousand; and afterwards endeavoured to make a lodgment in *Nicklasburg*, from whence being repulsed with loss, they pursued, overtook, and totally defeated him after an obstinate engagement, in which six hundred of his men were slain, so that he was fain to retreat in disorder to *Vienna*. Mean while, the count *de Buquoy* made himself master of several places in *Bohemia*; and taking *Piseck* by storm, put the garrison to the sword, and ordered the governor to be hanged. The fate of this place overwhelmed the neighbouring towns with consternation, and many people retired with their effects to *Prague*: their terrors were augmented by a rumour, importing, that the count *de Buquoy* intended to besiege *Pilsen*; but this report was altogether without foundation^a.

Dampierre is defeated by the Moravians,

while the count de Buquoy makes some progress in Bohemia.

DURING these transactions, the ambassadors of *Saxony* and *Brandenburg* received orders from their masters to proceed in the election of a king of the *Romans* without further hesitation; and *Ferdinand* king of *Bohemia* being chosen future emperor, was conducted to the church, and solemnly proclaimed king of the *Romans*^b: while the states of *Bohemia*, informed of this event, renewed their complaints, and protested against the election. In order to satisfy these malcontents, the electors agreed to assemble in the diet, where the new emperor and the states of *Bohemia* should appear by their deputies, and each side plead their own cause, on condition that they would promise to submit to the decision of the assembly: but this expedient was rejected by the *Bohemians*, who renewed their protestation, and appealed to the states of the empire from the determinations of the assembly at *Frank-*

Ferdinand is chosen emperor.

^a BARRE ubi supra.

^b KHEVENHULLER, t. ix. p. 416.

fort. This act they sent to the electors, who did not receive it till after the coronation of *Ferdinand*, which was performed on the ninth of *September*.

THE majority of the princes murmured against the election of *Ferdinand*, wishing that the crown had been bestowed upon *Maximilian* of *Bavaria*, who might have been easily raised to that dignity, as two of the electors were of his own family, and two more attached to his interest; but none except the *Austrian* princes were proposed in the electoral college; and the choice would have fallen upon the archduke *Albert*, had not his ill state of health rendered him unfit for the toils of government. Among the articles of capitulation signed by *Ferdinand*, were two additional clauses, importing, that he would never disturb the vicars of the empire in the exercise of their jurisdiction, or permit any person whatsoever to dispute the rights that depend upon their vicariate; and that he would never admit into the aulic council any other than princes, counts, and barons, born and bred in *Germany*, and well versed in the constitutions of the empire. This last article was intended to remedy an abuse committed by the preceding emperors, who used to fill the aulic council with their creatures, in order to make their own party preponderate.

P ZEIGLERN Capitulation, p. 79.

C H A P. XVI.

Deducing the History to the Alliance concluded between Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, and the Protestant Princes.

F E R D I N A N D.

Frederic
V. elector
palatine, is
chosen king
of Bohe-
mia.

THIS election seemed to inflame the animosity of the *Bohemians* against *Ferdinand*. The states assembling at *Prague* on the twenty-ninth of *August*, resolved that they would never acknowledge him as their sovereign, but proceed to the election of a new king, and accordingly chose *Frederic* the fifth, elector-palatine, in that quality. This prince being apprised in form of their determination, demanded time to deliberate and consult his allies, the principal of whom were his father-in-law the king of *England*, and his two uncles prince *Maurice* and the duke of *Bouillon*. These

last

last advised him to accept the crown, flattered, perhaps, with the prospect of seeing their nephew on a throne; and he listened to their advice, notwithstanding the remonstrances of *James* king of *England*, who used all his influence in dissuading him from receiving such a pernicious present, and even protested that he would give him no manner of assistance in such a rash undertaking. The count palatine likewise desired to know the sentiments of the elector of *Saxony*, touching his promotion; and the answer being unsuitable to his own inclination, he addressed himself to the other princes and corresponding states assembled at *Rottemburg*, who counselled him to accept the crown, as well for the interest of his own house, as for that of the Protestant religion. Thus confirmed in his own opinion, he signified to the states of *Bohemia*, that having consulted his allies, he found them for the most part unanimous in favour of his election; and that he would, therefore, accept of the crown with the most grateful sentiments of acknowledgment to the states, who had bestowed upon him such an honourable mark of their esteem. He then made preparations for his journey to that kingdom, appointed the duke *de Deuxponts* governor of the electorate in his absence, left a good body of troops under the command of *John Lewis*, count of *Nassau*, and having regulated all his other concerns in that country, set out with the electress; and upon the frontier of the *Palatinate* they were met by the deputies of *Bohemia*, who with twelve hundred horse conducted them to *Prague*.

THE archbishop having retired to *Budewitz*, from whence he refused to come and consecrate the new king, that ceremony was performed, on the fourth of *November*, by the administrator of the *Hussites*, and on the seventh of the same month the electress was also crowned¹. The name of king made no alteration in the behaviour of *Frederic*, who, in order to avert the storm which he foresaw must necessarily burst upon him, employed his whole attention in making preparations for war, and in strengthening himself with new alliances. *Venice* was the first power that acknowledged him king of *Bohemia*, and *Bethleem Gabor*, vaivode of *Transylvania*, soon followed the example of that republic. He wanted a favourable opportunity to conquer northern *Hungary*; was assured of the Grand Seignior's protection; and, depending upon the diversion which the states of *Bohemia*, his allies, would make in *Austria*, he in all haste passed the river *Teisse* with his army, at the head of which he marched towards

¹ LONDON. t. i. l. 4. c. 91.

Bethleem *Cassovia*. Gabor's sudden invasion of *Hungary* filled the whole kingdom with terror: the places were unprovided with arms, Gabor in- the garrisons had been withdrawn for the war in *Bohemia*, vades and *Homanor*, who commanded in *Hungary*, finding himself Hungary, unable to cope with the vaivode, retired to the frontiers of *Poland*, leaving Gabor master of the country. He, accordingly, penetrated farther into the kingdom, in order to give the people an opportunity of declaring in his favour, and in eight days reduced *Cassovia* and *Fileck*¹; so that the states of *High Hungary*, astonished at the rapidity of his conquests, sent deputies to offer their submission, provided they should be allowed to enjoy their privileges; and he gladly acquiesced in that condition. Their example was soon followed by the towns of *Low Hungary*, which sent their keys to the vaivode, and marches towards Vienna: who then took the route to *Vienna*, bearing a standard of red damask, in which were represented two armed knights joining hands, with a device importing, *Concord and Association* (T). The archduke *Leopold*, who commanded in *Vienna*, being apprised of Gabor's march, sent orders to the count *de Buquoy* to repair with his army to the neighbourhood of that city. This general had taken *Piseck*, and intended to besiege *Tabor*; but that design miscarried, and he was obliged to retreat to *Meroweis*. The count *de la Tour* advanced towards the imperial camp, and the proximity of the two armies produced frequent skirmishes, till at length both were fain to decamp for want of provisions; when *La Tour*, knowing that *Buquoy* was recalled into *Austria*, left very few troops in *Bohemia*, and took the route to *Silesia*, in order to join the *Moravians*, and wait for succours from prince Gabor. La Tour attacks the Imperialists in their entrenchments. This junction being effected, he followed the *Austrians*, whom he found intrenched at the distance of two miles from *Vienna*, and attacked their entrenchments with great fury: they defended themselves for a long time with equal obstinacy, until some casks of powder being blown up by accident, they imagined themselves surrounded by the enemy, were seized with a panic, and universal disorder ensued. In this emergency *Buquoy* performed the part of a great general: he explained the accident which had disconcerted them, confirmed those that wavered by his exhortations, and rallying the fugitives in person, renewed the battle, which continued till night, when both sides retired with abundance of loss. Next day the attack was carried on, though with less ardour;

¹ PUFFENDORF, l. 1. sect. 28. Mercur. Gallo-Belg. t. xiii. l. 1.

(T) *Confederatio et Concordia*.

and *La Tour*, seeing no prospect of being able to force their entrenchments, ordered a retreat to be founded, leaving two thousand men upon the spot, whereas the loss of the *Austrians* did not exceed six hundred.

WHILE *Buquoy* was thus detained in *Austria*, *Mansfeld* retook several places in *Bohemia*. *Vinterbourg*, *Prales*, and *Piseck*, submitted to him, almost without resistance; and *Budewitz* and *Crumlaw* were now the only towns in that kingdom which adhered to the house of *Austria*; but the siege of these was an enterprize which *Mansfeld* was not strong enough to undertake; he, therefore, contented himself with pillaging the adjacent country, and then returned to *Pilsen*, of which he was governor.

AT that time *Gabor*, having multiplied his conquests in *Hungary*, advanced at a great rate towards *Presburg*; and *Forgatsi* having informed the archduke of the danger that threatened this important place, the baron *de Teiffenbach* was sent thither with a reinforcement of a thousand men and three pieces of cannon. This officer took up his quarters in the suburbs, where, by means of a thick fog, he was surprised by *Gabor*, who totally routed his detachment, and summoned *Forgatsi* to surrender. The grandees of the kingdom, who were then in the city, left the palatine at liberty to act according to *Gabor* his own judgment; in consequence of which *Presburg* was taken and surrendered, and a treaty concluded on these terms: *Gabor* shall be acknowledged prince of *Hungary*; *Forgatsi* continue in his office of palatine; the town and castle of *Presburg* be surrendered to *Gabor*; and liberty of conscience allowed through all *Hungary* ^{capitulation.}.

IN the mean time, the Protestant electors, princes, and states of the empire assembled at *Nuremberg*, whither the new king of *Bohemia* repaired in person with all his adherents. The states of *High* and *Low Austria*, and almost all the imperial towns, sent deputies to this diet; and the emperor, knowing he had every thing to fear from such an assembly, sent thither the count *de Hohen-Zollern*, to manage his interests, and ward off the blows that should be aimed at his authority. Accordingly, this commissioner explained to the states, the pacific measures which his imperial majesty had employed to quiet the troubles of *Bohemia*; and the Protestants answered his memorial by a recapitulation of all the grievances they had suffered from the courts of *Vienna* and *Rome*, and the Catholic league: they intreated the emperor to restore peace to *Bohemia* without delay, to pay some regard

* *Barre Hist. d'Allemagne*, t. ix. p. 484.

to their complaints of mal-administration, and no longer give ear to some ministers of his council, whose sole aim was to foment discord between the *Germanic* body and its chief. The count perceived from this answer, that the assembly of *Nuremberg* was disposed to favour the elector-palatine; and as he could not prevail upon the princes who composed it, to observe a neutrality in the present war, he returned to *Vienna* to give an account of his commission. All *Germany* was divided between the emperor and the elector-palatine; even those princes who were united within the empire, and in peace in their own dominions, prepared for making war upon one another in *Bohemia*. The Catholic league assembled at *Wirtzburg*. The ambassadors of the emperor, the electors of *Mentz*, *Cologne*, and *Triers*, the dukes of *Bavaria*, *Lorraine*, and *Neuburg*, together with the deputies of the archbishops, bishops, abbots, prelates, and the Catholic imperial towns, were present at this assembly, where they deliberated upon means for preserving the peace of *Germany*, and for raising a certain number of troops, to enable the emperor to reduce the *Bohemians*.

Ferdinand
strengthens
his claim
with new
alliances.

ALTHOUGH *Ferdinand's* party was in itself more powerful than that of his antagonist, he resolved to insure success by having recourse to all the neighbouring powers. He obtained of the pope considerable sums to be levied on the clergy, and was assisted with troops by some *Italian* princes. The king of *Spain* promised to supply him with eleven thousand men, and undertook to make a powerful diversion in the *Palatinate*¹. The queen regent of *France*, who seemed to have forgot the politic maxim of that country, which has always favoured the enemies of the house of *Austria*, instead of troops, which she could not afford, sent ambassadors into *Germany*, in order to promote an accommodation. The king of *Denmark* and duke of *Brunswic* remained neuter; but *Sigismund* king of *Poland*, and the elector of *Saxony*, declared in favour of *Ferdinand*; and, notwithstanding the opposition of the *Bohemian* states and their new king, made great preparations for war. The emperor's officers levied forces in *Naples* and *Sicily*, in *Lorraine*, the Catholic electorates, and his own hereditary dominions: the marquis *de Spinola* entered the *Lower Palatinate* with a body of twelve thousand troops; and the duke of *Bavaria*, at the head of five and twenty thousand, spread fear and consternation among the malcontents of *Upper Austria*. Next to the emperor, this duke was the most avowed enemy of the count

¹ CARAFA, p. 80.

² PIASECIUS, p. 324.

palatine. The ancient jealousy subsisting between their families, *Maximilian's* zeal for the Catholic religion, and his pretensions to the succession of the *Austrian* dominions, which he was afraid would be dismembered, were so many motives to engage his whole power in fixing the crown of *Bohemia* upon the head of *Ferdinand*, whom he himself might possibly succeed in that dignity.

A. D.
1620.

To counterbalance this powerful association, the palatine had secured the friendship of several princes, who promised to send him succours. The marquis of *Brandenburg Anspach* put himself at the head of thirteen thousand men, with whom he traversed the *High Palatinate*; and marching along the *Danube*, intrenched himself in *Lower Austria*, within sight of the duke of *Bavaria*. *Bethleem Gabor* undertook to send ten thousand *Hungarians* into *Bohemia*, upon the frontiers of which were the prince *D'Anhalt* and the duke of *Saxe-Weimar*, with two bodies of troops, who joined the army of *La Tour* and *Mansfeld*; so that all these considerations supported the hopes and courage of the elector.

The count
palatine
secures the
friendship
of several
princes.

WE have already observed, that *James* the first, king of *Great-Britain*, had resolved to observe a neutrality in this dispute. Over and above his timorous disposition, which hindered him from engaging in quarrels of any sort, and his notions of indefeasible hereditary right, which he thought the *Bohemians* had infringed in favour of his son-in-law, he was swayed by other motives on this occasion; for he imagined that the two competitors for the crown of *Bohemia* would choose him as the arbitrator of their difference; and he was, besides, afraid of disobliging the house of *Austria*, so as to break off his darling match between his son the prince of *Wales*, and *Mary* infanta of *Spain*. Nevertheless, by dint of solicitation, he was prevailed upon to allow some noblemen, at their own expence, to raise two thousand four hundred men for the service of his son-in-law. The command of these was given to *Horace Vere*, under whom the earls of *Essex* and *Oxford* served as captains^x.

By this time all *Germany* was in commotion, and the princes and cities were obliged to hold frequent consultations about providing for their own safety. Among others, the elector of *Saxony* raised troops for the defence of his own dominions; and being questioned by the *Bohemians* concerning the intent of these levies, he answered they were destined to defend the circle of *Upper Saxony*, and would act against none but such as should attack the states of that province^y. Soon

^x WILSON, Hist. Mag. Brit. p. 135, &c.

^y CARAFA. p. 79.

after

after this declaration, he assisted at an assembly of the princes held at *Mulhausen*, at which were present the archbishops of *Mentz* and *Cologne*, together with deputies from the elector of *Triers*, the duke of *Bavaria*, and the landgrave of *Hesse*. They wrote a letter to the elector-palatine, exhorting him to resign the crown of *Bohemia*, otherwise they would oppose him with their whole force, and at the same time sent dispatches of the same import to all the states which had embraced his party^z (U). But receiving unsatisfactory answers, the assembly deliberated whether or not the palatine should be proscribed; though this measure was effectually opposed by the electors of *Mentz* and *Saxony*.

MEAN while, the war continued to rage in *Bohemia*. *Teiffenbach* (X), commander of the *Moravians*, made himself master of *Nicklasburg*; and *Buquoy*, having attacked a body of *Bohemians* posted near *Silsemendorf*, under the command of the baron *de Fels*, was repulsed with loss, although the baron lost his life in the action.

Agreement
at Ulm.

THE operations on both sides were suspended by the arrival of the duke *d'Angouleme*, ambassador from the king of *France*, who in an assembly of the princes and free towns at *Ulm*, delivered a long discourse, in which he offered the good offices of his master for the re-establishment of peace in *Germany*^z. The deputies having acknowledged their obligation to his most Christian majesty, proceeded to deliberate upon means for restoring the tranquility of the empire; but as they could not agree upon the measures to be taken for deciding the dispute between the emperor and count palatine, it was resolved, that the Catholic league and Protestant union should mutually abstain from hostilities; and that in case any one state of either communion (excepting *Bohemia* and the incorporated provinces) should be attacked, the rest without distinction should send succours to its assistance.

^z KHEVENHULLER, l. 9. p. 836.
Villeroi, t. iii. p. 452.

^z Mem. de M. de

(U) These were the directors of *Bohemia*, *Silesia*, *Moravia*, and *Lusatia*, the Protestant princes, the states of *Austria*, the counties of *Weteravia*, the nobility of the *Rhine*, *Franconia*, and *Suabia*, the cities of *Nuremberg*, *Strasburg*, *Ulm*, *Spire*, and *Worms*, and the malcontents of *Hungary* and *Transylvania*,

which last had, by their deputies, concluded at *Prague* an offensive and defensive alliance with the palatine. *Barri Hist. d'Allemagne*, t. ix. p. 489.

(X) This *Teiffenbach* must not be confounded with another officer of the same name, who was attached to the emperor.

THE

THE emperor, seeing all his negotiations miscarry, sent a summons to the elector-palatine, commanding him, on pain of incurring his high displeasure, to desist from all acts of hostility, and relinquish his pretensions to the crown of Bohemia. At the same time, he addressed monitory letters to the provinces of the empire, in alliance with *Frederic*, to the officers who served in his army, and to the imperial towns which espoused his cause, observing, that as they were in effect rebels to the imperial authority, he had a right to execute against them the constitutions of the empire; but promising clemency to the rigour of justice, he would pardon them for what was passed, provided they would abandon *Frederic* and the *Bohemians*; but should they continue to favour their enemies, he would proceed against them with all the vengeance of offended majesty.

IT was not long before his mandate to the elector was answered by that prince, who affirmed that the crown of *Bohemia* being elective, the states of the kingdom have the sole right to judge whether or not his election was lawful; that they had an independent tribunal of their own, together with laws, privileges, and customs, different from the *Germanic* body, upon which they in no manner depended; therefore, the prince whom they had elected as their sovereign, could not be subject to the ban of the empire; that *Ferdinand* had acted contrary to the articles of his capitulation, in beginning to make war upon a prince of *Germany*, before he had been tried in the diet, and judged according to the imperial laws and capitulations, which he had sworn to observe before his coronation.^b

IN the midst of this altercation, the duke of *Bavaria*, at the head of five and twenty thousand men, passed the *Danube* at *Donawert*, and advanced towards *Brunsburg*, while the marquis of *Anspach*, lieutenant of the Protestant union, posted himself with thirteen thousand men between *Langenau* and *Trophau*; but no hostilities were committed on either side. From this camp the duke of *Bavaria*, by the emperor's order, marched into *Upper Austria*, to reduce the Protestants of that province, who, after having made some resistance, assembled at *Lintz*, and seeing no prospect of succour, resolved to submit to the emperor. Accordingly they were pardoned on their promising to renounce their alliance with the *Bohemians*, and to take the oath of allegiance to the emperor, as their lawful sovereign.

^b Mercur. Franc. 1^{re} An. 1620. p. 125.

THE reduction of the *Hungarian* malcontents was not such an easy task. True it is, the emperor and *Gabor* had agreed to a truce for six months, during which it was hoped an accommodation might have been effected; but *Ferdinand*, seeing his forces augmenting every day, began to entertain hopes of reducing the *Hungarians* by force of arms. His army, commanded by the duke of *Bavaria*, already amounted to fifty thousand men, ready to enter *Bohemia* by the northern side of that kingdom. *Spinola*, at the head of four and twenty thousand *Spaniards* or *Walleons*, had begun his march in order to conquer the *Palatinate*; and the emperor knew there was a good number of *Hungarian* noblemen attached to the house of *Austria*, besides those who, being dis-oblinded by the contrary interest, waited for nothing but an opportunity to declare in his favour.

Gabor is declared king of Hungary.

GABOR, apprised of their dispositions, assembled the states of the kingdom at *Neuhaußs*, where they resolved to send ten thousand men into *Bohemia*, at the expiration of the truce; and in the mean time declared *Bethleem Gabor* king of *Hungary*, and appointed a day for his coronation at *Presburg*. The *Roman Catholic* noblemen opposed his elevation with all their power; and as they knew all of their communion were well-wishers to the house of *Austria*, prepared for making a stand at *Haimburg* against the partisans of this new usurper^c.

The elector of Saxony acts against the count palatine.

BOHEMIA was in universal agitation. *Frederic's* army did not exceed thirty thousand men; a number sufficient to carry on a defensive war against the emperor: but the elector of *Saxony*, who had lately set an army on foot, harrassed the states of *Bohemia* and their sovereign with continual alarms: they, therefore, sent deputies to *Dresden*, intreating that prince to observe a perfect neutrality; and he refusing their request, on pretence that it was his duty to assist the head of the empire against his rebellious subjects, they dispersed letters through *Misnia* and *Saxony*, in which they exhorted the towns and states of those two provinces to oppose the enterprizes of their sovereign. The elector was so much incensed at this conduct of the *Bohemians*, and so eager to augment his dominions of *Lusatia*, that he entered this country at the head of twenty thousand men, made himself master of *Gorlitz* and several other towns, and invested *Budissen*^d, which having taken by assault after a siege of three weeks, he ordered forty of the principal inhabitants to be hanged. He met with the same success in subjecting the whole pro-

^c *BARRE Hist. d'Allemagne*, t. ix. p. 496. ^d *BELL. l. 4. p. 441.*

vince, and compelled the marquis of *Jagerndorf*, who commanded in it, to fly for refuge to *Silesia*.

FREDERIC was not so much alarmed at the conquests *The duke* of the elector of *Saxony*, as at the murmurs of the *Bohemians*, of *Bavaria* who, finding themselves disappointed in their expectations *invades* from *England*, would neither heartily obey their king, nor re-*Bohemia*. solve to own the emperor as their sovereign^e; for the duke of *Bavaria*, who was already in their country with an army of fifty thousand men, offered, in the name of *Ferdinand*, a general amnesty, provided they would submit to the emperor, and revoke all they had done in favour of *Frederic*. To this proposal they replied, that they were resolved to defend their liberties at the hazard of their lives, and that having taken all the measures which human prudence could suggest, they depended upon Providence for the issue: which answer being reported to the duke, he, with marks of extreme indignation, said to the messenger, "Since the *Bohemians* are determined to perish, they shall perish." Mean while, the elector-palatine saw himself reduced to a very disagreeable situation; for he was hemmed in by the *Saxon* army on the north, and the Imperialists on the south, so as to be in danger of seeing his troops perish for want of subsistence. In this emergency he had recourse to the advice of the count *de La Tour*, a man extremely fruitful in expedients, who counselled him to send a body of *Hungarians* to ravage *Misnia*, these being the surest means to oblige the elector of *Saxony* to return to the succour of that province: with regard to the Imperialists, it was his opinion, that he ought to keep on the defensive, and let them insensibly diminish and disperse in consequence of sieges, sickness, death, and desertions.

FREDERIC approved of the scheme, in consequence of which he sent five thousand *Hungarians* to the frontiers of *Misnia*, beyond which, however, they could not penetrate, the elector having left a sufficient body of troops to defend that province; and he ordered the count *de la Tour* and the prince of *Anhalt* to cover the towns which were in the route of the *Austrian* army, and to throw garrisons into them when they should be obliged to retire, that by these means the progress of the enemy might be retarded.

In the mean time, *Spinola* with five and twenty thousand men made an irruption into the *Palatinate*, surprised *Crutznach*, took *Oppenheim* by assault, and seized all the provisions of the count-palatine, who with his allies loudly exclaimed against this infraction of the agreement at *Ulm*^f. In the

^e LORDER. t. i. l. 4. c. 144.

^f CARAFA. p. 83, 85.

midst of these transactions, *Henry-Frederic de Nassau* joined the marquis *d'Anspach* with eight thousand infantry, and one thousand horse; and a council was held, in which some officers proposed to give battle to the *Spaniards*; but this proposal was rejected by the majority, and a misunderstanding arose between the marquis and the *English*, of which *Spinola* taking the advantage, plundered the *Palatinate* with impunity.

BUT, without pretending to give a minute detail of all the actions performed by detached bodies, let us observe the operations of the principal armies. That of the emperor, composed of fifty thousand men, commanded by the count *de Buquoy* and the duke of *Bavaria*, having in one month reduced almost all the places in *Bohemia*, encamped near *Pilsen*, which was garrisoned by *Mansfeld*, as if they had intended to besiege that city; but the season being too far advanced for such an enterprize, the generals resolved to continue their route to *Prague*, towards which place they accordingly marched in order of battle, and their rear was attacked by *Mansfeld*, who, after a very warm action, was repulsed with loss.

FREDERIC, who with thirty thousand men was intrenched at *Rakenfen*, no sooner understood the intention of the Imperialists, than he passed the little river of *Pilsen*, and followed the enemy, with whom he incessantly skirmished until both armies arrived in the neighbourhood of *Prague* and the count palatine, foreseeing that he should be obliged to hazard a general action, sent his son *Charles-Lewis* to the elector of *Brandenburg*, who received and entertained him with the most generous hospitality.

FREDERIC, resolving to stand upon the defensive, took possession of a rising ground, upon which he drew up his forces in order of battle; then he rode through the ranks exhorting the soldiers to do their duty, and ordered the gates of *Prague* to be shut, that they might see they had no resource but in their own valour. The duke of *Bavaria*, perceiving their excellent order and determined countenance, called a council of war, to determine whether or not it would be proper to attack them; and this question being unanimously decided in the affirmative, the army was drawn up in three unequal lines; and the baron *de Tilly*, who was at the head of the *Bavarian* horse, on the left of the first line, ordered to begin the action. He accordingly passed a rivulet and morass that covered the right of the *Bohemians*, and charged them with great fury, but met with such a reception as obliged him to retire in great disorder. *Buquoy* then advanced with a large reinforcement to support him, and was encountered

and attacked the count palatine,

encountered by *Frederic* himself, who sustained his efforts, and in his turn attacked him with uncommon valour, so that his troops gave way and fled in great confusion. From that moment victory would have declared for the count palatine, had he restrained his men from pursuing the fugitives; but so inconsiderate was their ardour on this occasion, that *Buquoy* observing the victors as much disordered as the vanquished, rallied some squadrons of horse, and seconded by colonel *Verdugo*, returned to the charge with incredible impetuosity. Notwithstanding all the efforts of the elector, who exerted extraordinary courage and activity in reducing his troops to order, and opposing this torrent, they bore down all before them; and *Frederic*, being abandoned by his soldiers, was forced to retire. At the same time, his left wing was broke by the duke of *Bavaria*; and the rest of his army being overwhelmed by the number of the foe, betook themselves to flight, leaving to the Imperialists their baggage, cannon, and five thousand dead upon the field of battle, besides a great number who were drowned in the *Moldau*.^s The elector finding it impracticable to rally the wreck of his army, retired into *Prague*, from whence he departed that same night for *Silesia*, with his wife, children, and most valuable effects^h. The Imperialists, whose loss did not exceed five hundred men, encamped under the walls of that place, which submitted to the clemency of the duke of *Bavaria*, who entering the city in triumph, ordered the gates to be kept shut for six hours, that the authors of the revolt might not escape; and *La Tour's* wife and son were sent to prison, together with a great number of noblemen and citizens (Y).

who after
an obsti-
nate en-
gagement
is utterly
defeated
at Weis-
senberg.

A. D.
1621.

FREDERIC's defeat was no sooner known in *England*, than the people of that kingdom, and even the parliament, began to murmur at the king's indifference towards his son-in-law; but *James* was so effectually amused by the address of *Gondemar*, the *Spanish* ambassador, who assured him that he would ruin the match between the prince of *Wales* and the infanta, if he did not keep aloof in the affair of the *Palatinate*; that he still refused to take any material steps in favour of the

^s STRUV. part 10. § 9. p. 2071.

^h HEISS. l. 3. c. 9.

(Y) When an officer, who accompanied *Frederic* in his flight, endeavoured to condole with him on his defeat, "I have not (said he) forgot who I am: there are virtues which can

" only be acquired from mis-
" fortune, and these no prince
" can know without having ex-
" perience of disaster." *Barre*
Hist. d'Allemagne, t. ix. p. 502.

Lord Dig-
by arrives
at Vienna
as ambas-
sador from
the king
of Eng-
land.

elector : indeed, he sent lord *Digby* to *Vienna*, in order to negotiate an accommodation. That ambassador being admitted to an audience, demanded that the elector-palatine should be re-established in the dominions which he possessed before he was elected king of *Bohemia* ; and that the emperor should postpone the intended ban against him for some time, during which his father-in-law would do his utmost endeavours to oblige him to make suitable satisfaction to the head of the empire. *Ferdinand*, whose chief aim was to gain time, answered, that he was very well disposed to pay the most profound regard to the recommendation of his *Britannic* majesty, and would willingly pardon the count-palatine, provided he would make proper satisfaction for his past misconduct ; but as the war had been undertaken by the advice, and with the assistance of several princes of *Germany*, he could not conclude any treaty without their consent, though he would convoke a diet at *Ratisbon*, and communicate the resolution of it to the king of *England*¹. A few days after he delivered this answer, he received a letter from the infanta *Isabella* announcing the death of the archduke her husband, which happened at *Brussels* on the thirtieth of *July*, and beseeching him to regard the intercession which had been made in favour of *Frederic*. On the back of this intreaty *Digby* presented a memorial, in which he demanded a truce for the *Lower Palatinate*, in consideration of which *Frederic* should order *Mansfeld* to desist from his operations, revoke the commission which he had given to *John-George* marquis of *Jägerndorf*, and put the emperor in possession of *Thabor* and *Witigau*, the only places which still held out against him in *Bohemia*.

FERDINAND, by letters to the king of *England* and *Isabella*, assured them, that in consequence of their mediation he would treat of a truce upon these terms, before the expiration of which a general peace might be negotiated ; but at the same time, he told *Digby* that he could not grant the suspension he had demanded, without the consent of the duke of *Bavaria*, who was then in the *High Palatinate*, whither he advised the ambassador to repair with his proposal. *Digby* forthwith set out for that country ; and when he explained his errand, was told by the duke, that there was no occasion to negotiate a truce for a province which was already almost totally subdued, and that he would take such measures as would in a little time extinguish the war². In effect, he had by this time no body to cope with but *Mansfeld*, who

¹ RUSHWORTH, t. i. p. 37.

² Id. ibid.

being obliged to quit *Bohemia*, had retired into the *Upper Palatinate*. The elector of *Saxony* had over-run *Lusatia*, the count *de Buquoy* had subdued *Moravia*; but *Silesia* was still kept firmly attached to *Frederic*, by the influence of the duke of *Jagerndorf*, one of the most powerful noblemen of that province^k.

In this conjuncture, the emperor giving way to his resentment against the princes in alliance with the palatine, put him and all his confederates to the ban of the empire, by an edict declaring *Frederic* divested of all his dominions, of the dignity of elector, and the honours of the empire, which he had hitherto enjoyed; and proscribing *John-George* duke of *Jagerndorf*, *Christiørn* prince of *Anhalt*, *George-Frederic* count *de Hohenloe*, together with the other princes and noblemen, who had assisted the palatine either with their persons or their arms^l. This edict made an impression upon the states of *Silesia*, which, at the intercession of the elector of *Saxony*, were pardoned by *Ferdinand*, after they had renewed the oath of allegiance, disbanded their troops, and obliged themselves to pay within the year three hundred thousand florins, for the occasions of his imperial majesty.

The count-palatine and his adherents are put to the ban of the empire.

THE elector-palatine had quitted this country, leaving the princess his wife at *Custrin*, where she was delivered of a son called *Maurice*, and repaired to the king of *Denmark*, who received him with open arms, and undertook to mediate an accommodation at the court of *Vienna*; but the more *Frederic* yielded in the course of this negotiation, the more was exacted by the ministers of the emperor, who not only insisted upon his renouncing the crown of *Bohemia*, but likewise upon his ceding the *Upper Palatinate* to the duke of *Bavaria*: they, moreover, demanded that he would reimburse that prince, and the house of *Austria*, for the expences of the war, and repair to *Vienna*, in order to make what personal satisfaction the emperor should think proper to require^m. These proposals were too harsh to be accepted, and some time was consumed in manifestos and other fruitless attempts towards a peace, while the duke of *Bavaria*, who was charged with the execution of the imperial ban, entered the *Upper Palatinate*, and at *Straubing* joined the baron *de Tilly*, who had all along observed the motions of *Mansfeld*. This last officer, at the head of eight thousand men, had for some months kept the war alive, not without extraordinary success; but understand-

^k, PUFFENDORF, § 32

and 2.

508.

^l LONDORP. t. ii. l. 6, c. 1

^m BARRE Hist. d'Allemagne, tom. ix. p.

ing that the duke of *Bavaria* had passed the *Danube* at *Straubing*, and that several places in the *Upper Palatinate* had submitted to his orders, he traversed the *Nab*, and encamped upon the river *Pregnitz*, in the neighbourhood of *Nuremberg*; where, having intrenched himself with a view to wait for an opportunity of penetrating into the *Lower Palatinate* by *Francia*, he was suddenly invested by the duke; and being destitute of provisions and ammunition, saw it would be impossible to retreat before such a considerable army, without exposing himself to a certain overthrow. In this disagreeable situation he had recourse to stratagem, and signified to the duke of *Bavaria*, that he was willing to abandon the service of *Frederic*, and join the emperor with his army: he even drew up the articles of the treaty, demanded provisions and money, part of which he actually received, admitted the Imperialists into *Valdhausen*, in token of his sincerity, and so artfully lulled the suspicion of the duke, that he found means to decamp without his knowledge and reach the *Lower Palatinate*, where his presence soon changed the face of affairsⁿ.

A truce for five weeks is concluded between Spinola and Vere. A TRUCE for five weeks had been concluded between *Spinola*, general of the *Spanish* army in that province, and *Horace Vere*, who commanded the troops of the elector. The governors of the *Low Countries* made the king of *England* believe that this truce was granted to his solicitation; but the emperor's real reason for consenting to it, was that he might have time to send forces into the *Lower Palatinate*, in the room of those which *Spinola* was obliged to withdraw into *Brabant* to overawe the *Dutch*. Accordingly, *Gonçales de Cordoua*, who succeeded to the command, was soon reinforced to the amount of eighteen thousand men; and *Vere*, being obliged to retire to *Worms*, he had no other enemy to fear, so that he took *Stein*, *Lademburg*, and *Keiserlautern*, and had already reduced *Frankendal* to extremity; when *Mansfeld*, hastening to its succour, compelled him to raise the siege and retreat^o.

Frederic has recourse to the kings of Sweden and Denmark. *FREDERIC* was at that time in *Holland*, where he had been received rather like a conqueror than a fugitive, and accommodated with a monthly allowance of ten thousand florins for his subsistence. He had retired to this country that he might be near *England*, from whence he still expected assistance and protection; but finding *James* as much as ever averse to any effectual engagement in his favour, he addressed himself to the kings of *Sweden* and *Denmark*, who had a

ⁿ HEISS. l. 3. c. 9.^o KHEVENHULLER. t. ix. p. 1395.

personal interview at *Segebert*, where the palatine was present, together with the ambassadors of *Brandenburg*, the Protestant princes, and the states of *Holland*. Whatever were the deliberations of this assembly, certain it is, the king of *Denmark* undertook to send a magnificent embassy to *Vienna*, to solicit the emperor in favour of *Frederic*; and to his remonstrances the ministers of *Ferdinand* replied, that a diet was already summoned to meet at *Ratisbon*, where such measures would be taken on that subject as should be agreeable to the *German* princes. The king of *England* likewise complained of the invasion of the *Palatinate*, as a breach of the promise which *Ferdinand* had given, and explained his sentiments touching the satisfaction which the emperor had a right to expect from his son-in-law, observing at the same time, that in case his mediation should be rejected, he would at length have recourse to arms in favour of the elector. The emperor, who knew his disposition too well to be alarmed at these menaces, continued still to amuse him with the hopes of peace, and sent the count *de Schwartzemburg* to *England*, in order to negotiate the conditions of a truce.

In the mean time, he dispatched the count *de Buquoy* into *Hungary*, to renew the truce with *Bethleem Gabor*, whom he would have honoured with the title of prince of *Hungary*, and a pension of one hundred thousand florins; but the vaivode demanding other advantages which were refused, both sides prepared for war, which was renewed with great animosity. *Buquoy* invested and took *Presburg* upon capitulation, and many other places surrendered to him on the same terms; while the marquis *de Colalte* reduced a number of towns and castles in *Low Hungary*, to the dominion of the house of *Austria*. At length, *Buquoy* undertook the siege of *Neuhaufs*, which was defended with great gallantry. The count *de la Tour*, being detached with six thousand men from the army of *Gabor*, fell upon a convoy guarded by two thousand *Austrians*, who being put in disorder, *Buquoy* mounted his horse in order to rally and support them; but in spite of all his endeavours, they were totally routed, and he himself lost his life in the engagement; so that the Imperialists were obliged to raise the siege, and retreat with precipitation to *Gutta* upon the *Danube*, after having abandoned their train of artillery. *Gabor*, taking the advantage of their discomfiture and absence, made some new conquests, and being joined by *Jagerndorf* with his *Moravians* and *Silesians*, resolved to retake *Presburg*, which was accordingly invested; but *Colalte* defended the place with such vigour, that they were fain

The count de Buquoy makes some progress in Hungary, and loses his life in an engagement near Neuhaufs.

to relinquish the enterprize, after the trenches had been opened a whole month ^{P.}—

Gabor in-
vests the
city of
Presburg.

ABOUT this time the elector Palatine, who had returned to *Holland*, was informed that the emperor had ordered the principal authors of the revolt in *Bohemia* to be put to death; nine of the directors of that kingdom having been beheaded, and two and thirty hanged ⁹. The execution of so many zealous adherents could not but be very grievous to *Frederic*, who, seeing he had nothing to expect from his father-in-law, resolved to take other measures for retrieving his dominions. He was still master of *Manheim*, *Heidelberg*, and *Frankendal*; and count *Mansfeld*, though retired into *Alsace*, was ready to re-enter the *Lower Palatinate*: he therefore engaged prince *Christiern* of *Brunswick* to levy an army in *Westphalia*, and join the count; and made a contract of the same nature with the prince of *Baden-Durlach*. Accordingly *Christiern* took the field, and made himself master of some places in the county of *La Marck*: from thence he marched into the electorate of *Mentz*, and afterwards committed horrible devastations in the dominions of the landgrave of *Hesse-Darmstadt*. On the other hand, the landgrave of *Hesse-Cassel* ravaged the country belonging to the counts *de Waldeck*, on pretence that they had received an investiture from the emperor of some fiefs which he held of his landgraviate: besides, a dispute subsisted between him and the landgrave of *Darmstadt*, about the sovereignty of *Marpurg*; and, as the emperor favoured his rival, he embraced the party of the count Palatine. The counts of *Waldeck* and the landgrave of *Darmstadt* complained of these hostilities to *Ferdinand*, who ordered the duke of *Brunswick-Halberstadt* and the landgrave of *Hesse* to lay down their arms, on pain of being proceeded against with all the rigour of the law: but the count *d'Anhalt*, who commanded the troops of *Cologne*, took a more effectual method, by joining the forces of *Mentz* and *Darmstadt*, and marching across *Weteravia* to the valley of *Buccen*, in quest of *Christiern*, whom he found intrenched in a wood. He immediately commanded his carabineers to alight and attack the *Halberstadians*, who, being broke and defeated, retired in disorder to the territories of *Pa-derborn* and *Munster*, burning and pillaging the whole country. As for the landgrave of *Hesse-Cassel*, when he saw *Anhalt* so near his dominions, he, by a letter, desired to know his intentions; when the other replied, that he had no orders to enter *Hesse*, and exhorted him to lay down his arms, and live

The duke
of Brun-
swick-
Halber-
stadt is de-
feated by
the count
d'Anhalt.

^P BARRE Hist. d'Allemagne, t. ix. p. 515.
l. 3. c. 9.

⁹ HEISS.

A. D.
1622.

in peace with the landgrave of *Darmstadt*. - Mean while, *Christiern* committed great excesses in *Westphalia*: he rained *Pukelsheim* and *Bereurie*, and ordered the inhabitants to be hanged: he destroyed the country with fire and sword; and, retiring to *Lippe*, treated all the villages as a conquered province, laying taxes and levying contributions at pleasure. The licence and impunity of his soldiers, encouraged a number of profligate ruffians to enlist in his service; so that his army, being thus augmented, soon became superior to that of *Anhalt*, and, over-running the bishoprics of *Munster* and *Paderborn*, filled every place with carnage and desolation (Z).

The emperor, whose sole aim was to subdue the elector The emperor Palatine and all his partizans, resolved to employ his whole forces on the *Rhine*; and for that purpose granted advantageous conditions to *Bethlen Gabor*, who, in consequence of a treaty concluded at *Nickasburg*, renounced the title and dignity of king of *Hungary*, promised to restore the crown and royal ornaments within eighteen days, and retire to *Cassovia*; and bound himself, by oath, to give no further disturbance to the house of *Austria*. *Ferdinand*, on his part, promised to create *Gabor* a prince of the empire; to let him enjoy, during life, a viscountship in *Hungary*; to cede, in his favour, the duchies of *Oppelen* and *Ratibor* in *Silesia*; to mortgage some castles in *Hungary* for the payment of a certain sum; and to pay yearly fifty thousand florins, to maintain the garrisons of these places, the soldiers of which should take the oath of allegiance to *Ferdinand* and *Gabor*. During these negotiations the marriage of the emperor with *Eleonora de Gonzaga*, sister of the duke of *Mantua*, was celebrated at *Oedembourg*; and, after the rejoicings, the affairs of *Hungary* were regulated in a diet, where *Ferdinand* granted a general amnesty, and liberty of conscience to the Protestants.

* CANAPA. p. 117.

* LUDOLPH. l. 21. c. 3.

(Z) *Christian*, or *Christiern*, duke of *Brunswick*, surnamed the *Furious*, called himself the friend of God, and enemy of priestcraft. Fearing that, should the Catholic party prevail, he would lose the bishopric of *Halberstadt*, of which he was in possession, he declared for the elector-palatine, and fixing a glove of the electress in his hat, he swore he would either die or

re-establish *Frederic* in his dominions. He used to threaten the peasants with mutilation, in order to prevent their revolting, and tell them by way of raillery, that a countryman who was born for the plough, ought to be contented with one natural hand and foot, and supply the other with wood. *Heiss. Hist. l. 3. c. 9. Burgolden, part 1. disc. 1. p. 80.*

IN

Mansfeld
overruns
Alsace.

The mar-
quis of Ba-
den-Dour-
lach de-
clares for
the elector-
palatine.

Mansfeld
gains an
advantage
over count
Tilly,

In the mean time, *Mansfeld*, who had been obliged to retire from the *Lower Palatinate* by the superior force of count *Tilly*, marched into the bishopric of *Strasbourg*, took the rich abbey of *Maur-Munster*, made himself master of *Hagenau*, and opened the trenches before *Saverne*; but the besieged having received a reinforcement of two thousand men, he was obliged to relinquish the enterprize; and, dividing his army into small bodies, laid waste the whole province of *Alsace*. It was not, however, upon the valour and activity of *Mansfeld* alone that the elector Palatine depended: he entertained great hopes from the power and influence of *George-Frederick*, marquis of *Baden-Dourlach*, who espoused his interest out of resentment against the emperor, who had adjudged the half of the marquisate of *Baden* to *William*, son of *Edward*, surnamed *the Fortunate*. This decision he considered as a grievance, because *Edward* having married a simple gentlewoman, her children were disqualified from inheriting the marquisate: having therefore resigned his dominions to his eldest son, he levied an army of thirteen thousand foot and three thousand horse, and prepared a considerable train of artillery, with all sorts of warlike munition. The elector palatine, elevated with the news of this armament, departed from *Holland*, traversed *France* in disguise, and arrived at *Landau*, where he was received by the governor count *de Lowenstein*, and immediately joined by *Mansfeld*, with whom he forthwith passed the *Rhine*, and obliged *Tilly* to raise the siege of *Dilsberg*. This general afterwards encamped in the front of a forest, near *Wisseloch*, in order to prevent their junction with the marquis of *Baden-Dourlach*; and *Mansfeld*, in order to drive them from this advantageous post, contrived an ambuscade, which succeeded to his wish. He posted his vanguard at *Mingelheim*; and, having disposed his artillery, detached some squadrons to skirmish with the enemy, before whom they pretended to fly. *Tilly* fell into the snare; for, having pursued them as far as *Mingelheim*, *Mansfeld* appeared upon their flank, plied them with his artillery, and attacked them with such fury, that they were utterly defeated, with the loss of two thousand men, and all their baggage.

THE marquis of *Baden-Dourlach* no sooner received the news of this victory, than, believing this was a proper opportunity to signalize himself, he, instead of joining *Mansfeld*, according to the advice and desire of *Frederic*, marched directly to *Tilly*; who had by this time posted himself between *Vimpfen* and *Heilbron*, and was reinforced by some Spanish re-

giments under the command of *Gonçales de Cordova*: for *Mansfeld* had given him time to rally his troops, by undertaking the siege of *Ladembourg*. The *Bavarian* general did not decline the engagement, which began with equal fury on both sides, and at first the marquis had some advantage; but at length *Tilly*, after having sustained several repulses, broke his main body, and gained a complete victory over the marquis, who lost all his cannon and baggage, together with two thousand men, and with great difficulty escaped to *Mansfeld* with a small party of horse*. *who in his turn defeats the marquis of Baden-Dourlach.*

THE count was still employed in the siege of *Lademburg*, which he at last took by assault, and put all the garrison to the sword: then, leaving the elector to repair the works, he repassed the *Rhine*, in order to relieve *Hagenau*, which was invested by the archduke *Leopold*. Having advanced as far as *Frankendal*, he surprised and cut to pieces a detachment of a thousand men; and this success filled the archduke's army with such terror and consternation, that all his efforts were insufficient to detain one soldier; so that he was obliged to abandon his artillery, provisions, and ammunition: two thousand of his men were slaughtered in their retreat towards *Dresenheim*; the rest of his army fled to *Dachstein*, *Molsheim*, and *Saverne*; and the considerable magazines which *Leopold* had prepared at *Bischwiller*, fell into the hands of the elector. *Mansfeld*, having performed this exploit, crossed the *Rhine* again; and, being joined by *Frederic* and the marquis of *Baden*, marched with an army of twenty thousand men into the country of *Darmstadt*, which was abandoned to plunder, the landgrave himself being defeated and taken prisoner. But their progress was soon checked by *Tilly*, who, being reinforced, advanced with his light cavalry, and, attacking their rear, obliged them to retreat with great loss into the forest of *Lorche*; from whence they repaired to the *Palatinate* in great disorder, being altogether destitute of money and provisions†.

FREDERIC, having now no other resource, wrote to the duke of *Brunswick* to come and join him with his troops. That prince had ravaged the whole country situated upon the river *Lippe*: being supported by the *Dutch*, he had taken several towns in the territory of *Paderborn*, and fortified himself in *Lippstadt*, where he had fixed his head-quarters. Here, however, he was in danger of being cooped up by *Anhalt*, reinforced with ten thousand men from the *Low Countries*, had not the states of *Holland* made a diversion in his favour, by assembling all their troops at *Nimeguen*; in consequence of

* HEISS. l. 3. c. 9.

† PRAESEC. p. 117.

which,

which, the archdutchess was fain to recall the *Spaniards*: so that *Christiern* was ready to take the field again, when he received the elector's orders.

The duke of Brunswick is entirely defeated by Tilly.

He accordingly began his march, levying contributions and plundering the country through which he passed. Having traversed the territory of *Cassel*, and the circle of the *Upper Rhine*, he advanced towards *Franckfort* upon the *Maine*, while *Tilly* and *Gonçales* waited for him at *Hanau*: but the duke, changing his route, marched to *Ursel*, where he employed his men in building a bridge over the river; and *Tilly*, passing it at *Aschaffenburg*, approached him in order of battle. *Christiern* was not backward to engage, and the fight was for a long time maintained with equal courage on both sides; but the issue was fatal to the duke, who was intirely defeated, and found great difficulty in escaping with five troops of horse to *Benfeld*, whither the count of *Mansfeld* had advanced to join his forces².

THIS defeat gave the finishing stroke to the party of *Frederic*, who, at the solicitation of the elector of *Saxony* and *Maurice* prince of *Hesse*, set at liberty the landgrave of *Darmstadt*. The marquis of *Dourlach*, disheartened at so many disasters, disbanded his troops and retired to *Hocheberg*; while the elector, *Mansfeld*, and *Christiern*, retreating into *Lower Alsace*, were hospitably received, and supplied with all necessaries, by the city of *Strasbourg*, which had been always attached to the Protestant cause.

ALL these successes could not dispel the disquiet of *Ferdinand*, who still dreaded a reverse of fortune while *Mansfeld* and *Brunswick* were in the service of the count palatine. As he suspected that several princes of *Germany* waited only for a favourable opportunity to espouse the cause of his antagonist, and that the kings of *England* and *Denmark* might at length engage heartily in the elector's interest, he durst not put in execution the design he had formed of transferring the palatine electorate to the ducal house of *Bavaria*. In answer to the solicitations that were daily made in behalf of *Frederic*, he continually declared, that the palatine could expect no favour while he retained in his service proscribed partizans, who laid waste whole provinces, in contempt of the laws and constitutions of the empire; but that, if he would dismiss *Christiern* and *Mansfeld*, the emperor would pay proper regard to the mediation of *England* and *Denmark*. Trusting to this declaration, the unhappy elector complied with the advice of his father-in-law; and, in evil hour, depriving himself of these

² *Mercur. Gallo-Belg.* p. 87.

two enterprising and indefatigable officers, retired to *Sedan*, the residence of his uncle the *marechal de Bouillon*. This was the most imprudent step he had ever taken, and diametrically opposite to the policy of all princes, who, in order to facilitate a peace, never fail to increase their preparations for war.

WHILE *Frederick* in this manner contributed to the ruin of his own affairs, count *Tilly* finished the conquest of the *Palatinate* by the reduction of *Heidelberg* and *Manheim*, from whence the famous library of the elector was sent to the duke of *Bavaria*, who kept part of the books for his own use, and made a present of the rest to the vatican at *Rome*^a. At the same time the archduke *Leopold*, having taken *Brisac*, passed the *Rhine*, made himself master of *Hagenau*, *Landau*, and *Weissenburg*, re-established the bishop of *Spire*, took *Germerstein*, which he abandoned to plunder; then repassing the river, executed the sentence of the *Aulic* council in favour of *William* marquis of *Baden-Baden*; who was no sooner settled in his dominions, the possession of which had been disputed by *George-Frederic*, than he restored the Catholic religion in the marquisate of *Baden*, from whence it had been long exiled. *Worms*, *Landau*, and the other cities which had favoured the elector-palatine, now received imperial garrisons; the revolution became general, *Frankendal* alone being spared out of complaisance for the governors of the *Low Countries*, who thought such an instance of lenity might forward the peace.

Count Tilly finishes the conquest of the Palatinate.

DURING these transactions, *Mansfeld* and the duke of *Brunswick* marched towards *Lorraine*, at the head of an army consisting of ten thousand foot and eight thousand horse, with fourteen pieces of cannon, and passing the *Moselle*, encamped above *Metz*, in order to deliberate upon their next expedition. While they continued in this situation, *Mansfeld* was solicited to enter into the service of the king of *France*; but his terms were so high, that *Lewis XIII.* did not think proper to comply with them, and the negotiation being broke off, the count continued his route to the neighbourhood of *Sedan*, where the duke de *Bouillon*, chief of the *French Calvinists*, employed all his address in persuading him to take the command of that party, which was then upon the decline: the emperor dreading his return into *Germany*, attempted to buy his friendship with a pension and considerable presents; the archduchess fearing he would fall upon *Luxemburg*, sent very advantageous proposals to him, on the part of the king of *Spain*; the king of *England* made the most pressing instances to dissuade him from abandoning the elector-palatine; the states of *Holland*

^a SPANHEIM Memoires, p. 261.

Mansfeld
is put to
flight by
Gonçales
and the
duke de
Nevers.

courted his assistance in raising the siege of *Berg*; and finally, the *Venetians* essayed to engage him in their interests, promising to invest him with the command of their army: so that this single man, without either country or habitation, money or allies, was, at one time, equally feared and flattered by all the chief powers of *Europe*^b. He resisted, however, all these tempting offers, and resolved to penetrate into *France*, in order to support the reformed of that kingdom; but *Gonçales* having passed the *Rhine* to protect *Luxemburg*, joined the duke de *Nevers*, who had raised some troops in order to oppose the count and the duke of *Brunswick*, and following them into *Thierache*, a battle ensued, in which *Mansfeld* was intirely defeated, after having left five thousand killed and wounded upon the field. The *Spaniards* pursued the fugitives, of whom they slew a great number, and took abundance of prisoners, with the whole baggage and artillery: yet notwithstanding this discomfiture, in which the duke of *Brunswick* lost an arm, *Mansfeld*, with the troops which he could rally, marched with great expedition to the assistance of the *Dutch*, and actually compelled *Spinola* to raise the siege of *Bergen-op-Zoom*.

The em-
peror ex-
pells the
Protestants
from
Prague.

MANSFELD being thus disabled from giving *Ferdinand* any further disturbance, the Imperialists made themselves masters of *Glatz*, which was the last place in *Bohemia* that held out for the elector-palatine; and that kingdom being wholly reduced, the emperor published a second edict for apprehending those who were proscribed, and for prosecuting such rebels as had not yet been tried: some of these having consulted their safety in flight, were found guilty of treason, outlawed, and their effects were confiscated for the use of the emperor. Others, who stood their trial, were condemned to death; but the emperor changed their punishment into perpetual imprisonment. These measures being taken, *Ferdinand* declared, that for the future there should be none but Catholic magistrates through all his hereditary dominions; and this resolution was signified to the governor of *Prague* by the prince de *Liechtenstein*, viceroy of *Bohemia*, who likewise, by the emperor's order, gave notice that all the ministers of the *Augsburg* confession should leave the city in four hours, and be for ever exiled from the hereditary countries. In consequence of this mandate the Protestant churches were shut up, and the administration of the university vested in the jesuits, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the elector of *Saxony*, protector of the *Augsburg* confession, who, in letters to the prince of *Liechtenstein*, and the elector of *Mentz*, complained of these

^b Mercur. Franc. t. viii. l' An. 1622.

alterations. Besides these, the emperor had resolved to make other regulations, about which he was desirous of consulting the electors and princes of the empire^c; for which purpose he summoned a diet to meet at *Ratisbon*, where, however, he took care that a majority of his own friends should be present; for his chief design was to transfer the palatine electorate to the person of *Maximilian* duke of *Bavaria*. Accordingly the diet was no sooner opened, than the emperor made a long detail of *Frederic's* crimes and misconduct, for which he had been proscribed and deprived of the electoral dignity, which, by the law called *Commisorial*, having devolved to his imperial majesty, he now, from the plenitude of his power, transferred it to the person of *Maximilian* duke of *Bavaria*, in consideration of that prince's great services during the late war^d.

THIS proposal met with great opposition from the *Spaniards*, who were by no means inclined to aggrandize the house of *Bavaria*, the ancient rival of the *Austrian* family, or to disoblige the king of *England*, with whom they were at that time heartily disposed to enter into alliance, by concluding the marriage of the infanta with the prince of *Wales*. As for the electors and other princes, they were differently swayed by their different motives and views of interest. The archbishop of *Mentz*, who had been long an inveterate enemy of the palatine, eagerly wished for the bergstract: the elector of *Cologne* of course favoured his brother the duke of *Bavaria*: the archbishop of *Triers* being *Frederic's* professed enemy, desired nothing so much as to see him intirely deprived of his dominions, and to obtain some portion of the spoil: the archbishop of *Saltzburg*, whose country lay between the emperor and the duke of *Bavaria*, durst not disoblige such powerful neighbours: the landgrave of *Darmstadt* wanted an opportunity to secure the favour of *Ferdinand*, who was to judge in his dispute about *Marpurg*; and the elector of *Saxony* being incensed against the emperor, for having expelled the Protestants from *Bohemia*, would not be present at the diet; but he and the elector of *Brandenburg* sent thither deputies to declare, that they would never consent to the intended investiture of the duke of *Bavaria*. *Wolfgang-William*, duke of *Neuburg*, loudly complained, that, contrary to the disposition of the golden bull, a distant relation should succeed to the inheritance of a criminal, to the prejudice of the nearest kinsmen, who were innocent; and, in his answer to the emperor's proposal, observed, that although the elector-palatine might have deserved such punishment as *Ferdinand* meant to inflict, the manner of proceeding

A. D.
1623.

The duke
of Neu-
burg's re-
monstrances

^c KHEVENHULLER, t. x. p. 11.

^d PEASEC. p. 359.

against him, appeared unlawful, as he had neither been legally summoned, tried, nor condemned; and, as in causes of the least importance, according to the capitulation which his imperial majesty had sworn to observe, and which was deemed a fundamental law of the empire, the accused is always judged by his peers, it was highly reasonable, that in cases of great consequence, the same rule should be obeyed. Besides, to transfer the electorate to the duke of *Bavaria*, in prejudice of the palatine's children, brother, and nearest kinsmen, who had given no cause of offence to the emperor, would be an unjust violation of the laws of the empire, and the custom always observed on such occasions, and introduce an innovation destructive to the fundamentals of electoral succession (A).

As these arguments had no weight with the emperor, the duke composed a second remonstrance, in which he solemnly appealed to his imperial majesty's paternal clemency and patriotism, and represented, that the intended translation would infallibly prove a source of jealousy and distrust between the duke and the members of the empire, and sow the seeds of another cruel war, as the kings and princes, allies and relations of the palatine house, would certainly use their utmost efforts in the maintenance of its rights and pretensions^e.

The emperor confers the electoral dignity upon Maximilian duke of Bavaria,

THE emperor, notwithstanding such exhortations, continued inflexibly attached to his purpose and promise, and foreseeing that his proposal would be sanctioned by a majority of suffrages, he solemnly conferred the electoral dignity on *Maximilian* duke of *Bavaria*; but at the same time promised to convoke another diet, in which the rights and pretensions of the palatine's children and relations should be examined and regulated, either by accommodation or form of law. The duke of *Bavaria* was brought into the assembly, and knelt before the emperor, from whose hands having received the electoral cap and mantle, he took the usual oath upon the evangelists^f: but the deputies of *Saxony* and *Brandenburg*, t

^e *Mémoires de L'Empire*, l. 3. c. 9. t. xiv. l. 3.

^f *Mercur. Gallo-Bel*

(A) While *Ferdinand* was employed in answering this remonstrance, the ambassadors of the king of *Denmark*, the elector of *Brandenburg*, the dukes of *Brunswick*, *Holstein*, and *Mecklenburg*, with the deputies of the hanse-towns of *Bremen*, *Hamburgh*, *Lubeck*, and *Lunen-*

burg, held an assembly in *Lower Saxony*, and engaged in an association for the defence of that province; and *Christiern* duke of *Brunswick-Halberstadt*, was created captain-general of the army of the confederates. *Cassara*, p. 158.

duke

duke of *Neuburg*, and the *Spanish* ambassador, refused to assist at this investiture. The new elector was put in possession of all the *Upper Palatinate*, except the bailiwics of *Barekstein* and *Weidem*, which were reserved for the duke of *Neuburg*; and at that time these benefits were limited to the person of *Maximilian*, after whose death the natural succession should take place: but the prosperity of *Ferdinand*, upon whom fortune smiled from every quarter, soon inspired him with other ideas. Perceiving *Frederic* and his party utterly abased, he divided his spoils at pleasure. He gave to *Maximilian* that part of the *Lower Palatinate*, which is on the farther side of the *Rhine*, ^{and divides the} in exchange for *Upper Austria*, which had been mortgaged to him for one hundred and fifty thousand rix-dollars: to the *Frederic* king of *Spain* he abandoned the rest of the *Lower Palatinate*, ^{spoils of} among his except the bailiage of *Germerheim*, with its dependencies, ^{favourites} which he bestowed upon his son the archduke *Leopold-William* bishop of *Strasburg*: the landgrave of *Darmstadt* was presented with the bailiwics of *Ursberg* and *Umstadt*. The archbishop of *Mentz* regained possession of what the palatine held in the *Bergstraet* by mortgage from his bishopric; and the bishops of *Worms* and *Spire*, together with the grand master of the *Teutonic* order, as neighbours, were not forgotten in this general distribution.

The king of *England*, seeing his son-in-law stripped of his electorate, began to wake from his infatuation, and resume the negotiations which had been interrupted. The city of *Frankendal* had been last year invested by count *Tilly*, who was obliged to raise the siege on account of the rigorous season: but *Gonçales* intended to open the trenches before it in the beginning of the next campaign. *James*, therefore, concluded a truce for eighteen months with the king of *Spain*, and the archduchess's governess of *Flanders*, in whose hands *Frankendal* should be sequestered during that period, on condition, that if a reconciliation between the emperor and the palatine could not be effected before the expiration of the truce, the town should be restored in the same condition in which the *Spaniards* had received it.

ABOUT this time the imperial court determined the dispute between *Maurice* landgrave of *Hesse-Cassel*, and *Lewis* landgrave of *Darmstadt*, touching the succession of *Lewis the Old*, landgrave of *Marpurg*: by the decree *Maurice* was commanded to restore to *Lewis* the whole inheritance in one and twenty days: and the vassals of the county of *Marpurg* were absolved of the oaths they had taken to the landgrave of *Hesse-Cassel*. Immediately after this decision, *Ferdinand* being informed that the zeal with which the elector of *Saxony*

An accommodation had declared for the Protestants, was no other than a pretext to cover a grudge he had conceived against the emperor, who had not reimbursed him for the money he had expended during the war in *Lusatia*: *Ferdinand*, I say, being apprised of the motive, promised to indemnify him according to his own desire, provided he would abandon the party of the Evangelicals of Saxony, and unite himself to the house of *Austria*; and they concluded an agreement, in which it was stipulated that the elector should enjoy the revenues of *Lusatia*, until he should be entirely reimbursed for the expences of the war; for it was not till thirteen years after this agreement, that it was settled upon him intail male, by a treaty concluded at *Gorlitz*.³

The duke of Brunswick is again defeated by count Tilly.

A. D.
1624.

In the mean time the states of *Lower Saxony* being assembled at *Lunenburg*, the imperial commissaries repaired to the meeting, and demanded that the duke of *Brunswick-Holstein*, should either be obliged to accept of the amnesty which the emperor had offered, or quit the frontiers of that province. In compliance with this demand, the states, who dreaded that their circle should become the seat of war, ordered the duke to retire without delay, on pain of being treated as an enemy; and he accordingly decamped, in order to join *Mansfeld*, who was still in *Friesland*. Count *Tilly*, being informed of his departure, and joined by the troops of *Anhalt*, began his march, in order to pursue *Christian*, whom he overtook between *Abau* and *Scotla*, and defeated, after an obstinate engagement, in which four thousand of the *Holladians* were slain. The duke himself, and the young count *de la Tour*, though wounded in the battle, escaped to *Bois* with the wreck of their army, which amounted to ten thousand effective men, six thousand of which were taken into service of the states, and the rest disbanded.⁴ *Mansfeld* being received the news of this overthrow, abandoned *Mett* in *Westphalia*, which was garrisoned by count *Tilly*, who being joined the Spanish army, advanced into the country of *Embsen*, and the states-general being alarmed at this march, ordered prince *Henry of Nassau*, and count *Casimir* to take the field. *Mansfeld* intrenched himself between the towns of *Embsen* and *Mett*, where he resolved to wait for the *Austrian* army; but *Tilly* seeing him posted to great advantage, would not venture to attack his lines, and returned to *Westphalia*, leaving orders with the count *de Ridberg* to besiege *Lipstadt*, which was obliged to surrender on capitulation, after *Mansfeld* had made several fruitless attempts to succour the besieged.⁵

³ BARRE Hist. d'Allemagne, t. ix. p. 547.
t. x. p. 188.

⁴ BELLUS. l. 7. p. 777.

⁵ KHEVENHULLER.

WHILE the partizans of each side exerted themselves in this manner, the emperor's commissaries invested with the power of treating of an accommodation, imparted to the king of England, the conditions on which Ferdinand was content to make peace with the palatine. Provided the count would comply with the submission which was proposed, the emperor promised a full and intire restitution of his dominions in the person of his eldest son; for whom *Frederic* should act as administrator during life: that after the death of the duke of Bavaria, the dignity of elector should be restored to the palatine house, and the young prince married to one of Ferdinand's daughters. James exhorted his son-in-law to accept of these offers; but *Frederic*, considering them as vague proposals, absolutely refused to submit, unless the emperor would give proper security for the performance.

ALL Europe was at that time attentive to the designs of the house of Austria. *Spinola* marched into *Brabant*, at the head of thirty thousand men, and the count de *Berg* commanded another body of ten thousand in the country of *Cleves*; while the states-general, being inferior in point of force, were obliged to act upon the defensive. *Maurice* prince of *Orange* observed *Spinola's* motions with an army of sixteen thousand men, and his brother prince *Frederic-Henry* covered the dutchy of *Cleves* with half that number. This province, together with the country of *Juliers* and *Bergue* being desolated by the war, sent deputies to the governor of *Amst.* giving him to understand that they could no longer furnish provisions for the troops of the states-general; and, on the other hand, the elector of *Brandenburg*, and the prince of *Neuburg*, being moved with compassion for the miseries which these dominions suffered from foreign troops, resolved to take measures for redressing their grievances, and actually concluded a treaty on the subject of the succession; by which they agreed, that the dutchy of *Clèves*, with the counties of *La Marck*, *Ravensburg*, and *Raamsberg*, should fall to the share of the elector; and that the duke should enjoy the dutchies of *Juliers* and *Bergue*: but this transaction could not take effect without the approbation of the archduchess governess of the *Low Countries*, and the confirmation of the states-general, who started so many difficulties as entirely frustrated the purpose of the whole.

A treaty is concluded between the elector of Brandenburg and duke of Neuburg.

By this time *Hungary* underwent fresh disturbances from the incursions of *Bethlem Gabor*, who having broke the treaty of peace which had been signed at *Clausenburg*, surprised several

* *BARRE Hist. d'Allemagne*, t. ix. p. 550.

Gabor is
defeated
by the Im-
perialists.

places in that kingdom, and began to commit devastations, when his progress was stopped by the imperial general, who defeated him in an engagement, which was renewed three days successively, and compelled him to take refuge in *Cassovia*, where, schooled by his miscarriage, he proposed a truce, during which another treaty of peace was concluded at *Vienna*, importing, that *Gabor* should renounce all pretensions to the title of king of *Hungary*, deliver the seals into the hands of the emperor, and never afford the least assistance to the enemies of the *Austrian* house : in consideration of which concessions, *Ferdinand* should put him in possession of the lordships of *Zathmar*, *Labalar*, *Ugechi*, *Berocki*, the duchies of *Ratibor* and *Oppelen* in *Silesia*, with their jurisdictions, revenues, and domains, on condition that the judges and officers of these cities should take an oath to do nothing to the prejudice of his imperial majesty and his successors¹. The partizans of the elector-palatine loudly complained of this accommodation, by which *Ferdinand* bestowed upon the prince of *Transylvania* a tract of country fifty leagues in length, and five and twenty in breadth, while he stripped an elector of the empire of his dignity and dominions : but these complaints, though joined with menaces, could neither hinder the execution of the treaty, nor even retard the measures that were taken in favour of the elector of *Bavaria* ; for the emperor, in an assembly of the states which he had convened at *Slensingen*, in the county of *Hamburg*, admitted the duke into the electoral college, with the consent of the members, notwithstanding the remonstrances that were made by the ambassadors of those princes who espoused the interests of *Frederic*, and the solicitations of his children, who protested against the destitution of their father^m.

A. D.
1625.
Christian
the fourth,
king of
Denmark
acts
against the
emperor.

THE king of *England* finding himself at length a dupe to the *Spaniards*, listened to the proposals of *Mansfeld*, who promised to make a diversion in the *Spanish* dominions, while the allies of *Frederic* might enter the *Palatinate* with a powerful army. He supplied the count with some money to levy troops, and solicited *Christian* the fourth, king of *Denmark*, to take arms against the emperor, in order to favour the project he had formed of re-establishing by force, the elector-palatine in his dignities and dominions. He likewise engaged in the undertaking all the princes and states of *Lower Saxony*, except the duke of *Lunenbourg* ; and they elected his Danish majesty captain-general of their circle, in the room of the duke of

¹ DUMONT, t. v. part 2. p. 444.
ann. Boic. gent. part 3. l. 9. p. 122.

^m ADLZREITTER

Brunswick, who had resigned. While this new general was employed in raising forces, on pretence of defending the country from the ravages committed by the soldiers and garrisons of count *Tilly*, the circle of *Lower Saxony* assembled at *Brunswick*, sent letters to the princes and states of *Upper Saxony*, in which, after having drawn a pathetic picture of the miseries attending the intestine troubles of the empire, they solicited their assistance, and proposed an union for their common defence, as well as for the preservation of their religion and tranquillity ^a.

THIS address served as a manifesto to the ensuing war. The *Wefer*, which separates *Lower Saxony* from *Westphalia*, was the rendezvous of four great armies that marched thither from different parts. The king of *Denmark* fixed his quarters in the neighbourhood of *Bremen*, where he was joined by *Mansfeld* and the duke of *Brunswick Halberstadt*, who had come to him through *Westphalia*; while count *Tilly* hastened to the same place through *Hesse*, and the baron of *Walstein*, lately created duke of *Fridland*, took his route through *Suabia*, in order to reinforce that general, who, advancing to the banks of the *Wefer*, took several places depending upon the duchy of *Brunswick*, which having garrisoned, he undertook the siege of *Nienburg*: but the king of *Denmark* found means to introduce colonel *Limbae* into the place, and that officer took such measures as disconcerted those of *Tilly*. The count employed all his address in bringing *Christian* to a battle; but that prince knowing how far he could depend upon his army, which was composed of new levies, resolved to be upon the defensive, and fortify his camp, until he should accustom his troops to service, by sending out detachments to intercept the convoys of the enemy. Mean while, he animated his soldiers by his own example; he worked in person at the intrenchments, and visited the lines twice a day, until he chanced to be thrown from his horse, and dangerously wounded in the head. *Tilly*, being informed of this accident, spread a report of his death, which encouraged his men to make new efforts at the siege of *Nienburg*; but they were soon undeceived in this particular by the recovery of his *Danish* majesty, who, in a little time, re-appeared in the midst of his troops, and resumed his operations in order to retard their progress. *Tilly* finding his army in great want of provision, and foreseeing that he should not be able to continue long in his present situation, resolved to hazard one dangerous step by giving a general assault. Accordingly every circumstance was regu-

Is joined
by Mans-
feld and
the duke of
Brunswick.

*Tilly is
obliged to
desist from
the siege of
Nienburg,*

^a LUDOLPH. t. iii. p. 839. BELLUS, l. 9. p. 921.

lated for that purpose, and the attacks were carried on with great fury and perseverance; notwithstanding which, the Imperialists being repulsed with great loss, abandoned their enterprise, and retired into the county of *Schauenburg*, after having lost part of their rear, which was cut to pieces by the *Danish* horse. Here, however, *Tilly* made himself master of *Colemburg* upon the river *Glein*; by which conquest he was enabled to extend himself into the bishopric of *Hildesheim*, and the duchy of *Brunswick*, which he laid under contribution.

THESE two armies were not more eager in their operations of war, than the elector of *Saxony* in his negotiations for peace. In consequence of his interposition, conferences were held at *Brunswick* and at *Ulm*; but nothing was concluded at either of these assemblies, because they could not agree about the indemnification which the Imperialists demanded for the ravages committed by *Frederic's* allies; and neither side would be the first to lay down their arms. When they disputed upon these points at *Brunswick*, the king of *Denmark* repaired to an assembly which he had summoned to meet at *Wassel*, in *Holstein*, where he obtained a considerable subsidy for the maintenance of his troops; and by an ordinance prohibited all *Spanish* vessels, or such as belonged to the provinces subject to that crown, from entering the *Saund*.

JAMES the first, king of *England*, being dead, and his son *Charles* too much involved in disputes with his own parliament to interest himself in the cause of his brother-in-law, all the hopes of this unfortunate prince now centered in the friendship of his *Danish* majesty, and the assistance of the states of *Lower Saxony*. The zeal of these last prompted them to commence hostilities in his favour, even before the end of winter: for in the month of *February*, the administrator of *Magdeburg* putting himself at the head of his troops, attacked *Walstein*, from whom he met with such a warm reception that in less than a quarter of an hour his forces were entirely routed, and fled with such precipitation, that the victors found upon the field of battle five thousand and three hundred loaded musquets, which had never been discharged. The disgrace, however, was in some measure repaired by the duke of *Brunswick-Halberstadt*, who cut in pieces five hundred imperial *Cossacks*, whom he surprised in their quarters.

THE *Austrian* generals wished for nothing so much as for a general engagement, which was carefully avoided by the king of *Denmark*, who would not risk his best soldiers upon such

A. D.
1626.

The administrator of
Magdeburg is
routed by
Walstein.

a precarious issue; but divided his army into three bodies, in Christian order to carry on the war in so many different places at the *divides his* same time, and to oblige the *Austrians* in like manner to separate their forces. So far he succeeded; but the event did not answer his expectation^a. Having marched with the bulk of his army through *Brunswick*, he entered the bishopric of *Hildesheim*, where he took and garrisoned several places: then he detached the duke of *Weimar* to make an attempt upon *Osnabrug*, which he carried by escalade, and exacted a considerable sum of the clergy: he afterwards reduced all the towns of that diocese, and might have opened to the king a road to the *Palatinate* through the bishopric of *Munster*, had not his progress been stopped by a large present from the inhabitants; in consequence of which he contented himself with the conquest he had already made, and his eldest son being elected coadjutor of *Osnabrug*, he returned as he came, and rejoined his *Danish* majesty. That monarch had set out from the banks of the *Elbe*, towards *Wolfembutte*, in order to check the progress of *Tilly*; but he amused himself by the way, in besieging *Hottensleben*, and some other places; so that *Tilly* had leisure to carry on his works before *Gottingen*, which accordingly surrendered upon capitulation.

AFTER this success he marched towards *Northheim*, which he intended to invest; but the place was supplied with a strong reinforcement of troops, provision, and ammunition, by the king of *Denmark*, who was now employed in the siege of *Duderstadt*; so that seeing it would be impracticable to reduce the place, he resolved to baffle the present purpose of his *Danish* majesty, whom he obliged to hazard a general action, in which that monarch was defeated (B), and compelled to fly *and is de-* into *Holstein*, with part of his cavalry^c. Perhaps this over-*seated by* throw was not more fatal to the interests of *Frederic*, than the *Tilly*. loss of two great officers, who died in the course of this year. On the sixth day of *May*, *Christian* duke of *Brunswick-Halberstadt* expired at *Wolfembutte* (C), leaving behind him the character

^a STRUV. per. 10. sect. 8. p. 2091.
L'Empire, l. 3. c. 9.

^c HEISS. Hist.

(B) *Philip* landgrave of *Hesse*, and many general officers, were slain in this action, which happened on the seventh of *August* 1626: a great number were taken prisoners, together with two thousand men, who had re-

tired to the castle of *Luther*; and above five thousand *Danes* were left dead upon the spot. *Barre Hist. d'Allemagne*, t. ix. p. 559.

(C) He was first cousin to the electress-palatine by his mother, who

Death of the duke of Brunswick Halberstadt. character of a very brave and enterprising commander; tho' the impetuosity of his temper very often deprived him of that reflection and forecast, which are requisite in forming plans of importance: in this particular, however, he might have been improved by age and experience. He was lavish of his fortune; but as he squandered his own without restraint, so he used that of other people without scruple*.

Mansfeld marches into Hungary;

MANSFELD, with part of the army, had been defeated by *Walstein* at *Dessau*; but far from being disheartened by his misfortune, he, in his retreat towards *Silesia*, reassembled such a number of soldiers, that in a little time he took the field again with five and twenty thousand men; and after having surmounted a number of obstacles in his march, arrived in *Hungary*, with a view to join *Bethleem Gabor*, who had again broke with the emperor. *Walstein* duke of *Fridland*, had pursued and harrassed him all the way; and now that they were divided by the *Wag*, resolved to cross that river, and attack him before he should be reinforced; but this design was frustrated by the expedition of the Protestant army, and *Gabor*, who joined *Mansfeld*, with a good number of forces, while the pacha of *Buda* advanced with another body to favour their operations†. While the two armies watched the motions of each other, they were daily diminished by the distempers produced from the autumn rains, which occasioned such a mortality, that both camps looked like burying places for the dead, and hospitals for the living. *Mansfeld* was extremely afflicted when he saw his army melt away in such a manner; and his chagrin was not a little augmented, when he understood that the *Hungarian* malcontents had accepted an amnesty from the emperor; that *Gabor* negotiated another treaty with the house of *Austria*; and that the pacha of *Buda* was on the eve of concluding an accommodation with the same power. Mortified by these articles of intelligence, and despairing of being able to retrieve the affairs of *Frederic*, he left the remains of his army with *Gabor*, and, accompanied by twelve officers, set out from *Gran*, tho' he was then afflicted with a slow fever. When he had crossed *Servia* and *Bosnia*, his malady increased to such a degree, that he was obliged to halt in a village near *Zara* in *Dalmatia*, where, perceiving his end approaching, he recollected his spirits, and having exhorted

* *BARRE*, t. ix. p. 564.
p. 1242.

† *KHEVENHULLER*, t. x.

who was sister to the king of *Denmark*; and this consanguinity was one motive for his engaging in the cause of the count palatine. *Id. ibid.*

his

his followers in a pathetic harangue to spend their best blood in defending the liberty of their country, he died with the courage and sentiments of an antient hero (D)^u. Dies at a village in Dalmatia.

HUNGARY being thus again reduced to obedience, the Imperialists under *Tilly*, returned to the siege of *Nienburg*; *Nienburg* and the king of *Denmark*, dreading the loss of such an important place, exerted all his vigilance and address in supplying it with fresh succours, which infused new courage in the besieged, who defended themselves with the most obstinate valour. He not only provided for the safety of this town, but having received auxiliaries from *France* and *Holland*, formed an army of four and twenty thousand foot, and fifteen thousand horse. These he divided into three bodies, one of which he sent into the bishopric of *Bremen*, another he detached into the island of *Stilhorn*, and the third was employed in fortifying the town of *Arheim*^x. On the side of the Imperialists, *George* duke of *Lunenbourg* took *Plaga*, which was abandoned to plunder, while *Tilly* made preparations for prosecuting his victories, as soon as he should be joined by the troops of *Rodolphus Maximilian*, duke of *Saxony*. In order to defeat the designs of this general, the administrator of

^u LONDORP. l. 6. num. 23, &c.

^x CARAFA. p. 274.

(D) He was natural son of *Peter Ernest de Mansfeld*, governor of *Luxemburg*; and, being legitimated, was educated at the court of *Brussels*, under the eye of his godfather the archduke *Ernest*. In his youth he served the king of *Spain* in the *Low Countries*, and the emperor in *Hungary*; but being refused a vacant government which he demanded, he quitted the court of *Rodolphus*, and espoused the Protestant cause. He was one of the greatest captains that *Germany* ever produced; intrepid, indefatigable, cool in the heat of action, prudent in deliberation, and a hero in misfortune: he could wonderfully accommodate himself to time, place, and circumstance, and find new resources when his friends were in despair. He had acquired such an empire

over his passions, that being once informed of the treachery of *Caxel*, his confident, who disclosed his designs to the count *de Buquoy*, he gave him three hundred rix-dollars, with a recommendation to *Buquoy* in these terms: "*Caxel* being more in your interest than in mine, I send him to you that you may profit by his service." At another time, he said to an apothecary who had undertaken to poison him, "Friend, I can scarce believe that a person whom I have never injured, should be desirous of taking my life away; if it was necessity that induced you to undertake the office of assassin, there is money to enable you to live like an honest man." *Mercur, Franc. t. xii. l. An. 1626.*

Mag-

Magdeburg marched at the head of sixteen thousand men, and was followed by the bulk of the *Danish* army towards the bridge of *Dessau*, to hinder the count from passing the *Elbe*; but notwithstanding all his endeavours, the *Austrians* built a new bridge, and crossing that river, took *Brandenburg* and several other places, while the king of *Denmark* intrenched himself near *Wefer*. Thus situated, both armies harrassed each other with frequent skirmishes, in which neither side gained any considerable advantage, until *George* duke of *Lunenburg*, after having seized several posts in the electorate of *Brandenburg*, on pretence of hampering the *Danes*, at length entered the dutchy of *Holstein*, in order to make a diversion in favour of count *Tilly*. Nor was this expedient ineffectual. The king of *Denmark* sent thither twelve thousand men, draughted from his army, to oppose the duke; so that *Tilly* was enabled to send one half of his troops to *Hoja*, while the other continued the siege of *Northheim*, under the command of the count *de Furstemberg*, who, at first refused to grant a capitulation; but after having lost abundance of men in three unsuccessful assaults, he, of his own accord, proposed favourable conditions, which were accepted by the garrison, which marched out with all the honours of war.

A. D. 1627.
Conditions prescribed by Tilly to the duke of Holstein.

At the same time the town of *Havelberg*, and the fort near *Ardemburg*, were taken by count *Tilly*, whose conquests were so rapid, that the king of *Denmark* lost some place of importance every day; insomuch, that the duke of *Holstein* fearing his country would become the seat of war, proposed an accommodation to *Tilly*, who dictated the following articles:—

“ The king of *Denmark* shall lay down his arms, resign his office of general of the circle of *Lewer Saxony*, quit all pretensions to the dutchy of *Holstein*, and the other fiefs of the empire, which he has forfeited, by rebelling against the emperor, into whose hands he shall deliver the fortress of *Gluckstadt*, by way of security: he shall reimburse the emperor for the expence of the war, renounce all his claims to the principalities of *Brunswick* and of *Lunenburg*, and all other pretensions he may have upon other states and cities of the empire; he shall indemnify the dutchies of *Brunswick* and of *Lunenburg* and other states of *Germany*, for the damage they had sustained from his troops; he shall disengage himself from every confederacy against the house of *Austria*, open the navigation of the *Sound* in conformity with antient treaties, and give sufficient security for the performance of all these articles.”

THE king of *Denmark* having rejected these imperious proposals, *Tilly* pursued his conquests with such expedition, that ^{by before} the *Danes*, intimidated at his success, fortified themselves along ^{the} *Elbe*, in the neighbourhood of *Wolfemburg*: even there ^{Imperialists.} they were attacked by *Tilly*, and obliged to abandon their intrenchments in the night. Of these having taken possession, he threw a bridge of boats over the *Elbe*, and crossing into *Holstein*, pursued the *Danish* army, which was seized with such consternation, that it abandoned all its forts, and took refuge in the sea-ports of *Holstein* and *Jutland*, leaving *Tilly* at liberty to attack several places, of which he soon made himself master. The king of *Denmark*, who was pursued from place to place, and had retired for safety to *Jutland*, did not find himself secure even in that retreat. Thither he was followed by the Imperialists, who not only defeated a considerable body of his troops, but even compelled them to enter into the service of the emperor. Nor were the affairs of *Lower Saxony* in a more favourable situation. *Nienburg* had at last ^{Nienburg} rendered after the death of *Limbac*; upon which the states of ^{surrenders.} the dutchy of *Brunswick* renounced their confederacy, and had recourse to the clemency of the emperor. The elector of *Brandenburg* published an edict, enjoining all his subjects who were in the service of the king of *Denmark*, to return to their own country, on pain of confiscation and exemplary punishment; and the marquis of *Baden-Durlach* had made his peace with the emperor, who nominated commissaries to terminate the difference that still subsisted between him and the marquis of *Bade-Baden*.

WHILE the king of *Denmark* seemed thus overwhelmed by ^{Conditions} misfortune, *Frederic*, elector palatine, tired of his exile, in- ^{of peace} treated the dukes of *Lorraine* and *Wirtemberg* to intercede in ^{dictated by} his behalf with the emperor; who, being accordingly solli- ^{the emperor} cited upon the subject, gave them to understand, that he ^{to the} would receive the count Palatine into favour, on these condi- ^{count-pala-} tions only: that *Frederic* should ask his pardon, and renounce ^{tine,} all pretensions to the crown of *Bohemia*; that the duke of *Bavaria* should retain the electoral dignity; that the Catholic religion should be re-established through the whole *Palatinate*; and that the count should indemnify the house of *Austria* for the expences of the war. On this occasion, conferences were held at *Colmar* by the ministers of the mediators and the envoys of the elector-palatine; who, being informed of the emperor's proposals, answered, that their master would ask pardon for what was past, and renounce the crown of *Bohemia*; that he and the duke of *Bavaria* should alternately enjoy the electoral dignity, on condition, that, after the duke's decease, it

it should be intirely vested in him and his heirs; that he could neither in honour or conscience make any change in the established religion of his country; but would permit the monks to remain in two or three monasteries, over which, however, he himself would reserve a jurisdiction; and as to the expence of the war, it would be impossible to defray it, the *Palatinate* being intirely ruined ².

The ambition of the house of Austria.

THESE representations were so unsatisfactory to the emperor, that he renounced the negotiation, and resolved to continue the war, in which he was successful, even beyond his own expectation. His victorious arms kept all the princes of *Germany* in awe; and the court of *Vienna* no longer dissembled its design to suppress the Protestant religion, extinguish the liberties of the empire, and render the Imperial crown hereditary in the house of *Austria*. *Walstein* openly declared, that the electors would soon be reduced to the condition of *Spanish* grandees: he and *Tilly* quartered the troops indifferently upon Catholics and Protestants, allowing them to live at discretion, and levying immense contributions. *Leopold* of *Austria*, archduke of *Inspruck*, having resigned the bishoprics of *Strasbourg* and *Passau*, together with several other benefices, in order to marry *Claudia de Medicis*, widow of duke *Urbino*, the emperor conferred them upon *William*, one of his own sons, who was afterwards elected bishop of *Halberstadt*, and obtained from the pope bulls for the abbey of *Hereschfeld*, which was possessed by the landgrave of *Hesse*; and, finally, *Ferdinand* took measures for putting him in possession of the archbishoprics of *Magdeburg* and *Bremen*. These were ecclesiastical appenages, which *Ferdinand* intended to establish in different parts of *Germany*, as provision for the younger sons of the *Austrian* house ³.

ALL the princes equally trembled at the projects and power of this emperor, which, in order to circumscribe within proper bounds, the Protestants implored the assistance of *France*, and begged that the young electoral prince palatine might be received into one of the towns of that kingdom. The duke of *Bavaria*, though loaded with the favours of *Ferdinand*, dreaded the consequence of his growing greatness; and privately solicited cardinal *de Richelieu* to engage *Lewis* the thirteenth, in defending the princes of the empire from oppression: and, lastly, the elector of *Triers* had well nigh put himself under the protection of *France*, in order to preserve the liberty of his states against the incroachments of the house

² LOTYCHIUS, l. 18. c. 3. LUDOLPH. l. 27. c. 2. n. 30.

³ NANI Hist. Venet. l. 6. ad. An. 1627.

of *Austria*. The cardinal was not a little embarrassed by these addresses; for the interior commotions of the kingdom, and the war with which it was threatened by *England*, would not permit him to grant powerful assistance to the *German* princes, especially as he had promised to furnish money for the king of *Denmark*, who was not yet disheartened by the misfortunes of his two last campaigns. He therefore contented himself with sending *Marcheville* into *Germany*, in order to dissuade the electors from choosing a king of the *Romans*, and to offer the mediation of *France* for concluding a peace, or at least a suspension of arms. As for the electoral prince palatine, he durst not receive him, lest he should give umbrage to the house of *Austria*, the pope; and the duke of *Bavaria*; though the reason he alledged for his refusal was, that the king could not admit the electoral prince into his dominions, without declaring himself his protector, and consequently traversing the proposals of peace, until he should be re-established in all his rights. All that *Marcheville* could obtain from the states of the empire was to delay the election of a king of the *Romans*; and as the emperor could not prevail upon them to raise his son *Ernest* (already king of *Hungary*) to that dignified station, *Ernest* is he consoled himself for the disappointment by placing the crowned crown of *Bohemia* upon his head. Not that there was any king of previous election by the states of that kingdom, which the *Bohemia* house of *Austria* now considered as an indefeasible inheritance: the emperor, by his own authority, commanded them to proceed to the coronation of his son, by which means he strengthened his interest with another voice to be used at the election of a king of the *Romans* ^b.

MEAN while, the king of *Denmark* took the duke of *Mecklenburg* under his protection; and demanded succours from the inhabitants of *Bremen*, and other hans-towns, who excused themselves from granting his request; and, being intimidated by the emperor's generals, expelled the consuls and agents of *England* and *Holland*, and furnished the Imperial troops with provisions, ships, and ammunition: so that, while they proceeded in subduing *Germany*, the diet was opened at *Mulhausen*, whither the electors of *Mentz* and *Saxony* repaired in person, and the other princes sent their ministers.

In this assembly *Marcheville*, the *French* envoy, exhorted the members to restore peace and tranquillity to the empire; and the baron de *Stralendorf* made some specious proposals in the name of the emperor, who nevertheless plainly shewed his intention was to give law to all *Germany* ^c, and to shut the

A. D.
1628.

^b PIACES. p. 297.

^c PUFFENDORF, rer. Suec. l. i.

Proceed-
ings of the
diet at
Mulhau-
sen.

mouths of those who still talked of the liberty of their ancestors. By his suggestion the clergy demanded the restitution of the bishoprics and benefices which the Protestants had seized since the treaty of *Paffau*. *Ferdinand's* aim in this requisition was to obtain a decree of the diet, in consequence of which he should be enabled to put the archduke *William*, his second son, in possession of other rich and powerful benefices; but this demand was warmly opposed by the two Protestant electors; so that the execution of his project was deferred till a more favourable opportunity. Then the affair of the elector palatine being brought upon the carpet, all the Catholic princes were of opinion, that *Frederic*, as author of the war, should humble himself before the emperor, and renounce the crown of *Bohemia*; together with the electoral dignity; in consequence of which concessions, his imperial majesty would pardon and re-establish him in all or part of his dominions, according to his good pleasure: but, should the Palatine refuse to submit to these conditions, they unanimously declared they would join their forces with those of the emperor against him and all his adherents⁴.

DURING these deliberations, the *Danish* senators, assembled at *Copenhagen*, wrote a letter to the emperor, exhorting him to put an end to the war; though, considering the situation of affairs, they could not expect great success from this remonstrance: and *Christian*, persuaded that no regard would be paid to it by the imperial court, employed himself in making all the necessary preparations for continuing the war: having received a considerable supply from his allies, he equipped a strong fleet; and, setting sail in the beginning of spring, made a descent upon the isle of *Finnroet*, where he took the fort which had been built by the Imperialists. His next conquest was *Beckelsfordt*, which he abandoned to plunder, after having made the garrison prisoners of war, and exchanged them for a like number of *Danish*: this place, however, was in a little time retaken by the Imperialists, who cut in pieces, or put to flight, all who pretended to oppose them. *Christian*, with a fleet of forty-seven ships of war, appeared before *Kiel*, the siege of which he undertook by sea and land; but meeting with a very obstinate resistance, and being unsuccessful in all his assaults, he quitted that enterprise, in order to relieve *Staden*, which was hard pressed by count *Tilly*, who had taken such precautions, that he could not throw fire-balls into the place, so that he retired to *Gluckstadt*: while colonel *Morgan*, who commanded an *English* garrison in *Staden*, being

⁴ CARAFFA, p. 323.

⁵ RUSDORF. Consil. p. 187.

reduced to extremity, resolved to capitulate; and accordingly marched out, with his arms and baggage, at the head of sixty-four companies, with whom he retired towards *Bremen*^f. After the reduction of *Steden*, the imperial army invested *Gluckstadt* and *Krempen*, which were defended with extraordinary valour by the *Danish* garrisons, who made frequent sallies, and obliged the enemy to abandon their posts. Three of their ships surprised the town of *Girpswald*, and set fire to the *Austrian* houses. Two regiments of their cavalry entered *Barm-Roden*, from whence they returned loaded with booty, after having killed and taken prisoners the imperial garrison: and they afterwards took *Pirmenberg*, where they found a body of *Cossaks*, whom they cut in pieces.

ABOUT this time a general assembly of the hans-towns was held at *Lubeck*, in order to deliberate upon the proposals of the emperor and king of *Spain*, touching a new company to be formed for carrying on the trade of the North; and the result of their deliberations was, that, although they were always disposed to obey his imperial majesty, they could not grant what he demanded, concerning the navigation, without exposing themselves to the enmity of *Sweden* and *Denmark*, which would never allow the ships of that new company to pass the Sound. They therefore begged he would permit them to observe a neutrality; but, foreseeing he would be incensed at their refusal, they resolved to levy troops, and prepare for their own defence.

THE Imperialists and *Danes*, finding themselves exhausted by a long war, began at length to entertain serious thoughts of peace, and the four Catholic electors having offered their mediation, the emperor consented to open a congress at *Lubeck*, whither the electors of *Saxony* and *Brandenburg* sent their deputies, after having prevailed upon the king of *Denmark* to appoint plenipotentiaries to treat of an accommodation. The articles proposed by these last were, that the principalities of the towns and other fiefs of his *Danish* majesty, occupied by the Imperialists, should be restored, together with all that had been forcibly taken from his subjects, and the prisoners on both sides discharged without ransom: that all the princes and states of *Lower Saxony* should peaceably enjoy the liberty of religion, and a general amnesty comprehend all those who had any share in the war; and, lastly, that the sons of his *Danish* majesty should not be disturbed in the enjoyment of those possessions and elections, which had been made in their fa-

^f PLACES. p. 410.

^g BARRÉ, t. ix. p. 576.

Proposals
of the em-
peror's
commis-
saries

your, within the empire^a. These proposals were communi-
cated to the emperor by the conveyance of *Walstein*, who was
at *Gustrow*; and, in the mean time, the imperial commis-
saries made the following propositions to the assembly: "The
king of *Denmark* shall not, for the future, intermeddle in the
affairs of the empire: he shall renounce the dutchies of *Hol-
stein*, *Sleswick*, and *Dythmarsie*; together with all the preten-
sions which he and his sons might have upon the archbishop-
rics, bishoprics, dutchies, and principalities in the circles of
Lower Saxony and *Westphalia*: he shall make a cession of *Jut-
land* to the elector of *Saxony*, until such time as that prince
shall be reimbursed for the expences due to him from his im-
perial majesty, or until he shall receive some other sort of in-
demnification from the king of *Denmark*: he shall likewise
defray all the charges of the war, to which the emperor and
his allies have been exposed; repair all the damage he has
done to the territories of the dukes of *Lunenbourg*, *Pomerania*,
and *Holstein*; and exclude all the enemies of the empire and
house of *Austria* from the passage of the *Sound*, which shall be
free to the friends and allies of these powers, on payment of
a fixed toll, which it shall not be in his power to augment:
finally, the crowns of *Spain* and *Poland*, the archduchess-
governess of the *Low Countries*, the elector of *Bavaria*, and
other princes of the empire, shall be included in this treaty."

rejected by
the Danish
ministers,
and miti-
gated by
means of
Walstein.

THESE conditions appeared so unreasonable to the *Danish*
ministers, that they threatened to retire without coming to
any conclusion, unless they should be moderated; and the em-
peror's commissaries being confounded at this menace, repaired
to *Gustrow* in order to confer with *Walstein*. That general,
upon whom the emperor had bestowed the revenues of *Meck-
lenbourg*, the duke of which he had put to the ban of the em-
pire, being desirous of acquiring the friendship of his *Danish*
majesty, by which he thought he could the better secure him-
self in his new possession, facilitated the conclusion of the
peace, by procuring more favourable conditions to the king,
which, after a series of conferences, were accepted, and the
treaty was at length concluded on these terms: "The king
" of *Denmark* shall not intermeddle in the affairs of the em-
" pire, except in those that relate to the dutchy of *Holstein*,
" and the princes his sons shall absolutely renounce the pos-
" session of the archbishoprics and bishoprics of the empire:
" neither the emperor nor king shall make any demand on
" account of the expences of the war: the provinces and
" towns taken from the king of *Denmark*, shall be restored to

^a PUFFENDORP, l. 1. sect. 54.

“ him, together with the artillery : the prisoners on both sides
 “ shall be released without ransom ; and his *Danish* majesty
 “ shall cede to the houses of *Sleswick* and *Holstein-Gottorp*, the
 “ isle of *Femeren*, and part of the isles of *Wardt* and *Suld*,
 “ devolved to them by hereditary right, reserving still the
 “ right of superiority which the crown of *Denmark* enjoyed
 “ over these provinces ¹.”

THIS treaty was published on the seventh of *June*, to the *prejudicial*
 inexpressible joy of the people, who had been so long and so *to the dukes*
 severely harrassed by the war, but to the infinite mortification *of Meck-*
 of the dukes of *Mecklenburg*, who now saw *Walstein* in quiet *lenburg*
 possession of their dominions. The duke of *Bavaria* was ac- *and the*
 knowledged elector of the holy empire, by the congress of *elector-*
Lubeck, as well as in this pacification ; but no mention was *palatine,*
 made of the elector-palatine, who was supposed to be lawfully
 proscribed, and divested of his dignity and dominions. Al-
 though the emperor, by dint of repeated victories and con-
 quests, compelled the king of *Denmark*, and other princes his
 allies, to accept of this peace, he committed a fatal over-
 sight in refusing to admit the ambassadors of *Sweden* to the
 congress of *Lubeck*, at which the differences that began to
 arise between *Ferdinand* and *Gustavus* might have been ex-
 tinguished in their infancy : but at that time the strength of
 the king of *Sweden* seemed too inconsiderable to alarm the
 court of *Vienna*, which little thought it would one day be suf-
 ficient to shake the throne of *Ferdinand*, and humble the pride
 of the house of *Austria*.

THE conclusion of the treaty did not terminate the mutual *A new*
 resentment that glowed in the breasts of the emperor and king *difference*
 of *Denmark*. This last could not forgive the other for re- *arises be-*
 fusing to revoke the ban which was published against the *tween Fer-*
 dukes of *Mecklenburg* ; and *Ferdinand* was offended at the *dinand*
 conduct of *Christian*, in persisting to disturb the duke of *Hol-* *and*
stein, who had incurred the indignation of that king, by em- *Christian,*
 bracing the party of the emperor in the last war : for, instead
 of withdrawing his troops from *Holstein* at the peace, *Christian*
 sent a greater number in order to continue the ravages in that
 province. In consequence of these hostilities, the emperor
 sent monitorial letters to the king of *Denmark*, commanding
 him to evacuate that part of *Holstein* and *Sleswick* which be-
 longed to duke *Frederic* ; and *Christian* relying upon the hope
 of a strong reinforcement from the king of *Sweden*, who had
 promised to assist him with troops and money, at first refused
 to obey this injunction, affirming, that *Sleswick* was not a fief

¹ BARRE, t. ix. p. 578.

of the empire, but intirely depended upon *Denmark*^k: but to this asseveration the court of *Vienna* replied, that *Denmark* itself was a fief of the empire, and that *Sleswick*, as part of *Denmark*, must necessarily be in the same predicament (D). Nevertheless, finding *Christian* deaf to these remonstrances, *Ferdinand* issued other letters, conceived in such strong terms as roused his apprehension, and induced him to withdraw his troops from that dutchy, and leave the duke in quiet; so that *Germany*, in general, began to enjoy a little respite from war and disorder.

Troubles
occasioned
in Italy by
the death
of Vincent
the second,
duke of Man-
tua.

NOT but that the house of *Austria* was still occupied by the commotions of *Italy*, occasioned by the pretenders to the succession of *Vincent* the second, duke of *Mantua* and *Montferrat*, who was lately dead without lawful issue^l. He had foreseen the troubles that might arise after his death; and in order to prevent them as much as lay in his power, given his niece, the princess *Mary*, in marriage to the duke of *Rethelois*, son of *Charles de Gonzaga*, duke of *Nevers*, whom he declared sole heir of all his fortune: but *Cæsar de Gonzaga*, duke of *Guaftalla*, had already received from the emperor the eventual investiture of *Mantua* and *Montferrat*. On the other hand, the duke of *Savoy* looking upon this as a proper occasion for availing himself of some pretensions he had to a part of *Montferrat*, joined the duke of *Guaftalla* against his competitor, and prevailed upon *Ferdinand* to refuse the investiture to the duke of *Nevers*^m. Nevertheless he would not declare openly against him, because he was respected by the pope and the *Venetians*, who were unwilling to give umbrage to *France*, which patronized him; but, like an able politician, he ordered the revenues of the dutchies to be put in sequestration, until the rights of the competitors should be examined and discussed; and *John* count of *Nassau* was charged with the execution of this decree. But before he arrived at *Mantua*, the king of *Spain* and the duke of *Savoy* had taken the field, in order to share the *Montferrat* between them; and the duke of *Mantua*, with the few troops he could assemble, exerted himself like a brave officer in opposing their progressⁿ. At length the count de

^k PFEFFENGER, c. 1. p. 53.
t. vi. p. 302.

^l SIRI. Memor. record.
^m LUDOLPH. l. 28. c. 1.
Disquisit. de Mant. Ducatu, in 4to.

ⁿ NIER.

(D) In the year 1526, the imperial chamber, by consent of *Charles* the fifth, acknowledged that *Sleswick* was not a fief of the empire; and, at the desire of the king of *Denmark*, permitted that article to be erased from the matricular book. *Mozamb. disc. 2. sect. 7.*

Nassau

Nassau arrived in *Italy* as imperial commissary, and the duke, seeing himself threatened from so many quarters, demanded assistance from the *Venetians*, who amused him with distant hopes until he was reduced to extremity; for *Nassau* pressed him to admit *Austrian* garrisons into his capital and other towns, and he was fain to appeal from the proceedings of this commissary to the emperor better informed, or in case he should refuse to hear his remonstrances, to the electors of the empire. Mean while, he sent the prince his son to *Vienna*, to demand the investiture of the emperor, and offer to put *Cazal* and all the *Montferrat* into the hands of a neutral prince, until the differences about that principality should be terminated: but *Ferdinand* openly declared his intention was, that the *German* troops in the *Spanish* service should garrison *Cazal* in the name of the emperor; that the towns already taken by the governor of *Milan* should remain as a pledge for the pretensions of the prince of *Guaftalla*; and that the duke of *Savoy* should keep what he had seized, until his demands should be regulated by a treaty or decisive determination. It was not doubted, that the courts of *Vienna* and *Spain* were resolved to share *Cazal* and the *Montferrat* between them; and accordingly *Ferdinand* sent troops into the *Milaneze*, who extended their quarters along the rivers *Adda* and *Oglio*, so as to alarm the republic of *Venice*, which immediately reinforced its troops by new levies, sent four thousand men to the assistance of the duke of *Mantua*, and supplied him with money to make preparations for a vigorous defence. The imperial generals seeing their soldiers desert in great numbers, and being apprehensive, that before the end of the approaching winter, their army would be too much diminished to undertake any thing of importance, resolved to besiege *Mantua* without delay, and, in the mean time, obtained an edict of the emperor, in which all those noblemen, who held fiefs of the empire, were forbid to assist the duke of *Mantua*, on pain of being declared rebels. This edict was followed by an invasion of the dutchy of *Mantua*, in which several important places were carried by assault, and many ravages committed: at length the *Germans* marched towards the city of *Mantua*, into which *Charles* had retired with his best troops, in order to defend it to the last extremity; and there the progress of the Imperialists had well nigh been effectually stopped; for they were fatigued with continual rains, and reduced to such extremity by want of provisions and disease, that they were obliged to quit the siege, and must have returned to their own country, had not the court of *Rome* permitted them to draw supplies from the ecclesiastical state. For that year the city of *Mantua* was

The Venetians
espouse the
cause of
Charles
duke of
Mantua.

The Imperialists
invade the
duchy of
Mantua.

A. D.
1630.
Mantua
taken by
the Impe-
rialists,

saved by the vigilance and activity of the *Venetians*, who loudly complained of pope *Urban* the eighth, reproaching him with having done his endeavour to sell the liberty of *Italy*, for the paltry consideration of the money he got from the Imperialists for his corn. Next year, however, the *Venetians* were defeated near *Villabona* by the *Germans*, who, at length, made themselves masters of *Mantua*, which was abandoned to the avarice and insolence of their soldiers. The pillage lasted three days, during which the *Austrians* committed all manner of violence and brutality, while the duke retired into the ecclesiastical state, deprived of every other hope but that of seeing his affairs established by some favourable treaty.

IN the midst of these transactions died the duke of *Savoy* and his death was followed by that of the marquis *de Spinola* to whom *Mazarini* had been sent from the pope to effect an accommodation between the *Spaniards*, who besieged *Casal* and the *French*, by whom it had been for a long time defended. Accordingly these last consented to surrender the town and castle to the besiegers; who, on their side, obliged themselves to furnish the *French* with provisions, and even to evacuate the town again, in case the citadel should be relieved within certain time^o.

The emperor publishes an edict for the restitution of ecclesiastical benefices.

DURING the progress of this war in *Italy*, the emperor published an edict at *Vienna*, commanding the Protestants to restore, without loss of time, the ecclesiastical benefices in their possession; particularly the archbishoprics, bishoprics, prelaties, hospitals, and all the other effects of the church occupied by them since the treaty of *Passaw*. The execution of this new edict was opposed by the elector of *Saxony*, and other princes of the *Augsburg* confession, who affirmed, that the emperor had no power to ordain such a restitution, which ought to be the object of determination in a general diet. But *Ferdinand*, without paying any regard to their remonstrance, nominated commissaries for the execution of his edict; and ordered his own troops, together with those of the Catholic league, to take the field, and subdue all those who should fail in their obedience. Although this ordonnance occasioned great commotion and clamour among the Protestants, several cities submitted quietly; the duke of *Wirtemberg*, and some other princes, restored their former acquisitions; the bishop retook possession of their old dioceses, and the monks returned to the monasteries from which they had been formerly expelled^p. The sentence or decisions of the imperial commissaries

^o NIGER. Disquisit. de Mant. Ducatu, in 4to.
BORF, l. 1. sect. 56.

^p PUFFEN-

saries were executed by *Walstein*, at the head of an army, who acted with such rigour, and allowed his troops to behave with such licence, that the Protestants were inflamed to a degree of rancour and virulence; and even the Catholics so incensed against him, as to join in demanding justice of the emperor⁹.

⁹ PIACES. p. 410.

C H A P. XVII.

Containing a Detail of the Exploits and Death of Gustavus Adolphus.

THOSE of the confession of *Augsburg*, with the elector of *Saxony* at their head, had assembled at *Heidelberg*, from whence they sent a deputation, soliciting the emperor to revoke his edict of restitution, and complaining of the outrages which had been committed by his troops that were under the command of *Walstein*; and at the same time they engaged in an association for their mutual defence. The elector of *Saxony*, who had amassed great sums of money, and possessed a number of strong places, with garrisons sufficient for their defence, proposed to the Protestant states an alliance with *Gustavus Adolphus*, king of *Sweden*, the professed enemy of the *Austrian* house; and accordingly this league was solicited and concluded with such industry, secrecy, and caution, that *Ferdinand* had not the least suspicion of their design until the war was ready to break out^r.

The Protestants enter into a secret alliance with Gustavus Adolphus.

It was during these secret negotiations that the emperor convoked a diet at *Ratisbon*, where he was met by the three ecclesiastic electors and the duke of *Bavaria*; but the duke of *Saxony* and the marquis of *Brandenburg* excused themselves, on pretence of being so much impoverished by the imperial troops quartered in their towns, that they could not defray the expence of their journey^s. This, however, was no more than a pretext for avoiding a refusal to the emperor in person, provided he should propose his eldest son to be elected king of the *Romans* (E).

THE

^r PUFFENDORF ubi supra.

^s CARAFA. p. 347.

(E) The emperor was accompanied to *Ratisbon* by the empress, the king of *Hungary*, and the arch-

dutchess; and attended by the prince of *Anhalt*, count *Tilly*, and *Walstein* duke of *Fridland*, who

Proceed-

ings of the
diet at Ra-
tisbon.

THE propositions made at the opening of the diet were, that the electors should deliberate upon some means for establishing the peace of the empire upon a solid foundation; or, if this could not be effected, for continuing the war to advantage: that they should consider whether or not *Frederic*, count palatine, who still obstinately refused to implore his imperial majesty's clemency, and renounce his pretensions to the electorate, should be excluded from all hope of favour; and what measures were to be taken, in case the states general of the United Provinces, or other powers, should persist in their endeavours to re-establish him in the *Palatinate*: that the king of *Denmark* having offered to terminate, in a friendly manner, the difference between the emperor and the king of *Sweden*, touching the affair of *Stralsund*, plenipotentiaries had been sent to *Dantzick* for that purpose; but, in case the treaty should not succeed, proper measures ought to be taken for defeating the designs of *Gustavus Adolphus*: that the emperor's sole intention, in his conduct concerning the succession of *Mantua*, was to maintain the authority of the empire in *Italy*; but, as the king of *France* persisted in his resolution to support the duke *de Nevers* in his disobedience, they would find it necessary to empower his imperial majesty to preserve the rights of the empire, which the *French* king seemed bent upon invading: and, lastly, that the emperor being touched with the misfortunes of several provinces, they, the electors, should establish proper regulations for the quarters and passage of soldiers in case the war should be continued; and endeavour to re-establish a good correspondence among the members of the empire, which was so necessary to the preservation and prosperity of the *Germanic* body^t.

Opposition
to the em-
peror.

FERDINAND found more opposition in this diet than he had expected to encounter. The Protestants and Catholics seemed to have conspired together for the diminution of his power. The ministers of *Saxony* pressed him to repeal the edict, restore the city of *Augsburg* to the fruition of its antient liberty, and compel his officers to refund the contributions they had levied in almost all the provinces of the empire. The elector of *Bavaria*, in consequence of his secret connections with *France*, and with the consent of the ecclesiastic

^t LONDORP. t. iv. p. 45.

who surpassed *Ferdinand* himself in magnificence, for his train consisted of six hundred horsemen richly cloathed; a circumstance which, together with his

immense riches and the insolence of his manners, attracted the jealousy and hatred of almost all the other princes. *Barre*, t. ix. p. 590.

electors, declared, that their deliberations could not be free, while the emperor had an army of one hundred and fifty thousand men at his devotion in *Germany*: and the greatest part of the Catholic princes exhorted the emperor to divert the Protestants from an union with the king of *Sweden*, by granting to them, for a term of forty years, the enjoyment of the ecclesiastical benefices which they had possessed since the treaty of *Passau*. This advice, however, was vigorously opposed by the ecclesiastic electors, who used such arguments as were more agreeable to the ideas of *Ferdinand*; though he endeavoured to soften his refusal by promising to the deputies of *Saxony* and *Brandenburg*, that nothing should be determined touching the restitution in this diet; but that affair be intirely referred to another meeting at *Frankfort*, which he would convoke for the ensuing year. He temporized in this manner with a view to engage the votes of those two electors in favour of his eldest son; and sounded the dispositions of others on the same subject; when he was given to understand, that, as a previous step towards the accomplishment of his design, it would be necessary to disband the greatest part of his troops, and take the command of his army from *Walslein*, who was universally hated in the empire. *Ferdinand* yielded, though unwillingly, to these remonstrances, dismissed the duke of *Fridland* from his service, and of all his army retained but forty thousand veteran troops".

*Walslein
is dismissed.*

MAXIMILIAN, duke of *Bavaria*, by whose means chiefly *Walslein* was removed from the councils of the emperor, now solicited the command of the army; and his behaviour on this occasion rendered him suspected to *Ferdinand*, or rather served to confirm his suspicions; for he had already discovered that the duke was engaged in private intrigues against the interest of the house of *Austria*, and actually aspired at the title of king of the *Romans*, in order to succeed to the imperial throne: he, therefore, saw the danger of putting him at the head of the troops; but as he found it convenient to keep measures with *Maximilian*, whose pretensions were supported by the electors of *Saxony*, *Mentz*, and *Cologne*, he would not refuse his demand, but stipulated certain conditions with which he would not comply; and afterwards bestowed the command of his army upon the count *de Tilly*, with the consent of the duke, to whose house that officer had been a faithful servant. Nevertheless, *Maximilian* resented the refusal in such a manner, as to disconcert all the measures that were taken for securing the succession to the son of *Ferdinand*, who reaped no

*The command of
the army
is bestowed
upon count
Tilly.*

* PUFFENDORF, rer. Suec. l. 1.

other benefit from this diet of *Ratisbon* but the coronation of his empress, *Eleonora de Gonzaga* *.

CHARLES I. king of *Great Britain*, had sent thither an ambassador, to treat of the re-establishment of the electoral-palatine in his dominions; and to hint, that, in case his remonstrances should be fruitless, he would assist his brother-in-law in a more effectual manner: but all he could obtain was abundance of personal respect, and an evasive promise, importing, that the palatine should be restored, and reconciled to the emperor, on certain conditions, to which he knew the elector would never submit †.

LEON BRULART, ambassador from *France*, had likewise a public audience at *Ratisbon*. He was ordered to explain to the electoral college, the reasons which had induced *France* to protect the duke of *Mantua*; and to propose a negotiation for terminating that affair. Ministers were accordingly appointed by the emperor for this purpose; and after much altercation and delay, a treaty was concluded on these terms. “The emperor and king of *France* shall give no assistance to the enemies of each other: the duke of *Savoy* shall possess in the *Montferrat*, the town of *Trino*, and other lands, to the value of fifteen thousand crowns of yearly rent: the duke of *Guaftalla* shall have six thousand crowns of landed rent, with all the rights of jurisdiction and superiority: the duke of *Mantua* shall be obliged to make a submission to his imperial majesty, according to a certain concerted form, in consideration of which *Ferdinand* shall bestow upon him the investiture of *Mantua* and *Montferrat*. These conditions being fulfilled, the *French* shall abandon *Savoy*, and the Imperialists and *Spaniards* shall evacuate the *Mantuan*, *Montferrat*, the country of the *Grisons*, the *Valteline*, and restore to the *Venetians* what they had taken from that republic ‡.”

Not one of the powers concerned approved of these articles: the *French* generals, who commanded in *Italy*, were forbid to execute the treaty; and *Leon Brulart* was ordered to declare, in plain terms, to his imperial majesty, That the king of *France* would not ratify it, unless he should be at liberty to alter some of the articles, especially that which restricted him from assisting his allies, among whom the king of *Sweden* was the principal.

* *BARRE Hist. d'Allemagne*, t. ix. p. 594.
 WORTH, l. i. *KHEVENHULLER*, t. xi. p. 1180.
 CES. p. 412, &c.

† *RUSH-*
 ‡ *PIA-*

DURING the diet at *Ratisbon*, the emperor had received from *Gustavus Adolphus* a manifesto, explaining his reasons for declaring war against the house of *Austria*. He complained, that while he was at war with the *Poles*, *Ferdinand* had intercepted his letters to *Bethleem Gabor*, prince of *Transylvania*, and treated his courier as a criminal: that he had assisted the king of *Poland*, fomented the war against *Sweden*, stripped the dukes of *Mecklenburg*, the kinsmen of *Gustavus*, of their principality; seized upon several places of *Lower Saxony* and *Pomerania*, and fitted out ships to make himself master of the *Baltic*, which had always belonged to the crown of *Sweden*; that he had taken and confiscated several *Swedish* vessels, besieged *Stralsund*, one of the hanse-towns, and affronted the *Swedish* ambassadors at *Lubeck*, when he was upon terms of peace with the king of *Denmark*; that he had declared *Gustavus* an enemy of the empire, and approved of injurious writings, tending to depreciate the *Swedish* government; and that when complaints were made of this outrage to the electors, no satisfaction was given, and the Catholic princes, in their answer, had even neglected to bestow upon him the title of king; and lastly, that when his *Danish* majesty employed his good offices to accommodate these differences, the emperor's deputies would not listen to any of the proposals that were made, but talked in the stile of sovereigns, being blinded by their master's prosperity^a.

Substance of the manifesto published against the emperor by Gustavus Adolphus,

SUCH were the motives that induced the king of *Sweden* to undertake a war against the house of *Austria*, which, by this time, had rendered itself formidable to all the christian princes of *Europe*: nevertheless, he would not engage in such an important enterprize, until he had secured the alliance of *England* and *France*, which last power promised to defray one-third of the expence of the war; made peace with *Poland*; and obtained a declaration of neutrality from the king of *Denmark*, who could not, however, conceal his jealousy of the *Swede*, or see, without mortification, a garrison belonging to that prince, in possession of *Stralsund*. Indeed, his chagrin was not altogether without reason; for the king of *Sweden* having embarked in *June*, with an army of fifteen thousand men, in a few days arrived in the isle of *Rugen*, which colonel *Lesley* had already subjected to his power: then taking the isle of *Usedom* he returned to the continent, and made himself master of *Camin*, situated on the other side of the mouth of the *Oder*. These important posts facilitated the communication between *Germany* and *Sweden*; but as he still wanted a proper

who secures the assistance of France and England, makes himself master of the island of Rugen,

^a PUFFENDORF, rer. Suec. l. 2.

place, where he could form magazines of provision and ammunition, he fixed his eyes upon *Stetin*, a considerable town upon the *Oder*; and appeared unexpectedly before the place, notwithstanding the measures which were taken for preventing this enterprize, by count *Torquato*, who commanded the imperial troops in *Pomerania*^b.

and concludes an alliance with Bogislaus, duke of Pomerania.

BOGISLAUS, duke of *Pomerania*, alarmed at this progress, waited upon the king of *Sweden*, and excused himself from admitting that prince into his capital, on pretence of remaining neuter in the war; but *Gustavus* endeavoured to convince him that such neutrality was unseasonable, and finding him obstinate, declared in plain terms, that he would enter *Stetin* at the head of his army, if he should pretend to oppose the march of his troops. This declaration, together with a reinforcement of five thousand men, which *Gustavus* received at that time, operated so powerfully upon the duke, that he allowed his *German* garrison in *Stetin* to take the oath of fidelity to the king of *Sweden*, with whom he afterwards engaged in a treaty of alliance; in which it was stipulated, that the sovereignty of *Pomerania* should be preserved to the duke, to whom also should be restored all the places of this province, which the king already possessed, or might occupy in the sequel (F)^c. To this agreement the states of *Pomerania* assented the more willingly, as they hoped to be delivered from the oppression of the Imperialists, and maintained in the free exercise of their religion.

THE emperor being deceived by the flattery of his courtiers, and the insinuations of others who were his secret enemies, took no effectual steps to hinder *Gustavus* from establishing and fortifying himself in *Pomerania*. *Sturgart*, *Amelande*, *Ukermunde*, and *Wolgast*, received *Swedish* garrisons, and the army of that prince was reinforced by six *British* regiments, commanded by the marquis of *Hamilton*. *Ferdinand's* eyes, however, being at length opened, he sent an

^b STRUV. per. 10. p. 3005.

^c LONDORP. t. iv. p. 79.

(F) *George-William* elector of *Brandenburg*, was presumptive heir to *Bogislaus*, who had no male issue: but if the duke should die before the elector had entered into this new alliance with the king of *Sweden*, *Pomerania* was to remain in sequestration in the hands of *Gustavus*, until he should be reim-

burfed in the expences of the war, which he undertook for the deliverance of that province: nay, he reserved to himself the right of keeping it in trust, in case the property of it should be contested with the elector after the death of *Bogislaus*. *Barre*, t. ix. p. 601.

expofu-

expostulatory letter to the king of *Sweden*, complaining of his irruption into the territories of the empire, and his intermeddling in the affairs of the *Germanic* body, with which he had no concern; and threatening to send his whole forces against him, if he would not immediately return to his own dominions. *Gustavus*, in answer to this letter, told the gentleman who brought it, that he would seriously consider the contents: then assuming an air of raillery, "I shall not fail to send a proper answer, (said he) as soon as I am cured of a wound which I received in the arm from an eagle;" alluding to the injury which *Ferdinand* had done him, in assisting *Sigismund*, king of *Poland*, with a considerable body of troops to drive the *Swedes* from *Prussia* (G) ^a.

NOTWITHSTANDING the repeated assurances of assistance which *Gustavus* had received from *France*, the conclusion of his treaty with *Lewis* the thirteenth had been retarded by some demands of *Charnace*, the *French* minister, with which the king of *Sweden* did not think proper to comply: at length, however, it was agreed, that this last should receive from *France* a yearly pension of twelve hundred thousand livres, during the continuation of the league; and *Gustavus*, on his part, obliged himself to grant a neutrality to the duke of *Bavaria*, and all the princes of the Catholic league, on condition they should not join the emperor against the *Swedes*, and to leave the *Roman* religion as he should find it, without infringing the exercise of it in any town or province of *Germany*. To these proposals he gladly subscribed, because the interest of the Catholic princes being thus secured, they would have the fairer pretence for refusing to engage with the emperor in an alliance against *Sweden*. He likewise obliged himself to maintain, at his own expence, an army of thirty thousand infantry and six thousand horse, and the league to be

^a KHEVENHULLER, t. xi. p. 1666.

(G) About this time *Ferdinand*, king of *Hungary*, the emperor's son, was contracted to the infant *Mary-Anne* of *Austria*, sister of *Philip* the fourth, king of *Spain*. She embarked at *Barcelona*, and, the plague being at *Genoa*, landed at *Naples*, from whence the *Spaniards* sent to demand from the *Venetians* a passage for her

through the *Adriatic* gulph: but this request was refused by the republic, which, however, offered to conduct the infant to *Trieste* on board of their own gallies. This proposal was accepted, she arrived in safety at *Vienna*, and married prince *Ferdinand* on the twenty-first day of *January*, 1631. *Barre*, t. ix. p. 602.

continued

continued for the space of five years, was signed on the twentieth and third day of *January*, at *Berwald* in *Brandenburg*.

A. D. 1631. *He founds the Protestant prince, assembled at Leip-sick.* THIS important affair being settled, *Gustavus* endeavoured to renew some negotiations with the Protestant princes of the empire, which had been suspended; but finding it a difficult task to succeed with individuals, he sent secret agents to *Leip-sick*, where they were assembled in a body with the deputies of the towns, in order to engage them in his interests. Here too he was disappointed: the assembly did not think proper as yet to take any public resolution in consequence of his proposals; for each prince was afraid of being oppressed by the emperor, before he could have any chance of being supported by the *Swedes*, or the troops of the Protestant union^f (H).

The resolutions of that assembly. THE Protestant chiefs were assembled at *Leipsick*, by the invitation of *John-George* elector of *Saxony*, on pretence of concerting measures for an accommodation with the emperor, touching his edict of *Restitution*, though their real design was to contrive means for moderating the authority of *Ferdinand*, in the general diet which he had summoned to meet at *Frankfort*. Accordingly their deliberations turned upon the maintenance of the laws and constitutions of the empire, the liberty of the *Germanic* body, the preservation of harmony between the Protestants and *Roman Catholics*, the relief of the people who were overwhelmed with taxes, and finally, the assurance of a solid and lasting peace to the empire. After having duly considered the grievances under which they laboured, it was unanimously resolved to levy an army of forty thousand men, to form a kind of stable and permanent council; and a declaration was sent to the emperor, and catholic league, importing, that notwithstanding their resolution to raise troops, they should be always perfectly well disposed to preserve the peace. *Ferdinand*, filled with indignation at these presumptuous steps, published a long manifesto, complaining of the Protestants, whom he accused of holding private intelligence with the king of *Sweden*. Nor was this conjecture

^c LONDORP. t. iv. p. 129.

^f PUFFENDORF, l. 3. sect. 12.

(H) This assembly was composed of the electors of *Saxony* and *Brandenburg*, with the princes of these two electoral houses, one palatine, the landgrave of *Hesse-Cassel*, and the marquis of *Baden*, the ministers of the dukes of *Brunswick*, *Lu-*

nenburg, and *Wirtemberg*, the most considerable among the Protestant counts and barons of the empire, and deputies from the towns of *Frankfort*, *Bremen*, *Strasburg*, *Lubeck*, and many others. *Helvic. l. 19. p. 120.*

void of foundation; inasmuch as they had not, in their remonstrance, mentioned the irruption of *Gustavus* into *Lower Saxony*, or promised the least assistance to the emperor in defeating the purposes of that invasion²; and, indeed, he had little reason to expect such a voluntary offer, from those whom he had been so long accustomed to mortify and oppress. Alarmed, however, at their proceedings, he condemned them as being contrary to the constitutions of the empire, and forbade the Catholic states to aid them in any shape, on pain of seeing their fiefs confiscated.

MEAN while, *Gustavus* being well assured of the favourable dispositions of the Protestant princes, and strengthened by the succours he had received from *England*, *France*, and *Holland*, continued the war with surprising success. The severity of winter could not put a stop to his conquests: he made himself master of *Colberg*, *Frankfort* upon the *Oder*, and *Dammin*, which was so ill defended, and so shamefully given up by *Savelli*, that the conqueror could not help saying to him, in the most bitter strain of raillery, “Sir, I would advise you to “serve the emperor henceforth in the cabinet rather than in “the field³.” Count *Tilly* advanced from the neighbourhood of *Magdeburg*, in order to oppose this formidable invader, and even retook *Frankfort*, and some other places; but finding himself unequal to the strength and vigilance of *Gustavus*, he was fain to return to *Magdeburg*, which he besieged in form; while the king of *Sweden*, being refused a passage for his troops by *John-George* elector of *Saxony*, could not march to the relief of that place, and therefore returned to besiege *Frankfort*, which he took by assault, and abandoned to pillage.

THE affair of *Mantua* being still undetermined, and the Imperialists and *French* in possession of that duchy and its dependencies, the pope sent the nuncio *Pancirole* and *Mazarini* to those two powers, in order to negotiate an accommodation, which should restore peace to *Italy*. These ministers acquitted themselves with such address, that the emperor and *French* king agreed to send plenipotentiaries to *Quicrasque* in *Piedmont*: *Perdinand*, having occasion to withdraw his troops from *Italy*, for the service of the war against the king of *Sweden*, far from being difficult in his conditions, offered to confer the investiture upon the duke of *Mantua*, to restore his capital, and put the *Grisons* again in possession of the passage of the *Valtelline*. *France*, on the other hand, consented to redeliver to the duke of *Savoy*, *Chamberry*, *Pignerol*, and all the other

The progress of
Gustavus
Adolphus.

Accommodation between the
emperor
and
France, on
the subject
of Man-
tua.

² DUMONT. t. vi. part 1. p. 6.
t. vii. p. 344.

³ SIRI Memor. recon.

places she had wrested from him : and notwithstanding the remonstrances of the *Spaniards*, who opposed this accommodation, the treaty was signed by *Galas*, the emperor's plenipotentiary, and *Thoiras*, assisted by *Servien*, secretary of state and minister of *France*.

Gustavus
makes him-
self master
of Poti-
dam, &c.

IN consequence of this treaty, the *Austrian* troops in *Italy* were ordered to return to the empire, under the command of *Egon de Furstemberg*, who compelled the Protestants of *Suabia* and *Franconia* to renounce the confederation of *Leipsick*, to disband their troops, and pay large contributions to the emperor. But, before these transactions, *Gustavus* seeing he could not march to the relief of *Magdeburg*, without giving umbrage to the elector of *Saxony*, whom he did not chuse to disoblige, he undertook the siege of *Potsdam*, which he carried, together with some other places which the Imperialists occupied upon the *Elbe*.

Magde-
burg is
taken,
burnt, and
pillaged by
Tilly.

MEAN while, count *Tilly* prosecuted the siege of *Magdeburg* with equal vigour and perseverance, and at length took it by assault ; upon which occasion unheard-of cruelties were perpetrated by the Imperialists, who reduced the whole city to ashes, except the cathedral, and about one hundred and fifty fishing-huts upon the bank of the *Elbe*. Here was *Christian* of *Brandenburg* taken prisoner ; and when the dukes of *Saxe-Lauenburg* and *Holstein* reproached him with his rashness, in having defended the city against the emperor, he affirmed, that his enterprize was just, and that heaven would punish the *Austrians* for the innocent blood they had shed. Indeed, the carnage was almost unexampled ; for above thirty thousand of the inhabitants perished by water, fire, and swordⁱ.

Gustavus
threatens
the elector
of Bran-
denburg
into a ne-
gotiation.

THE fate of this unfortunate city having rendered the electors of *Saxony* and *Brandenburg* more timid and circumspect, *Gustavus* was tired of their irresolute conduct, and summoned the last to declare himself openly in three days : the elector's answer being ambiguous, he marched directly to *Berlin*, and by a trumpet demanded that the gates should be opened, otherwise he would enter the city by force. This menace had the desired effect upon *George-William*, who consented to the king's retaining *Spandow* while the war should continue, and allowed his army to pass through *Custrim*. The agreement had not been long concluded when the landgrave of *Hesse*, whose country had been threatened with destruction by count *Tilly*, upon his refusing to declare against the *Swedes*, taking the advantage of the absence of that general, who was gone to oppose *Gustavus* ; profiting, I say, by that opportu-

ⁱ HEISS. t. iii. l. 3. p. 149.

nity, the landgrave put himself under the protection of his *Swedish* majesty, who promised to defend him, and procure restitution of the fiefs belonging to him, which the emperor had seized during the troubles of *Bohemia*. The landgrave, *Engages in* on his side, promised to enter heartily into the interests of *a treaty* *Gustavus*, to engage in no treaty without his consent; but to *with the* admit the king's troops into his cities, without prejudice how- *landgrave* ever to his right of sovereignty, and on condition that the *of Hesse*, places should be restored when the motives for retaining them should cease. It was likewise agreed, that the landgrave's troops should join the army of *Sweden*; that the king should have the chief command, which, in his absence, should be equally shared between *William* and one of his officers, to be named for that purpose; and, finally, that the *Hessians* should furnish a certain quantity of provisions to the *Swedish* troops; and that the king and the landgrave should have no after-demands upon each other for the succours which they should mutually give or take. This was the ordinary form of the treaties in which the king of *Sweden* engaged with the princes of the empire ^k.

GUSTAVUS had by this time passed the *Elbe*; and *Tilly*, having in vain used all his efforts to oblige him to repass that river, resolved to detach the elector of *Saxony* from the league of *Leipsick* by dint of threats; and *John-George*, disturbed as well as incensed at his menaces, dispatched *Arnheim* his general to the king of *Sweden*, with an offer to admit *Swedish* garri-
sons into his electorate, and to come and fight at the head of his own troops under the auspices of his majesty. Nothing could be more agreeable to *Gustavus* than this proposal, in consequence of which a treaty was soon concluded, importing, *and with* that the king of *Sweden* should defend the elector, on condi- *the elector* *of Saxony,* tion of his having the command in chief, his being indulged *who joins* with a free passage through all the places upon the *Elbe*, and *him with* his being furnished with provisions for his army, while it should *at Wit-* be employed in the defence of the electorate. It was also *temberg-* stipulated, that neither party should treat with the emperor without the other's consent ^l.

THIS treaty being signed, the elector assembled his troops at *Torgau*, to the number of fourteen or fifteen thousand, with eight and twenty pieces of cannon, and marched to *Wittemberg*; where being met by the king of *Sweden* and the marquis of *Brandenburg*, they began to concert measures for acting in concert against the emperor's general, who had taken *Hall* and *Leipsick*, where he was at that time encamped.

^k BARRE, t. ix. p. 610.

^l Id. ibid.

They agree
to fight
Tilly,
who is en-
camped at
Leipsick.

Gustavus, unwilling to put the issue of the war upon the uncertain event of one battle, to be fought against an able and experienced enemy, was of opinion, that no risque ought to be run; but the duke of *Saxony*, who longed to be rid of the *Swedes* as well as *Austrians*, represented, that his dominions were incapable of maintaining two great armies for any length of time, without being totally ruined; and protested, with great warmth, that he would march alone against the enemy, if the king of *Sweden* should refuse to second him in the enterprise. *Gustavus* was very well pleased with his spirit and disposition; and, in conformity with his remonstrance, agreed to prepare for their march towards *Leipsick* ^m.

THE king of *Sweden* commanded the right wing, consisting of four thousand horse; and in his rear was general *Bannier* with nine thousand men, divided into six equal battalions, in one line: at the head of each were eight pieces of cannon, made of boiled leather, of a new invention; and at each flank were five and thirty troops of horse. The main body, conducted by colonel *Tufeld*, was of six battalions, with six field-pieces in the front of each, sustained in the rear by several troops of horse and some infantry. The left wing, commanded by marechal *Horn*, was composed of four battalions, supported on the right and left by several companies of foot and troops of horse; and the elector of *Saxony* was upon the left with his new levies, which had never stood fire ⁿ.

TILLY no sooner perceived their intention than he called a council of war, and represented the necessity he was under to keep within his intrenchments until he should receive a reinforcement, which he expected from *Silesia*: but the count of *Papenheim* espousing the contrary opinion, which was likewise adopted by the majority of the officers, the imperial army decamped from *Leipsick*, and advanced about a mile into the plain of *Breintensfeld*, where it was drawn up in order of battle. *Papenheim* had the command of the left wing; that of the right was given to the count of *Furstenberg*, and *Tilly* commanded in the center. The whole disposition consisted in one long front, without any body of reserve; the cavalry being upon the right and left, and the infantry with the cannon between the two wings. This order of battle was disagreeable to some officers, who complained of it to count *Tilly*; and that general no sooner recollected himself, from the perplexity and concern with which he had been overwhelmed ever since his opinion in council was contradicted, than he changed the

^m STRUV. per. 10. sect. 9. p. 3011.
l. 3. sect. 28,

ⁿ PUFFENDORF,

disposition (I), in order to have the advantage of the sun, wind, and dust; supported his right by the village of *Poldewitz*, his left by a wood, and placed his center upon a rising-ground between them. Each army is computed to have amounted to forty thousand men.

THE action began by the discharge of artillery on both sides; and the cannon of the Imperialists produced some disorder in the left wing of the *Swedes*, because at that time count *Horn* made a motion to gain the wind of the *Austrians*. Count *Tilly* perceiving his design, extended his front to the right, so that his left wing was no longer supported, but entirely detached from the main body. *Gustavus* taking the advantage of this circumstance, advanced at the head of his battalions, and poured in such a brisk fire upon the Imperialists, that they were immediately broke; nevertheless they rallied twice, and being as often repulsed, betook themselves to flight. Mean while count *Tilly* descended into the plain, and leaving the *Swedes* under *Tufeld* upon the left, attacked the troops of the elector of *Saxony*, who were routed in a moment before the *Swedes* could come to their assistance. *Gustavus* understanding that the disorder was equal among the pursuers and the conquered, joined his own victorious troops to the body of *Tufeld*, which had not yet engaged, and fell with such impetuosity upon the *Austrian* cavalry, that they were soon put to flight, while the foot retired in good order into the wood on the left, abandoning their cannon to the enemy. There they were surrounded by the *Swedes*, and defended themselves to the last extremity, being animated by the example of *Tilly*, who fought at their head with equal prudence and intrepidity; till at last the *Swedes* having turned their own cannon upon them, they were obliged to yield to the fortune of the day: their general having received three musket-shots in his body, would have been taken prisoner, had not the duke of *Saxe Lauenburg* come to his rescue, and conveyed him to *Hall* more dead than alive.

The Imperialists are defeated at Leipfick.

IN this battle, which was fought on the seventeenth day of *September*, seven thousand six hundred *Austrians* were left dead upon the spot, exclusive of those who fell in the route, and five thousand were made prisoners: their baggage and artillery, together with one hundred pair of colours and many

(I) *Tilly* seeing the *Swedes* approach in good order, grew pale, and supported his head upon his hands in a musing posture for the space of a quarter of an hour, during which he did not seem to comprehend what was said to him. *Barre*, t. ix. p. 612.

standards, fell into the hands of the *Swedes*, who lost about seven hundred men, and remained all night upon the field^a.

The immediate consequence of this victory was the taking of *Leipsick*, and other places, which the Imperialists had wrested from the elector of *Saxony*; while count *Tilly*, who had retired from *Hall* to *Halberstadt*, where he was joined by count *Papenheim*, marched towards the *Weser*, and took the route to *Franconia*, with a view to join the troops commanded by *Aldringen* and *Fugger*, so as to form an army sufficient to check the progress of the king of *Sweden*, who, in person, entered *Franconia*, from whence he marched into the *Palatinate*, while the elector of *Saxony*, by his order, penetrated into *Silesia* and *Bohemia*. Count *Tilly* having passed the *Weser*, marched into *Westphalia*, and from thence into *Hesse*, where he was joined by *Aldringen* and *Fugger*, and afterwards by the forces which the duke of *Lorrain* led to the assistance of the emperor, so that his army amounted to about forty thousand men; and although *Gustavus* had not much more than half that number, he would not venture to give him battle: on the contrary, he sat down quietly, and beheld that prince conquer cities and whole provinces, to the astonishment of the partizans of the house of *Austria*, a number of whom could not help thinking the emperor was betrayed. Indeed *Gustavus* almost without opposition, made himself master of the whole country in his passage from the *Elb* to the *Rhine*, comprehending a space of near one hundred leagues, full of fortified towns. *Erfort* in *Thuringia*, *Wirtzburg*, and all the strong places of *Franconia*, opened their gates to his victorious troops. The imperial diet convened at *Frankfort*, in order to terminate the difference occasioned by the decree of *Restitution*, was dissolved: *Mentz* was surrendered to him in a few days; he extended his conquests into the *Palatinate*, then, in fight of a body of *Spanish* troops, crossed the *Rhine*, upon the banks of which he erected a pyramid, that posterity might know how far he had conducted his victorious army^b. The elector-palatine believing, that now the time approached that would see him restored to his dominions, followed *Gustavus* into the *Palatinate*, and solicited the assistance of his arms, which he had already re-established the dukes of *Mecklenburg*, and several other noblemen; but whether the king was doubtful of the elector's gratitude, or did not, as yet, think himself strong enough to engage in such an enterprize, he evaded his request with fair promises, on the strength of which *Frederic* resolved to follow in his train.

^a Mercur. Franc. a l' An. 1631. STRUV. per. 10. sect. 9.

^b Mercur. Franc. a l' An. 1631.

GUSTAVUS had no sooner passed the *Rhine*, than *Worms* was abandoned by *Offelaufe*, a colonel of *Lorrain*, who commanded in the place: *Heilbron* was surrendered to general *Horn*: *Spire* declared for the king of *Sweden*; and *Gersnersheim* followed the example of that city: *Landau* and *Weissemburg*, in submitting to his power, laid *Alsace* open to the *Swedish* army; and he sent *Belinghen* to *Strasburg* to manage his interest with the regency of that city, which he found zealously disposed in favour of a prince whom they regarded as the author of their freedom. His army being considerably reinforced by the troops of the princes with whom he was in alliance, he detached a strong body to assist the dukes of *Mecklenburg* in the conquest of *Lower Saxony*, and in expelling the *Austrians* who were still in possession of *Rostock* and *Wismar*: these two cities were subdued about the beginning of *November*; and in four months the king of *Sweden* saw himself possessed of the whole country, extending from the *Baltic* to the frontiers of *Switzerland* and *Lorrain*. While the banks of the *Rhine* resounded with the success of *Gustavus*, the elector of *Saxony* conquered *Lusace*; and, penetrating into the heart of *Bohemia*, took *Prague* from the emperor. He might have extended his conquests a great deal farther, had not his troops, intoxicated with victory and enriched with booty, abandoned themselves to the most shameful excesses. These debauches were in some measure owing to the connivance of the elector, who began to be jealous and afraid of the growing power of the *Swedes*, and, instead of prosecuting the war according to the repeated instances of *Gustavus*, allowed his soldiers to repose and divert themselves in *Prague*: a remissness of conduct that gave *Galas*, the *Austrian* general, time to assemble some troops and throw himself into the strong town of *Pilsen*, which would have stopped the progress of the elector, even if he had been disposed to proceed in his military operations. However, the fate of *Prague*, and the conquests of *Gustavus*, produced a general revolution in the empire. The archbishop of *Bremen*, the states of *Lower Saxony*, the Protestant towns, the counts of *Weteravia* and *Westerwald*, together with the whole *Leipsick* confederation, now openly espoused the interest of the *Swedes*.

The elector of Saxony subdues Lusace, and takes Prague.

A general revolution in favour of Gustavus.

FERDINAND, humbled by so many disasters, to which he had been so little accustomed, now saw himself in danger of being besieged in his capital, or chased from his hereditary dominions: and in this unfortunate dilemma his ministers represented, that the most efficacious expedient for re-establish-

¹ *BARRE*, t. ix. p. 616.

A. D.
1632.
Walstein
is recalled
by the em-
peror, and
declared
generalissi-
mo of his
troops.

ing his affairs would be to deprive *Tilly* of the command of his army, and bestow it upon a general of more experience, and less devoted to the duke of *Bavaria*, who was not very sorry to see the house of *Austria* in distress. In a word, they proposed that he should recal *Walstein*; and he complied with this advice, notwithstanding the opposition of the *Spanish* ministers, who were the inveterate enemies of that general. *Walstein* had retired to *Znaim* in *Moravia*, where he consoled himself for his disgrace by brewing the misfortunes of *Germany*; and there he was found by the emperor's deputies, who conjured him to sacrifice his private resentment to the safety of his country, and resume the command of the army, which he should enjoy upon his own terms. He was accordingly declared generalissimo, and invested with an absolute power, independent of the councils of *Vienna*^r, while count *Tilly* was sent with a body of troops to act in *Franconia* and the neighbouring provinces.

AT the same time the emperor sent *Walstein's* brother-in-law, the cardinal *d'Harrach*, to implore the assistance of the pope; and the baron *Rabata* to solicit succours from the *Italian* princes, either in money or troops: but both negotiations miscarried. In vain did the cardinal press the pope to assist his master with a sum of money, to employ his influence in detaching the king of *France* from his alliance with *Gustavus*, and to publish a crusade against the *Swede*, who (he alledged) had threatened to march into *Italy*, and sack the city of *Rome*: his holiness excused himself with regard to the money, on account of the poverty of the apostolic chamber; and, instead of a crusade, promised to publish a general jubilee.

WHILE the emperor thus endeavoured to strengthen himself with new allies, the friends of *Sweden* tampered with some princes of the empire, who had hitherto supported his cause. *Charnace*, the *French* ambassador at *Munich*, represented to the duke of *Bavaria*, that his interest was incompatible with that of the house of *Austria*, and exerted all his efforts to bring him over to the party of *Gustavus*; but all his art was ineffectual: the duke as well as his brother *Ferdinand*, elector of *Cologne*, were apprehensive that the Catholics would be oppressed, in consequence of the emperor's disaster; and they took umbrage at the reception which *Frederic* count-palatine had met with from the king of *Sweden*, who doubtless intended to re-establish him in his dominions, provided he could compel *Ferdinand* to sue for peace. The same reasons weighed with the elector of *Mentz*, who, though he wished for nothing

^r HEISS. t. iii. l. iii. p. 152.

more than a neutrality, resolved to run all the risks of war, rather than abandon the house of *Austria*. As for *Philip-Christopher*, elector of *Triers* and bishop of *Spire*, he found himself in a very uncomfortable situation: the *Spaniards* were in possession of *Coblentz*, and the most considerable part of his dominions; and he had incurred the displeasure of *Gustavus* by the assassination of the count *de Solms*, who was said to have been murdered by the direction of this prelate (K). Finding himself therefore threatened by the *Swede*, who was already at his gates, he sued for the protection of *France*, which he obtained on condition of detaching himself intirely from the emperor, and putting *Hermenstein* in the hands of the *French*, as a pledge of his fidelity*.

GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS having employed ministers *Gustavus* every where to form new alliances, demand succours, remove ^{enters} the jealousies occasioned by his success, and traverse the nego- ^{Franconia} tiations of the emperor, he in person advanced into *Franconia* at the head of his army, which every day increased: *Nuremberg* received him with open arms; and after he had, by means of his secret emissaries, engaged in his interest the majority of the *Franconian* gentlemen and nobles, he marched towards *Neumarck*, in order to reduce *Ingoldstadt*, with design to pass the *Danube*, enter the *Upper Palatinate*, and from thence penetrate into *Bavaria*. Count *Tilly*, being informed of his motions, hastened towards that city, to oppose the approach of the *Swedes*; but *Gustavus*, turning suddenly to the right, appeared before *Donawert*, which was immediately ^{Takes} abandoned by the *Bavarian* garrison; and by the favour of *Donawert*, the conqueror retrieved its antient liberty, of which it had ^{and makes} been deprived by the dukes of *Bavaria*. The *Swedes* now ^{excursions} made excursions on both sides of the *Danube* without molesta- ^{on both} tion; and their parties, extending themselves into *Swabia*, ^{sides of the} raised contributions on the towns and castles that depended ^{Danube.} upon the houses of *Austria* and *Bavaria*.

ALL that *Tilly* could do, in order to hinder the enemy from entering *Bavaria*, was to dispute the passage of the *Lech*, upon

* *Mercur. Franc.* a l' An. 1632.

(K) The elector sent an insolent letter to *Gustavus*, who said to the gentleman who brought it, "Your master talks big; but tell him to keep his purse well replenished, for he will have occasion for all his dollars to regale the guests that

"I shall send to him. If the elector will quit the party of my enemies, he shall not be molested; but if he continues to misbehave, I shall soon bring him to reason." *Bernard. Hist. de Lewis the thirteenth, l. xv.*

Tilly disputes the passage of the Lech; is obliged to retreat, and is mortally wounded. the bank of which he posted himself so advantageously, that, in a council of war assembled by his Swedish majesty, general Horn was of opinion, that they ought not to attack an army covered by a river, provided with every thing necessary for a vigorous defence, and commanded by a general of consummate experience and ability. But the king, being determined at all risques to open a passage into *Bavaria*, reconnoitred in person the enemy's camp, and formed a scheme of passing the river upon a bridge and rafts, to be constructed and used under the fire of cannon that he resolved to plant on the bank, which, being high, favoured his design.

THIS project was actually executed on the fifth day of *April* with incredible diligence. Seventy-two pieces of cannon soon destroyed six imperial regiments that were posted in an opposite wood; and *Gustavus* fortified the head of his bridge with a work, which the *Bavarians* attacked three times without success. During these efforts the *Swedish* cavalry forded the river; and count *Tilly*, afraid of being surrounded, took advantage of the night to retire in good order, with his baggage and artillery, to *Newburg* and *Ingoldstadt*: but in this retreat he was wounded in the thigh by a cannon-shot, and in a few days died at *Ingoldstadt*, extremely regretted by the duke of *Bavaria* and the whole army* (L). After the passage of the *Lech*, and the defeat of the *Bavarian* troops, there was nothing to resist the arms of *Gustavus*, who soon convinced his enemies of their error in likening him to a king of snow, that would melt in the spring. This last victory was followed by the surrender of *Augsburg*, in which the king re-established the exercise of the Protestant religion, and exacted an oath of allegiance from the magistrates; a step which cooled the zeal of his allies, who now began to suspect that he extended his views farther than he at first pretended.

IN the mean time, the duke of *Bavaria* complained to the Catholic states of their having broke their promises with him,

* *BARRE*, t. ix. p. 622.

(L) Count *Tilly*, killed in the seventieth year of his age, was a gentleman of *Liege*, who had raised himself to the rank of lieutenant-general of the Catholic league, under the duke of *Bavaria*, and after *Walstein's* disgrace, he succeeded to the chief command of the imperial troops. He was always victo-

rious until the battle of *Leipsick*, and might be compared to the most illustrious captains of antiquity, had not his glory been stained by the horrid cruelties which he permitted his troops to commit when he took the city of *Magdeburg*. *Barre*, t. ix. p. 623.

inasmuch

inasmuch as he had demanded succours, and nobody came to his relief. He likewise represented at *Vienna* the danger to which he was exposed; and *Walstein*, pleased to see his enemy's country on the verge of destruction, never wanted plausible excuses for withholding his assistance, when the emperor pressed him to save *Bavaria*; so that the duke, despairing of succour, sent his most valuable effects to *Saltzburg*.

AT that time the king of *Sweden* was employed in the siege of *Ingoldstadt*, which was so gallantly defended by the son of count *Tilly*, that after having suffered several repulses, he resolved to quit the enterprize; and entering *Bavaria*, where he found the gates of *Landshut*, *Merspurg*, and *Frisinghen*, laid open at his approach, he, on the seventh day of *May*, appeared before *Munich*, and was met by *St. Etienne*, the French envoy at the *Bavarian* court, who intreated him to spare the city and the magnificent palace. Some *Swedes*, on the contrary, exhorted him to revenge upon *Munich* the cruelties which count *Tilly's* army had perpetrated at *Magdeburg*; but to this advice he replied, in a truly heroic strain: "Let us not imitate the barbarity of the *Goths*, our ancestors, who have rendered their memory detestable by destroying all the beauties of art." Fraught with such noble sentiments he entered the city, which was ransomed by the inhabitants for three hundred thousand rixdollars, and found above one hundred and forty pieces of cannon belonging to the duke, which he ordered to be transported to *Augsburg* *.

DURING these transactions, *Walstein* duke of *Fridland* put himself at the head of the imperial army, and undertook the siege of *Prague*, which he took by assault. *Egra*, and other places of that kingdom, returned to their allegiance; and the emperor, in a very little time, retrieved the whole country of *Bohemia*, while the duke of *Saxony* was obliged to weaken his army, by sending several detachments to cover the frontiers of his dominions.

THE success of *Walstein*, together with some vigorous actions performed by *Papenheim*, in *Saxony* and *Thuringia*, raised the drooping spirits of the Imperialists; and *Ferdinand* flattered himself with the hope of seeing his authority in a little time re-established through the whole empire. This, however, was a pleasure which the duke of *Fridland* had no intention to indulge him with; for the design of that general was to enter *Saxony*, and force the duke to an accommodation with himself in particular; but the duke of *Bavaria*, and the *Spaniards*, made such pressing instances at the court of *Vienna*,

* Id. ibid.

* HEISS. t. iii. l. iii. p. 154.

that *Walstein* could not, with any decency, refuse to join *Maximilian*, and march against the king of *Sweden*. Nevertheless, he industriously thwarted him in all the operations of the campaign ; permitted his troops to ravage the *Upper Palatinate*, as if it had been an enemy's country, and, instead of assenting to the duke's proposal of attacking *Gustavus*, who was at that time greatly inferior to them in numbers, he formed the resolution of starving the *Swedes*, and for that purpose took possession of the neighbouring villages, and ordered his cavalry to scour the country, with a view to cut off their convoys, and interrupt their foraging parties ^y.

Gustavus MEAN while, the king of *Sweden* having received a reinforcement under the chancellor *Oxenstiern*, the prince palatine of *Berkenfeld*, the dukes of *Saxe-Weymar*, the landgrave of *Hesse-Cassel*, and general *Bannier*, saw himself at the head of sixty thousand fighting men, and resolved to give battle to the enemy : but *Walstein* declining the engagement, and intrenching himself in the front of a wood, *Gustavus* advanced from *Nuremberg* to *Purt*, and drew up his forces in order of battle, to attack the Imperialists, who, on their side, made all the necessary dispositions for giving them a warm reception.

and is
obliged to
retreat
with loss.

THE attack was begun by the *German* troops, who being soon repulsed, *Gustavus* ordered the rear of his army to fire upon those who had turned their backs ; and after having severely reproached the *Germans* for their dastardly behaviour, he commanded some *Swedish* regiments to renew the assault. While these were very roughly handled by the Imperialists in front, the *Austrian* cavalry sallied out from their intrenchments to the right and left, and taking the enemy in flank, made a great slaughter ; notwithstanding which they were obliged to retreat, and the action continued with great obstinacy for the space of ten hours : every regiment in the *Swedish* army, not even excepting the body of reserve, having marched up to the attack in its turn. At length the king of *Sweden* despairing of being able to force the imperial intrenchments, resolved to effectuate a retreat ; and seeing no general officer near him, he addressed himself to an old *Scottish* colonel of the name of *Hepburn*, who had quitted his service upon some disgust, and protested he would never draw a sword again in his cause. *Gustavus* was not ignorant of his sentiments ; but relying upon his known courage and generosity, he desired him to wave his resentment for once, and exert himself for the safety of the troops. The veteran, seeing such a favourable opportunity of acquiring fresh laurels,

^y BARRE, t. ix. p. 625.

told the king, that this was the only occasion on which he would ever serve such an ungrateful prince, and rushing into the very hottest part of the battle, delivered the orders of *Gustavus* to his army, and conducted the retreat with such order and ability, that the Imperialists durst not venture to give them the least disturbance. Having performed this glorious exploit he retired to his own country, in contempt of all the promises and efforts which the king of *Sweden* made, in order to retain him in his service^a.

THIS engagement cost the *Austrians* about eleven hundred men, who were killed upon the spot, including the counts *Fugger*, *Aldobranden*, and *Caraffa*; but the *Swedes*, who were more exposed, lost a much greater number, with several officers of distinction; and *Gustavus* himself narrowly escaped with life, part of his boot having been carried off by a cannon-ball^a. This prince did not think proper to make any other attempt upon the *Austrians*; but leaving *Oxenstiern* with a body of troops in *Nuremberg*, he advanced into *Franconia*, and marched towards *Bavaria*, in order to encourage and support the peasants who had revolted in *Upper Austria*; while the elector of *Saxony* leaving his own country defenceless, sent his troops into *Silesia*, to make a powerful diversion in favour of his *Swedish* majesty.

He leaves
a garrison
at Nurem-
berg, and
marches
towards
Bavaria.

WALSTEIN taking advantage of this conjuncture, separated from the duke of *Bavaria*, and marched towards *Misnia* to join count *Papenheim*, general of the Catholic league, intending to make himself master of this province, where he meant to establish his winter quarters: and this motion not a little disconcerted the duke of *Saxony*, who pressed *Gustavus* to hasten to his relief. Accordingly the *Swede* quitted *Bavaria*, where he left twelve thousand men, and traversing *Thuringia*, arrived at *Naumburg*, where he was received with great demonstrations of joy. Here he was informed that *Papenheim* was detached from the imperial army, to conduct six regiments into the country of *Cologne*; and that *Walstein*, after having quitted *Weissenfels*, had retired to *Lutzen*, at the distance of two leagues from *Leipsick*^b. He no sooner received this intelligence, than he resolved to march thither and engage the enemy, who had thus imprudently weakened himself. He accordingly set out on this expedition, contrary to the opinion of *Bernard* duke of *Weymar*, who advised him to grant some repose to his troops; and on the fifteenth of *November* he came in sight of the imperial army, about two o'clock in the

^a PUFFENDORF, rer. Succ. l. iv.
L'Empire, 10th dialogue.

^a DU MAY Etat de
^b HEISS. t. iii. l. iii. p. 156.
after-

Gustavus
marches to
Lutzen,
where he
attacks the
Austrians,
and is
slain.

afternoon. The day being so far spent he passed the night in order of battle, and next morning was prevented from engaging by a thick fog, which did not vanish till eleven in the forenoon; then *Gustavus* advancing at the head of his guards, repulsed the enemy from the place where their cannon was mounted, and turned their artillery against themselves: but this post was retaken in half an hour by the Imperialists, who obliged the *Swedes* to give way in their turn. The king perceiving the disorder of his troops, alighted, and putting himself at the head of his regiments, "If (said he) after having
" passed so many rivers, scaled so many walls, and reduced so
" many strong holds, you have not courage to defend me, at
" least make one effort to stand and see me fall." Penetrated by this reproach they exclaimed, that they had no fear but for his person, and returned to the charge with such resolution, as to gain the artillery, and force the intrenchments of *Walstein's* camp. *Gustavus* having so far carried his point, went to reconnoitre another post, attended only by two aids du camp, and falling among a party of cuirassiers, was unhappily slain. His death, however, did not depress the courage of the *Swedes*, or in any shape alter his plan of the attack; in consequence of which the duke of *Saxe Weymar* pressed the Imperialists on all hands, with such vigour and intrepidity, that they were involved in universal disorder, which was increased by the accidental explosion of their gunpowder. In this emergency they were relieved by the arrival of count *Papenheim*, with part of his cavalry, who renewed the fight with great fury, and bore down all before him, until he received a mortal wound, of which he died next day at *Leipsick*. This misfortune disheartened the *Austrians* to such a degree, that taking the advantage of the night, they retreated with great precipitation, leaving their cannon and the field of battle to the *Swedes*, who lost about three thousand men in this engagement; but it cost the Imperialists double that number. Next day, after a diligent search, the king's body was found stripped, mangled, and covered with gore, one of his attendants lying dead at his side, and the other just expiring, though he had strength enough left to relate the manner of his prince's death^c. The body was carried to *Naumburg*, then to *Wolgast*, from whence it was conveyed to *Stockholm*, where it was interred with great funeral pomp (M).

The battle
is restored
by the ar-
rival of
Papen-
heim; but
he being
mortally
wounded,
victory de-
clares
for the
Swedes.

THUS

^c BARRE, t. ix. p. 630. HEISS. t. iii. l. iii. p. 157. LUCEN. Hist. Suec. l. viii. p. 604. PLACES. p. 430.

(M) *Francis Albert*, duke of having assassinated the king of *Saxe-Lauenburg*, is suspected of *Sweden* in the battle, and what seems

THUS fell *Gustavus Adolphus*, surnamed *the Great*, in the thirty-eighth year of his age, than whom no prince was ever more esteemed, beloved, and regretted. All the world considered him as an hero; the Protestants of *Germany* revered him as their deliverer; and the elector-palatine, whose sole hope of recovering his dominions depended upon the intention and power of his *Swedish* majesty, being indisposed at *Mentz*, no sooner heard of this monarch's death, than he relapsed into a fever, which, in a few days, deprived him of life. Nor was this prince devoid of good qualities, though they were tarnished by a spirit of vanity ambition, to which all his misfortunes were owing. *Charles-Lewis*, his eldest son, being under age at his father's death, the administration of his affairs was undertaken by *Philip-Lewis* his uncle, until he should be of age according to the constitutions of the empire^d. Both armies were so weakened by the battle of *Lutzen*, that the war languished all the rest of the campaign, especially on the side of the emperor; for *Walstein* being in no condition to undertake any other enterprize, retired into *Bohemia*, whither he was followed by the *Swedes*, with the body of their dead monarch. In a word, *Ferdinand*, whose troops were defeated, looked upon himself as a gainer by the death of his most formidable enemy, and the *Swedes*, though victorious, considered themselves as undone by the loss of their king. This misfortune fell still the heavier, as he left no son capable to assume the reins of government, his only daughter *Christina*, being at that time in the sixth year of her age: nevertheless, under the command of duke *Bernard* they drove the Imperialists out of *Saxony*, before the end of the year, contrary to the expectation of *Ferdinand*, who hoped that now the *Swedish* troops would separate of their own accord, and their allies be so much divided among themselves, that he should find no difficulty in subduing them one after another.

The death
of the elec-
tor pala-
tine.

Walstein
retires into
Bohemia,
and is fol-
lowed by
the
Swedes.

^d *Histoir. de GUALDO PRIORATO*, part i. l. v.

seems to confirm this suspicion, he immediately after the engagement, abandoned the *Swedes* and declared for the emperor, whose army he had left for this vile purpose. *Vide History of Sweden, and Puffendorf. rer. Suec. l. iv.*

C H A P. XVIII.

Containing the Progress of the War to the Treaty of Prague.

The emperor resolves to continue the war.

WALSTEIN, indeed, advised him to publish a general amnesty, which he believed would have a great tendency towards an accommodation; but his imperial majesty, who had other designs, and wanted to render himself absolute in the empire, made new preparations for continuing the war. The same steps were taken by the duke of *Bavaria*; and the *Spaniards* sent considerable sums into *Italy*, to levy troops for the emperor's service. On the other hand a general consternation prevailed among the Protestants, who had flattered themselves with the hope of seeing their religion and liberty secured by the arms of *Gustavus Adolphus*. Besides, distrust and misunderstanding began to arise among themselves, as well as between them and the *Swedish* nation, to which they were unwilling to yield the chief direction of such a capital confederacy, although, without their assistance, they foresaw the scheme must be ruined without resource.

CARDINAL *de Richlieu*, tho' he privately rejoiced at the death of the king, resolved to maintain the alliance with *Sweden*, lest that kingdom should make a separate accommodation with the emperor, who might, in such a case, pour in his whole force upon *France*: he was likewise apprehensive that the *Swedes*, if detached from their alliance with *Lewis*, would fall upon the Catholics in *Germany*, from whom they could have extorted a much greater sum than the subsidy they received from the *French* king: and lastly, his design was to profit by the troubles of the empire, in seizing the whole country on the other side of the *Rhine*, from *Basil* to the *Moselle*. Swayed by these motives, the king of *France* wrote to *Oxenstiern*, the *Swedish* chancellor, and all the generals of that army, exhorting them to prosecute the work they had so happily begun, and promising to assist them with all his power. They received the same assurances from the *English* and *Dutch*; and as for the king of *Denmark*, the jealousy which he had conceived of *Gustavus*, being now considerably diminished, he would no longer listen to the promises of the emperor, who would have engaged him to break with *Sweden*. He was far from wishing to contribute to the ruin of the *German* Protestants: he saw *Sweden* had so many affairs upon her hands, that

that he might one way or other take the advantage of her being involved ; and he flattered himself with the expectation of a match, between his son prince *Ulric* and the young queen *Christina* ^c.

THE education of this young princess was, by the states of the kingdom, committed to the chiefs of the five colleges (N) ; namely, the grand bailie, the marechal, the admiral, the chancellor, and the treasurer of the crown : but the principal direction of the affairs of Germany was conferred upon *Oxenstiern*, the chancellor of the kingdom, whom *Gustavus* before his death had sent to solicit the circles of *High Germany* to make preparations for maintaining the war ^f. In the execution of this office, bestowed upon him by the states of Sweden, he found great obstacles to surmount, in the pride and dignity of the electors, and other Protestant princes, who were very little disposed to obey the regulations of a stranger ; and in the jealousy of the generals, who, for the most part, were originally *Germans* : and he foresaw the danger and disgrace that would attend the *Suedes*, should they abandon their conquests, without having first concluded a treaty with the emperor. He perceived, that, whatever might be the issue, it would be more creditable to stay until he should be expelled by force of arms, than to retreat without resistance ; that the more vigorously he acted, he might expect the more honourable peace ; that, should he intirely abandon the work which was begun, the affairs of the Protestants must in a little time be ruined beyond redemption, and Sweden itself, by necessary consequence, be exposed to the utmost hazard ; and that, although he should not be able to perform his undertakings with that glory which would have attended their enterprizes had the king been alive, he might nevertheless hinder the enemy from approaching the frontiers of Sweden, until a favourable peace could be obtained.

SUCH were the reflections *Oxenstiern* suggested to the circles of *Suabia*, *Franconia*, the *Upper* and *Lower Rhine*. In order to deliberate upon the affairs of the common cause, he con-

^c PUFFENDORF Introduction a L'Histoire d' l'Univers. liv. vi.

^f PUFFENDORF L'Histoire de la Monarchie Suedoise, l. vi.

(N) The tutorage of *Christina*, and administration of her dominions, was claimed by *John Casimir*, prince palatine of the *Rhine*, third son of *John* the first, duke of *Deux-ponts*. He was married in Sweden to *Catharine*, daughter to *Charles* the ninth, by whom he had several children, and among the rest *Charles Gustavus*, who succeeded *Christina* upon the throne of Sweden. Vide History of Sweden.

voked

voled an assembly, which was transferred from *Ulm* to *Hallbron*; and understanding that the elector of *Saxony* endeavoured to thwart his purpose, and obtain for himself the principal direction of affairs, he repaired to *Dresden*, with a view to engage that prince in a firm concurrence with the common interest. But being amused with general answers, and perceiving that several of the elector's counsellors inclined towards the cause of the emperor, he left this court, very little satisfied with the issue of his negotiation, and visited the elector of *Brandenburg*; who not only expressed the most hearty inclination to contribute towards the success of the common cause, but even went to *Dresden*, in order to reinforce the representations of the chancellor ^a.

ALL his remonstrances, however, made no impression upon the elector of *Saxony*, who complained that *Oxenstiern* arrogated to himself too much authority in the empire; and in particular inveighed against him, because he had hindered *Frederic-Ulric*, duke of *Brunswick*, from assembling the circle of *Lower Saxony*, on pretence that the right of convoking belonged to the archbishopric of *Magdeburg*, of which the crown of *Sweden* was then in possession. The ambassador of *France*, who arrived at *Dresden* in the midst of these transactions, employed his whole address to corroborate the arguments used by the elector of *Brandenburg*; but the *Saxon* remained inflexible, and, what aggravated the misfortune, *George* landgrave of *Hesse* communicated all that passed on this occasion to the emperor ^b.

NOTWITHSTANDING these obstacles, *Oxenstiern* neglected nothing to preserve the *Swedish* conquests: from the main army, which was then in *Misnia*, he detached fourteen thousand men, under the command of *George* duke of *Lunenburg*, to drive the Imperialists from *Lower Saxony* and *Westphalia*: duke *Bernard* marched with the rest of the troops into *Franconia*, from whence he had orders to go and act in *Oberland* in concert with *Gustavus Horn*, who likewise had a considerable command; while the old count *de Thurn* was sent to retrieve the *Swedish* affairs in *Silesia*, and to succour *Pomerania*, in case the Imperialists should make an irruption into that province. In consequence of this disposition, *Gustavus Horn* entered *Saxonia*, where he defeated the *Bavarian* cavalry near *Kimpten*, and hindered them from taking up their quarters in the country of *Wirtemberg*. In *Westphalia*, *George* duke of *Lunenburg* made himself master of several places; and after having beaten count *de Mansfeld*, near *Rhintilem*, laid siege to *Hamul*; and

^a BARRE, t. ix. p. 635.

^b PUFFENDORF ubi supra.

the landgrave *William* subdued great part of the country of *Munster*: but no progress was made in *Silesia*, because the *Swedish* and *Saxon* generals disagreed ¹.

IN the mean time the four circles assembled at *Hailbronn* (O), notwithstanding the endeavours of the *Saxon*, who attempted to frustrate the convention by letters, importing, that, in consequence of the treaty of *Leipsick*, he was invested with the direction of the Protestant affairs: and here the chancellor exerted himself with such success, that a league was formed with the crown of *Sweden*; and he, as plenipotentiary of that crown, entrusted with the conduct of affairs relating to the common cause, though he was restricted by a council chosen by the consent of all the allies, under the appellation of *consilium formatum* ^k. It was not without infinite pains that he gained his point, on this occasion, against the intrigues of the emperor and the court of *Saxony*, and in the midst of so many jarring interests, which he was obliged to unite: after all, he was limited by several troublesome clauses, suggested in private by *Feuquieres*, the *French* ambassador; who, while he openly exhorted the members to join with *Sweden*, was afraid of seeing the power of that crown and the Protestant interest too much strengthened in the empire.

THE king of *Denmark*, at length dazzled by the magnificent promises of the emperor, employed all his address in drawing the *Swedes* from *Germany*; and with this view offered his mediation for a peace to the elector of *Saxony*. *Oxenstiern*, on the other hand, who would not openly refuse the proposal, desired that the mediation of *France* and *Holland* might be joined to the good offices of his *Danish* majesty, well knowing that the emperor would never consent to such a conjunction, and that therefore the scheme must prove abortive. He had

¹ Id. *ibid*.

^k *SIRI*. Memor. *recond.* t. vii. p. 607.

(O) This assembly was composed of deputies from the circles of the *Upper Rhine*, *Suabia*, and *Franconia*, the minister of the elector of *Brandenburg*, two dukes of the house of *Wirtemberg*, *Frederic* marquis of *Baden* and his two sons, the rhin-graves *Otbo* and *Philip*, the counts *Nassau*, *Solms*, *Hanau*, and several other princes; the marquises of *Anspach*, *Culmbach*, and *Brandenburg*; the

towns of *Nuremberg*, *Frankfort*, *Ulm*, and *Strasburg*, sent deputies to this convention: the chancellor of *Sweden* was there with two counsellors, a secretary of state, and several officers of the army: and finally, *Feuquieres*, *Anstruther*, and *Paw*, ambassadors from *France*, *England*, and *Holland*, attended at this assembly. *Siri* Memor. *rec.* t. vii. p. 607, *et sequentibus*.

already

already observed, that a separate peace was on the carpet at *Dresden*, and opposed it with all his power ; but, in order to provide for the worst, he, at the assembly of *Hailbron*, reinstated the children of *Frederic* count palatine, in their territories and electoral dignity¹; hoping by this measure to engage *England*, *Brandenburg*, and *Holland*, with the whole palatine house, to concur more seriously in the execution of his designs. At the same time he renewed the alliance between *France* and *Sweden*^m, and took every step which he thought could induce the *Dutch* to act with vigour for the common cause. The duke of *Bavaria*, and other princes of the Catholic league, were left at liberty to remain neuter, on conditions formerly proposed to them by *Gustavus* ; and confederates engaged to guarantee one another in the articles which should be stipulated in any general peace.

FEUQUIERES, immediately after this assembly broke, went to the courts of *Dresden* and *Berlin*, in order to persuade the electors of *Saxony* and *Brandenburg* to ratify the resolutions of *Hailbron*, and accept the mediation of the king, as proposed by *Oxenstiern* ; but the first rejected these propositions, though he assured him he would not abandon his allies, or conclude a separate peace ; and the other approved of the mediation, but declined ratifying the treaty of *Hailbron*, until he should confer with the elector of *Saxony*, whose assent to it he would endeavour to procureⁿ.

The emperor tampered with the electors of *Saxony* and *Brandenburg* for a separate peace.

FERDINAND, whose aim was to detach these from their alliance with *Sweden*, had, after the death of *Gustavus*, in a letter desired the landgrave of *Hesse-Darmstadt* to repair to *Leutmeritz*, where he would find the bishop of *Meissen* and *Questenberg*, who would communicate to him the emperor's proposals for accommodation. He accordingly went to the place appointed, after having received directions from the elector of *Brandenburg*, to whom he imparted the letter ; but their demands were so extravagant to the emperor's ministers, that they refused to proceed in the negotiation.

MEAN while the war was carried on for some time with pretty equal success on both sides. Towns were taken and lost, the people ruined by large contributions, few provinces of the empire being exempted from pillage and destruction. *George* duke of *Lunenburg* undertook the siege of *Hildesheim* in *Lower Saxony*, which was defended by an *Austrian* garrison, with the hope of being relieved by *Gronfeldt* and *Merode*, who

¹ BARRE, t. ix. p. 639.
t. ix. p. 641.

^m HEISS. l. iii.

advanced with design to attack the enemy; but *George*, hearing of their approach, changed the siege into a blockade, and marched to meet them in the plain of *Oldendorp*, where they were utterly defeated, leaving three thousand dead on the field of battle, together with their cannon and baggage; whereas the *Swedes* did not lose above three hundred men. The count *de Merode*, to whom the vanquished attributed the loss of the day, died of the wounds he received in this battle, which was fought on the eighth of *July*; and in ten days after the engagement, the duke made himself master of *Hamelen*, where he found plenty of ammunition, with a numerous train of artillery.

George duke of Lunenburg defeats the Imperialists at Oldendorp, and takes Hamelen.

The *Austrians* were not so unfortunate in *Silesia*, where *Walstein* surprised and defeated *Duval*, who commanded a number of *Swedish* troops in that province: then he drove the remnants from several posts, marched down along the *Oder* as far as *Frankfort*, which he took, and *Landsparg* surrendered without having made the least resistance. The *Swedes* were very under apprehensions of being totally expelled from *Pomerania*, when *Walstein* returned as he came, and gave *Bernard* an opportunity of joining his troops with those of *Albrecht Horn*, so as to render the *Swedes* stronger than the *Imperialists*. Indeed this general had no intention to reverse the affairs of his master. Being intirely engrossed by the project of usurping the crown of *Bohemia*, he abandoned the troops of the duke of *Bavaria* to the *Swedes*, and employed all his address to traverse the design of the duke of *Spain*, the *Spanish* general, who was, in his passage from *Italy* to the empire, with a body of thirty thousand men, and in the way of eclipsing, or at least of rivalling the power and reputation of *Walstein*. Accordingly this officer being pressed by *Ferdinand*, to favour the march of the duke of *Feria*, sent a detachment under *Aldringen*, who was entirely devoted to the emperor, with private instructions to thwart the *Spanish* general, and take such measures for harrassing and starving his army, as should compel them to desert and disperse; nor were these expectations frustrated in this particular, as we shall see in the sequel.

Walstein defeats Duval, and takes Frankfort upon the Oder.

In the midst of these intrigues of *Walstein*, a difference arose in *Switzerland* between the Protestant and Roman Catholic cantons. *Oxenstiern* had ordered the rhingrave, *Otho*, governor of the two circles of the *Rhine*, to make a list of the forest towns, belonging to the house of

Austria (P); and the Protestants, far from opposing, seemed rather to assist in the execution of this enterprize. The Catholics, on the contrary, in a diet which at that time they held at *Baden*, declaimed against the *Swedes*, and threatened to repel them by force of arms. In these sentiments they were supported by the count *de Furstemberg*, the emperor's commissary, who represented, that by virtue of the alliance subsisting between the thirteen cantons and the house of *Austria*, the *Swiss* ought to compel the *Swedes* to relinquish their designs upon the forest towns⁹. In consequence of this remonstrance the diet of *Baden* required the rhingrave to remove from *Saxonia*; but that general gave them to understand, that he could not dispense with the execution of the order he had received from *Oxenstiern*, who was director-general in the affairs of Protestant union. This *Swedish* chancellor, and his assembly, hearing the great noise that was made by the *Austrian* ministers on this subject among the cantons, sent the count *Stulingen* to the diet at *Baden*, to represent, that the hereditary alliance so loudly trumpeted by the imperial commissary, far from obliging the cantons to defend the forest towns, not even hinder them from engaging in the confederation of *Hailbron*, against the enemies of the empire. The speech that *Stulingen* made on this occasion perplexed the diet, and the *Swiss* afterwards assembling at *Lucerne*, came to a resolution of observing a perfect neutrality.

Marechal
Horn
takes
Stein, and
makes an
attempt
upon Con-
stance.

BUT the taking of *Stein*, and siege of *Constance*, by marechal *Horn*, were matters much more interesting to the French than the conquest of the forest towns. That general, with a body of twelve thousand men, directed his march, all at sudden, towards *Constance*, which being pretty well fortified on the side of *Germany*, he resolved to attack it from the *Swiss* quarter, where it was very weak and defenceless. But in order to achieve this enterprize, it was necessary to pass the *Rhine* over the bridge of *Stein*, a town under the dominion of the *Swiss*, which he therefore took by surprize. Nevertheless, he was baffled in his attempt upon *Constance*, which was gallantly defended by *Wolff*, who continually received fresh supplies of soldiers and provision, and bravely repulsed the besiegers in a general assault¹⁰. Nor even a reinforcement sent by prince *Christian* of *Birkenfeld*, and the junction

⁹ LOTYCHIUS rer. German. part ii. l. v. c. iv. p. 465.

¹⁰ PLACE

(P) These are *Rhinfeld*, *Lauffenburg*, *Bruckingen*, and *Waldhof*, situated in the neighbourhood of *Switzerland*.

Bernard duke of *Saxe-Weymar*, could enable the marechal to accomplish his aim. The garrison of the place increased every day; and he found himself obliged to retire, though he pretended that this retreat was the effect of his complaisance for his most Christian majesty, who interposed in behalf of his allies of *Switzerland*.

SOME time after this fruitless attempt, *Bernard*, in obedience to the chancellor's order, separated from *Horn*, and marching into *Bavaria*, appeared before *Ratisbon*, which he besieged with such industry and vigour, notwithstanding the brave opposition of *Teubreze*, who commanded in the place, that the inhabitants dreading an assault, obliged the governor to capitulate. From hence he marched towards *Passau*, with design to surprize that place, and afterwards to enter *Austria* on the side of the *Ems*, and favour the revolt of the peasants, who had promised to declare in favour of the *Swedes*. In his route he actually took *Straubingen*, and some other places; but the season being too far advanced for the execution of his scheme, he returned to *Ratisbon*, and put his troops in winter quarters.

Bernard duke of Saxe-Weymar marches into Bavaria, and takes Ratisbon, Straubingen, &c.

DURING this progress of the duke of *Saxe-Weymar*, marechal *Horn* being joined by the duke of *Wirtemberg*, harrassed without ceasing, the *Spaniards* commanded by the duke of *Feria*, who, after having passed the *Rhine* near *Basil*, marched with great diligence to the relief of *Brisack*, which was besieged by the rhingrave *John-Philip*; and this prince, finding himself unable to cope with such an antagonist, abandoned the siege, and retreated to *Colmar*, after having set his camp on fire. The duke of *Feria* having thus raised the siege of *Brisack*, resolved likewise to deliver *Philipsburg*, which was blockaded by *Schmeidberg*; and the rhingrave and the *Swedes* encamped near *Colmar*, were too weak to traverse the design of the *Spanish* general; when they were joined by marechal *Horn* and the prince of *Birkenfeld*, and enabled to meet the duke of *Feria*, to whose camp they forthwith marched in order of battle. The *Spaniard*, mortified to see himself defied in this manner, pressed *Aldringen* to give battle to the *Swedes*; but this officer, adhering to the private directions he had received from *Walstein*, would not consent to a general action, but repassed the *Rhine* at *Brisack*, on pretence of going to raise the blockade of *Philipsburg*; so that the duke of *Feria* seeing his troops greatly reduced by distempers, and this retreat, marched towards *Thau*, in order to meet a reinforcement from *Franchcomé*, which however was very inconsiderable. In the mean

The duke de Feria obliges the rhingrave to abandon the siege of Brisack; but is thwarted by Aldringen.

Marechal time, *Horn* and the prince of *Birkenfeld* pursued *Aldringen*,
Horn pur- and several times defeated his rear with great slaughter; so
dues Al- that he was forced to retire as far as *Brisack*, where he was
dringen, again joined by the duke of *Feria*, whom necessity com-
and the pelled to forget the affront he had received. This junction
duke de stopped the progress of the *Swedes*, until the rhingrave united
Feria dies his forces with those of *marechal Horn*, who then drove the
of grief. enemy back to *Bavaria*, with the loss of five thousand men.
 The bad success of this campaign affected the *Spanish* general
 so deeply, that he died of grief; and *Aldringen*, who is ac-
 cused of having been the cause of his misfortunes, was killed
 on his march to the relief of *Landsbut*.

OXENSTIERN had resolved to send *Banier* into *Silesia*,
 with the army which he commanded on the *Elbe*, while *Arn-
 heim*, with his *Saxons*, should march towards *Bohemia*, and
 oblige the *Austrians* to divide their forces; but this project was
 rendered ineffectual by the practices of the *Saxon* general,
 who attempted to stop the progress of the *Swedes* by all the
 means in his power; and instead of taking the route to *Bohe-
 mia*, turned towards *La Marthe*, and consumed his time to no
 purpose in besieging *Frankfort upon the Oder*.

The differe- ALTHOUGH the arms of *Sweden* had hitherto been pretty
next victories successful, except in *Silesia*, the war became every day more
and dissen- and burthen some and disagreeable to that nation. The four cir-
cles among cles of *Upper Germany* were heartily tired of its continuance,
the conse- by which they had been exposed to so many ravages; for, not-
derates. withstanding the utmost precautions, it was impossible to re-
 strain the soldiers within the rules of exact discipline, because
 they could not be regularly paid. The landgrave acted for
 himself alone, and insisted upon keeping all the conquests he
 had made. The *French* pretended to claim all the country
 from *Basil* to the *Moselle*, and took umbrage at *Oxenstiern*, who
 refused to act in all things according to their pleasure. *Hol-
 land* beheld the conquests of *Sweden* with a jealous eye; and
England, far from engaging heartily in the affairs of the em-
 pire, seemed rather to incline a little towards the interests of
Spain: but the elector of *Saxony* did infinitely more mischief
 than service to the common cause. As he could not bear to
 see *Oxenstiern* at the head of affairs, he precipitately engaged
 in a negotiation for a peace, which could serve no other
 purpose than that of producing a new war; besides, by means
 of *Arnheim*, he did all that lay in his power to traverse the
 designs of *Sweden*. Dependence could no longer be placed

* *ANLZERR*, part iii. l. xviii.
 a l'Histoire, l. vi.

* *PUFFENDORF* Introd.

upon the elector of *Brandenburg*, because there was no longer any prospect of concluding the match between his son and queen *Christina*; and finally, *Pomerania* was an enemy to *Sweden*.

NOTWITHSTANDING these discouragements, *Oxenstiern* employed all his efforts in supporting the common cause. In an assembly of the circles of *Lower Saxony*, convened at *Halberstadt*, he exerted his whole address to retain the confederates in their union, and induce them to make vigorous preparations for war: he afterwards convoked an assembly at *Frankfort* upon the *Maine*, to which he invited all the Protestants to deliberate, whether the war should be continued, or an accommodation effected *.

IN the midst of all these difficulties, the *Swedes* conceived great hopes when they learned that *Wallstein* was in disgrace with the emperor, and resolved to join the Protestants. We have already observed, that this general, when he was first divested of his command, thought himself extremely ill-requited for the services he had done the emperor; and, during his retreat, laid plans for raising himself again to such a pitch of power, as would enable him not only to revenge, but repay himself to his own wish: for he aspired at nothing less than the kingdom of *Bohemia*, and the possession of *Moravia*, as the reward of his toils, and an equivalent for the dutchy of *Mecklenburg*, which he had lost. His re-establishment in the rank of generalissimo of the emperor's forces seemed a favourable occasion for the execution of his projects; and, since his elevation to this post, he had spared neither money nor caresses to conciliate the affection of the officers, so as that he might be formidable to the emperor, and obtain from his fear what he could never expect from his good-will. He had likewise set on foot a secret correspondence with the Protestant party, and *France*, whom he promised to join with the army under his command, provided they would consent to his ascending the throne of *Bohemia*, and assist him to conquer that kingdom; and, lastly, he had exacted an oath of fidelity from his officers, in which the emperor's name was not mentioned. These however were steps, which, in all probability, he did not take, until he found his enemies had succeeded in ruining him with the emperor. The jesuits, and other priests, were his inveterate foes, because he had always declared them perturbators of the public repose, who had no title to intermeddle in affairs of state; the duke of *Bavaria* bore him an old grudge; and the *Spaniards* were extremely incensed against

A. D.
1634.
Wallstein
falls into
disgrace
with the
emperor.

* Id. ibid.

him, because he treated their schemes and advice with contempt, and affected to ridicule their nation. These therefore, joining together, let slip no opportunity of blackening his character at the court of *Vienna*; and, unhappily for him, their accusations were rendered plausible by his own insolence and misconduct. They taxed him with having spent the summer in vain negotiation, when he might have easily invaded *Pomerania* and *Mecklenburg*; with having lost *Ratisbon* by his negligence; and exhausted the hereditary provinces of the house of *Austria*, by making them winter-quarters for his troops, which might have been subsisted elsewhere. In a word, they represented him in such a light, that the emperor no longer doubted his treachery; and, perhaps, it was not till after he understood this triumph of his enemies (Q), that he seriously thought of betraying his trust. Certain it is, he made overtures to the *Swedes*, who suspected his sincerity; and afterwards, assembling his principal officers at *Pilsen*, pretended that he would relinquish the command of the army, rather than be longer exposed to the venomous shafts of his private foes. Having made this declaration, he retired; and his confidants, *Tertski*, *Illo*, and *Kinsky*, took this opportunity to represent the prejudice which would result, from his retreat, to religion, to the empire, and to the officers of the army, whose fortune was attached to the fate of their general: they therefore proposed, that he should be obliged to retain the command; but at the same time observed, it would be no more than justice in them to take effectual measures for protecting him from the malice of his enemies. The proposal was received with applause; and, in consequence of their insinuations, two and fifty officers subscribed an association upon oath, by which they engaged to follow his fortune, and defend his life.

Fifty-two officers take an oath to follow his fortune and defend his life.

THIS combination was no sooner formed, than *Picolesini*, one of the subscribers, revealed it to *Francis* and *Matthias* de

STRUV. per. x. sect. ix. p. 3024.

(Q) *Puffendorf* is of opinion, that *Walstein* at first had no other view in his secret negotiation with the *Swedes* and *Saxons*, than that of amusing them to their own destruction; and that the freedoms he publicly took in speaking of the emperor, were in consequence of a secret permission he had from the court

of *Vienna*, for the more effectual deception of the confederates. Certain it is, *Bernard* duke of *Saxe-Weimar* neglected his proposals, by the advice of *Oxenstiern*, who from the beginning believed he acted in concert with the emperor. *Puffendorf* *Introd.* l. vi. p. 316.

Medici,

Medici, the nephews of *Ferdinand*, who were then at *Pilsen*; He is put and they immediately dispatched a messenger to the emperor, to the ban with an account of what they had learned touching this conspiracy. In consequence of this information, *Ferdinand* assembled the imperial council, in which *Walstein* was declared a rebel, and, with three or four of his accomplices, put to the ban of the empire. *Picolomini*, being charged with the execution of this decree, put himself at the head of a body of troops, and advanced towards *Pilsen*, with intent to seize the duke of *Fridland* and his partizans; while *Balthazar de Maradas* had orders to repair to *Prague*, and exact from the garrison and inhabitants a new oath of allegiance to the emperor, so as that the outlaw should find no shelter in that place².

WALSTEIN was not ignorant of these transactions, which gave him but little disturbance, because he thought he had made his party good among the Protestants, among whom he would be sure of finding protection, when every other resource should have failed: but in the mean time, as his scheme was not yet ripe, he resolved to try some expedients for removing the suspicion of the emperor; and, to shew that he was under no apprehension, he repaired to *Egra*, with no other attendants than the counts of *Tertski* and *Kinsky*, with two or three other officers. He looked upon this as the most secure and commodious place of retreat, because it was garrisoned by the *Irish* troops, who he imagined were intirely devoted to his interest, and at hand for carrying on his negotiation with the *Swedes*. Accordingly he was no sooner arrived in this place than he received a courier, with letters from the duke of *Saxony*, pressing him to a conference with the duke of *Weymar*, in order to settle the junction of their forces; and he was actually resolved to comply with his request. But *Lesley*, a *Scotch* officer, who admitted the courier, as captain of the guard, having dived into the substance of his dispatches, communicated his discovery to *Gordon* and *Butler*, who were colonels in the imperial service; and, as *Walstein* was a proclaimed outlaw, they determined to prevent the execution of his purpose, by depriving him of life without loss of time: where he his followers were likewise destined to the same fate, lest they should excite some disturbance on the death of their general. It was therefore agreed, that *Gordon* should invite the counts of *Tertski* and *Kinsky*, together with the other three officers, to supper; and that, upon a certain signal, they should be assassinated by a number of soldiers, who were instructed to rush in and sacrifice the guests. This barbarous scene was accord-

² BARRE, t. ix. p. 655.

ingly acted, to the disgrace of hospitality and the infamy of the perpetrators; who afterwards went to the apartment of *Walstein*, and broke open the door. At the noise, occasioned by their entering, he had started up from bed, and run towards a window, where *Butler* thrust a portuisan into his body, and he fell dead upon the spot, without having uttered one word^a. Thus died, at the age of fifty, the famous *Walstein* duke of *Fridland*, who had even shaken the fortune of the great *Gustavus*. Nothing could exceed his courage, but his ambition; for the gratification of which he would have renounced all obligations, human and divine. His death was a loss to the *Swedes*, whose party he would certainly have embraced; and, for that reason, an advantage to the Imperialists, whom he was on the point of betraying.

The duke of Saxe-Lauemburg is arrested and sent prisoner to Vienna.

FRANCIS ALBERT, duke of *Saxe-Lauemburg*, who enjoyed the confidence of *Walstein*, having next day entered *Egra*, without knowing what had happened, was arrested, and sent prisoner to *Vienna*; and *Bernard*, duke of *Saxe-Weymar*, going to the same place, had well nigh shared the same fate: but he was advised upon the road to retire with all expedition, and he did not neglect the intimation. The colonels *Spar* and *Ulefelt*, together with sixteen other officers, lost their heads, for having engaged in *Walstein's* conspiracy.

The rhingrave defeats a body of Imperialists and Lorrainers.

It was believed that the death of this general would produce great disturbance in the imperial army, because he was so much beloved by the soldiers; but the emperor had taken such precautions as prevented any consequence of this kind, except the revolt of the *Silesians*, who took up arms at the instigation of *Freiberg*, the lieutenant of *Walstein*; but they were soon reduced, and their chief sent prisoner to *Vienna*^b. True it is, duke *Bernard* surprised and cut in pieces one regiment of *Austrians*; but the Imperialists, in revenge, drove part of his forces out of the *Upper Palatinate*, and another body was dislodged from *Straubingen* by the *Bavarians*. However, *Gustavus Horn* made considerable progress in *Upper Swabia*, where he took the towns of *Kempten*, *Biberach*, and *Memmingen*, and gained some other considerable advantages over the enemy. About the same time the rhingrave defeated a body of Imperialists and *Lorrainers*, in an obstinate battle fought near *Watweiler*, and made himself master of divers places in *Upper Alsace*, and in the *Sundgau*: while *Lewis Schneidberg* took *Philipsburg* by famine, and *Alexander Lefty* drove the *Austrians* from *Landsberg*^c.

^a HEISS. l. iii. c. ix.

^b BARRE, t. ix. p. 658.

^c PUFFENDORF Introd. l. vi.

THE elector of Saxony had been a long time amused by the house of *Austria* with the hope of giving peace to the empire; but was at length undeceived, and ordered his troops to enter *Lusace*. In obedience to this order, *Frederic-William* of Saxony, duke of *Altemburg*, being joined by *Arnheim*, invested *Bauzen*, the garrison of which was commanded by colonel *Bauzen is Goltz*; who, finding himself besieged, ordered the suburbs to *reduced to* be set on fire. This proved a very unhappy step; for the *ashes.* flames being by an high wind conveyed to the town, it was reduced to ashes, seven hundred men lost their lives, and all the wealth and provisions of the place were consumed; so that the governor was obliged to capitulate^d.

THEN *Arnheim* undertook the siege of *Sittau* on the river *Arnheim Neiss*; and, hearing the Imperialists were in full march to at- *forces the* tack him in his lines, he resolved to be beforehand with them, *intrench-* and meet them half-way: their van being defeated, they were *ments of* obliged to retreat, and rejoin the main body of their army, *the Impe-* commanded by general *Colorado*, which, though advantage- *rialists.* ously posted and intrenched, *Arnheim* determined to attack. His success was equal to the boldness of the enterprize: after an action that lasted five hours, they were forced on all hands, and betook themselves to flight, some to *Lignitz*, and others towards *Glatz* in *Bohemia*, leaving six and thirty pair of colours, seven and twenty standards, nine pieces of cannon, two mortars, all their baggage and ammunition, and four thousand men upon the field, besides fourteen hundred who were taken prisoners; while the loss of the Saxons was altogether inconsiderable^e.

ARNHEIM, having obtained this victory, passed the *Oder*, took *Stenaw*, and made himself master of *Glogaw*, after a siege of fifteen days. Mean while, the Swedes proceeded with their operations in *Pomerania* and *Mecklenburg*. General *Bannier* invested *Frankfort* upon the *Oder*, which was surrendered, after a gallant defence, and put into the hands of the elector of *Brandenburg*. Then he advanced, at the head of seventeen thousand men, through *Silesia*, towards *Bohemia*; defeated a body of *Craats*, conquered *Fridland*, took possession of *Leutmeritz*, made himself master of *Melnick*, crossed the *Elbe* on a bridge of boats, and encamped at the foot of the *White Mountain* before *Prague*: here he was joined by the elector of Saxony and *Arnheim*, who had marched through *Misnia*, in order to make a diversion in favour of *Ratisbon*, at that time besieged by the *Austrians*. In their way they had taken *Sittau* by assault, and abandoned it to pillage. The *Austrians* having

^d PIACES. p. 470. . . . ^e KNEBERHULLER, t. xii. p. 1260. . . .

possessed themselves of the rising-grounds in the neighbourhood of the Saxon army, nothing passed on either side but small skirmishes for several days; when the elector, seeing it was impracticable to force the enemy from their post, and beginning to be in want of provision, thought proper to retire towards *Melnick*, near which place he fixed his camp.

The city of
Ratisbon
is taken by
the king of
Hungary.

THE affairs of the *Swedes* declined daily in *Bavaria*, when the siege of *Ratisbon* was still carried on by the king of *Hungary*, whom the emperor had declared generalissimo of his troops: here he was reinforced by the duke of *Bavaria*, and battered the place with one hundred pieces of cannon. In a word, this being the first enterprize of the new general, every step was taken to render it successful. On the other hand, the city was defended with incredible bravery and resolution by the *Swedish* commandant *Larsz Kogge*, who repulsed the imperialists in divers desperate assaults, and at last obtained a very honourable capitulation. *Bernard* duke of *Weymar* and *Gustavus Horn* had actually joined their forces, and were marching to the relief of the place, when they heard the disagreeable news of its being surrendered: they, at the same time, had the mortification to see their army harrassed by the bad roads, without being able to indulge it with proper refreshment and repose; because the *Austrians* were posted before *Nordlingen*, and had received a powerful reinforcement of *Spanish* troops from *Italy*, so that they threatened to strike some stroke of importance before they should be obliged to part; for these troops of *Spain* were destined for the *Low Countries*, and could only act in their passage thither.

THE *Swedes* took post near *Ropfinger* in a very commodious situation, having behind them the whole country of *Wurtemberg*, from whence they could be supplied with necessaries and refreshments. Here they might have securely waited until the *Spaniards* should have proceeded on their march, and then ventured a battle with the Imperialists, thus weakened: the worst consequence of this step would have been the loss of *Nordlingen*, which could not have been a matter of great consequence, especially as their affairs were in a prosperous condition in other countries. They had the upperhand in *Westphalia*: *Hildesheim* had surrendered to *George* duke of *Luneburg*, after he had defeated the enemy at *Sorstedt*. We have already mentioned the success of *Arnhem* and *Batavia*; and the rhingrave had reduced *Brisac* and *Rhinfeld* to the last extremity. *Horn* was therefore of opinion, that no unnecessary risque ought to be run, at least until the arrival of *Craze* and the rhingrave, who were actually on the march to join them with ten thousand men; but he was over-ruled by the other generals,

generals, who proposed that they should approach nearer to *Nordlingen*, and occupy the mountain *Arensterg*, from whence they might with more convenience succour the besieged. While this motion was agreed upon in the *Swedish* council of war, the Imperialists eagerly waited for an opportunity to engage; for their army was very numerous, and they were inspired with uncommon courage and alacrity by the presence of four princes; namely, the king of *Hungary*, the cardinal-infant, governor of the *Low Countries*, and the dukes of *Bohemia* and *Lorraine*.

On the fifteenth day of *September*, about five in the evening, the *Swedes* began the action, by charging eight squadrons of the imperial cavalry, who, after their general *Aldebrandin* was slain, retreated to a hill, where they were supported by the *Spanish* infantry. As this was an advantageous post, the duke of *Weymar* ordered it to be attacked; and, after a dispute which lasted till midnight, it was carried by the impetuosity of the *Swedes*, before whom the *Spaniards* retired to another hill, on which the imperial army was encamped. At break of day the *Swedish* army marched in order of battle, to force the intrenchments of the imperialists, which they charged with such fury, that the *Austrians* were put into disorder, and would, in all probability, have been routed, had not they been sustained by the *Spaniards* under *Martin D'Iraques*, who attacked the *Swedes* in their turn, and regained the ground which the *Germans* had lost. The duke of *Weymar*, who could not bear to see the victory so long in suspense, charged at the head of the left wing, a post defended by *Galar*, and the marquis de *Legantz*, who were driven backwards as far as the station of the king of *Hungary*, where they were supported by *Gambacarta*, with his *Neapolitan* and *Hungarian* horse, and rallying their troops, retrieved their loss, and broke that wing of the *Swedish* army. But the hottest of the battle was upon an hill, where *Charles* duke of *Lorraine*, and *John de Wert*, signalized themselves in very extraordinary acts of valour. Nor did the *Swedes* belie the reputation they had formerly acquired. *Bernard de Weymar* came to their assistance; and his presence inspired them with fresh courage; they redoubled their efforts, and though fatigued by the long duration of the battle, fought with incredible fury and perseverance, until, at length, they were obliged to yield to the number and fortune of the foe. The duke of *Lorraine* had the glory to win the duke of *Weymar's* standard with his own hand, and to break the hitherto invincible troops of that general. His

f PUFFENDORF Introd. l. vi.

cavalry

cavalry pursued those who fled; and the generals *Horn*, *Gratz*, *Hoffkirk*, *Rostock*, and several other officers of distinction, were taken prisoners: but the duke *de Weymar* had the good fortune to escape to *Wurtemberg*, with the greatest part of the *Swedish* cavalry; for the rhingrave, who was within three miles of the field, put himself in motion, and checked the pursuit of the Imperialists. Nevertheless, the *Swedes* lost eight thousand men, who were slain on the field; nine thousand were killed in their flight, and four thousand were taken prisoners; and they left behind them about four-score pieces of cannon, all their ammunition and baggage, and an infinite number of standards and colours, while the loss of the victors did not exceed two thousand men who fell in battle * (R).

which sur-
renders to
the victors,
who reduce
Suabia
and Fran-
conia.

Next day the garrison of *Nordlingen* surrendered at discretion; and the Imperialists profiting by their good fortune, subdued the greatest part of *Franconia*, and the whole circle of *Suabia*. *Hailbron* and *Heidelberg* opened their gates to the conquerors; the whole country of *Wurtemberg* was ravaged, and the duke obliged to take refuge in *Strasburg*, while *Charles of Lorrain* entered the *Brisgaw*, in conjunction with the *Bavarian* troops^h.

THE news of this defeat overwhelmed *Oxenstiern* with chagrin, especially as the league of *Hailbron* had, in a manner, vanished in smoke. The confederates were now reduced to despair, and loudly exclaimed against the *Swedes*, as the authors of those calamities they were destined to undergo. The chancellor, however, would not suffer himself to be totally dejected, but resolved to repair this misfortune by all the means in his power: for this purpose he endeavoured to gain time, and engage the *French* in the war; foreseeing, that should he be so lucky as to accomplish this aim, he might be able to obtain a tolerable peace from the emperor. For this reason he would not retire and abandon *Upper Germany* to the Imperialists, according to the advice of some who pretended to be his friends; nor indeed was he as yet without resource. The

* STRUV. per. x. sect. ix. p. 3026. HEISS. l. iii. c. ix.
^h, BARRE, t. ix. p. 666.

(R) *Puffendorf* attributes the loss of the battle to the *Polish* and *Hungarian* cavalry, and *Croats*, who rushed upon the *Swedish* ranks without order, and bore them down by meer weight of men and horse, so that the main body of the imperial army charged them while they were yet in confusion. *Introd. l. vi.*

troops

troops commanded by *George* duke of *Lunenburg*, *William* landgrave of *Hesse*, as well as those under the conduct of *Bannier*, and the rhingrave, had hitherto received no check, and were sufficient to cope with the enemy, had the confederates been firmly united: besides the cavalry, which did not suffer much in the last battle, had rallied in the neighbourhood of *Frankfort* upon the *Maine*.

NOTWITHSTANDING these sources of encouragement, it must be owned their affairs were in a very melancholy situation. The elector of *Saxony*, far from bestirring himself for the common interest, employed his whole attention in obtaining an exclusive peace. The other confederates acted so coldly and so slowly, as to allow the Imperialists to penetrate into the heart of *Germany*, and hinder the junction of the allies; and those members of the league who were more remote, gave but little heed to the exhortations of the chancellor. To crown the misfortune, the troops began to clamour for their pay, which could not be raised; and the *Austrians*, passing the *Rhine* at *Mentz*, cantoned themselves in that neighbourhood, where they soon consumed all the forage and provisions.

The elector of Saxony negotiates a separate peace.

IN this emergency their only support was the king of *France*, whose interest was certainly concerned in this affair: for had the *Swedes* been oppressed, the Imperialists would not have failed to invade that kingdom with all their forces. With a view therefore to render that monarch the more propitious, the *Swedish* chancellor put him in possession of *Philipsburg*, and earnestly solicited the *marechal de la Force*, to advance with his army, in order to facilitate the re-union and disposition of the *Swedish* troops which had been defeated and dispersed. At the same time ambassadors were sent into *France*, to induce the king, by the most pressing instances, to declare war against the emperor.

THE rhingrave, who knew the condition of *Alsace*, proposed that *Colmar* and *Schelestadt* should likewise be ceded to the *French*, that he might draw from these places sixteen companies of infantry, and two troops of horse, which, when joined to his little army, would enable him to keep the field; and this scheme was actually put in execution, by an agreement between the *Swedes* and *de la Force*^k; but death surprized the rhingrave, while he was employed in measures for putting *Alsace* in a posture of defence, and in him the Protestant party lost a very brave and fortunate general.

The death of Otho the rhingrave.

^a PUFFENDORF, rer. Suec. l. vi.

^k Recueil de

Traité, t. iii. p. 359.

IMMEDIATELY after this event a treaty was concluded at *Paris* between *France* and *Sweden*; in consequence of which the whole province of *Alsace* was put as a deposit under the protection of his most Christian majesty, who engaged to maintain a considerable army on that side the *Rhine*, to advance money for the pay and accoutrements of the *Swedish* cavalry, and to break with the emperor, as soon as he should be assured that the electors of *Saxony* and *Brandenburg*, with the princes and states of the Protestant league, would not conclude either treaty or truce with the common enemy, except in concert with him and his confederates¹.

A. D.
1635.

THIS convention being made, the king of *France* sent fresh troops into *Alsace*, with the marechal *de Breze*, to act in concert with *de la Force*; and these two generals posted ten thousand men in the mountains of *Voge*, to line the skirts of that province: but notwithstanding this precaution, the *Lorrainers* surprized the *Swedish* garrison at *Thau*, though the marquis *de la Force* soon obliged them to retreat with the loss of their cannon. But this small dawn of success did not indemnify the *French* for the loss of *Philipsburg*, which *Galas*, general of the imperial troops, took by surprize, and found in it a well-furnished magazine of cannon and ammunition, a prize of such importance, as even equalled a victory in the field^m. He afterwards made himself master of *Spire*, in which he placed a strong garrison, under the command of the baron *de Metternich*: but notwithstanding the rigour of the winter season, the *French* marechals, with a reinforcement of the duke of *Weymar*'s troops, invested the place, which was surrendered upon capitulation. The governor and principal officers were made prisoners, and the garrison enlisted under the banners of the duke of *Weymar*, who was created governor of the place, and, for his greater convenience, allowed to quarter his troops in *Landau*, *Weissamburg*, and *Germerheim*.

By these precautions, *Lower Alsace* was secured, though the upper part of that province was very much harrassed by the duke of *Lorraine*, who had passed the *Rhine* at *Brisack*, and threatened to take *Strasburg* and *Rhinfeld* by surprize or assault. His schemes, however, were baffled by the vigilance and activity of the duke *de Rohan*, who compelled him three times to repass the *Rhine*, and took such measures as absolutely secured *Upper Alsace* from all his attempts. Hitherto *France* had only employed her arms for the defence of her

¹ BARRE, t. ix. p. 668.
a l' An. 1635.

^m Mercur. Franc. t. xx.

allies, without having directly committed any acts of hostility upon the house of *Austria*: but now she had interested herself so far in the concerns of the *Swedes* and Protestants, that she waited for nothing but a pretence to declare openly against the emperor, and at this period a favourable opportunity occurred. This was no other than the violent seizure of *Philip-Christopher de Sotern*, elector of *Triers*, who was by the emperor and the infant *Ferdinand*, committed prisoner to the castle of *Tewes* near *Brussels*, after they had taken possession of his cityⁿ. *Lewis* loudly complained of this outrage offered to his ally, and ordered his resident at *Brussels* to demand of the infant cardinal, the elector's liberty, and the restitution of his dominions: when he received for answer, that the cardinal could not comply with his desire, until he should have first of all consulted the court of *Vienna*. The king of *France* considered this as a refusal; and having other reasons to be disgusted at the *Spaniards*, who had in several articles infringed the peace of *Vervins*, he took the present opportunity of declaring war against *Spain*, by an herald sent to *Brussels* for that purpose. Yet he did not involve himself in such an important quarrel before he had concluded an offensive and defensive league with the states-general of the United Provinces^o; and sent *Feuquieres* to treat with the deputies of the circles of *Suabia*, *Franconia*, the *Upper* and *Lower Rhine*, who were assembled at *Worms*; where, after mature deliberation, they engaged to the most Christian king to act with all possible vigour for the interest of the common cause; and they intreated his majesty to take into his pay the army of the circles, consisting of seven thousand foot and four thousand horse, under the command of the duke of *Weymar*.

Cause of the war between France and the house of Austria.

ON the other hand, the court of *Vienna* still continued to negotiate with the elector of *Saxony*, who had some time ago resolved to effect an accommodation with the house of *Austria*. The deputies were actually assembled at *Pirn* in *Misnia*, together with those of *George* landgrave of *Hesse-Darmstadt*; and the conferences spun out to a considerable length of time, by disputes touching the restitution of ecclesiastical effects and dignities, which had been seized by the Protestants. At length, after much altercation, they agreed to assemble at *Prague*, where the treaty was concluded, and signed on the thirtieth day of *May*; and the articles were to this effect: "That the mediate ecclesiastical benefices, or those which

The duke of Saxony concludes the treaty of Prague with the emperor.

ⁿ ADLZREIT. part iii. l. xx. num. xxvi. recon. t. viii. p. 224.

^o SIRI Mem.

" seized

“ seized before the pacification of *Passau*, should continue for
 “ ever the property of those Protestants who at present en-
 “ joyed them; and that for the space of forty years the
 “ Protestants should remain possessed of the immediate eccle-
 “ siastical benefices, of which they had made themselves
 “ masters before or after the said transaction at *Passau*, and
 “ actually enjoyed before the twelfth day of *November* in
 “ the year one thousand six hundred and twenty-seven. That
 “ the exercise of the Catholic and Protestant religion should
 “ be freely permitted in all the dominions of the empire, ex-
 “ cept the kingdom of *Bohemia* and the provinces subject to
 “ the house of *Austria*. That the duke of *Bavaria* should
 “ be maintained in possession of the *Palatinate*, on condition
 “ of paying the jointure of *Frederic’s* widow, and a proper
 “ subsistence for his son, whenever he should return to his
 “ duty. That there should be between the emperor and the
 “ confederates of the *Augsburg* confession, who would sign
 “ this treaty, a mutual restitution of every thing which had
 “ been taken on both sides since the irruption of *Gustavus*
 “ into the empire. That the duke of *Lorrain* should retrieve
 “ what he had lost; and if the king of *France*, or any other
 “ prince, should persist in retaining his fiefs, the house of
 “ *Austria* and the princes acceding to this treaty should join
 “ their forces to do him justice. That the fortress of *Philipp-
 “ burg* should remain in the hands of the emperor, for the
 “ service of the *Germanic* body. And, finally, that the states
 “ subscribing the present treaty should enjoy a general am-
 “ nesty p.”

THIS is the substance of the peace of *Prague*, which was
 proposed as a sure expedient for re-uniting all the states of
Germany, and was actually signed by *William* duke of *Saxe-
 Weimar*, the dukes of *Lunenbourg* and *Mecklenbourg*, the princes
 of *Anhalt*, the cities of *Nuremberg*, *Ulm*, *Donawert*, *Frank-
 fort*, upon the *Maine*, and some other states of the empire,
 won, by the insinuations of the court of *Vienna*. In conse-
 quence of this accommodation, the archbishopric of *Mag-
 deburg*, with the domains of *Jurfart*, *Guttembock*, *Trama*,
 and *Borgium*, were restored to *Augustus*, son of the elector of
Saxony, on condition that he should pay annually a certain
 sum to *John-William* marquis of *Brandenburg*. The dukes
 of *Mecklenbourg* were re-established in their dominions: *Wal-
 fembuttle*, *Nienburg*, and their dependencies, were given back
 to the duke of *Lunenbourg*: *Donawert* had the promise of be-
 ing reinstated in the enjoyment of its former liberty, as soon

as it should have paid to the elector of *Bavaria* the expences of the war, as stipulated in the treaty. The hereditary pacts subsisting between the houses of *Saxony*, *Brandenburg*, and *Hesse*, were confirmed : his imperial majesty engaged to withdraw his troops from the places belonging to those who should sign the treaty, and, by a particular deed, ceded to the duke of *Saxony* the sovereignty of *Upper* and *Lower Lusatia* ¹.

¹ LUNIG. part. Spec. p. 127.

C H A P. XIX.

Progress of the War till the Renewal of the Treaty between France and Sweden.

BY these measures the emperor thought he had placed such bounds to the power of the states in *Germany*, that they would never be able to oppose his authority for the future ; but as this act was no other than a compulsive submission, which necessity obliged them to make, they did not think themselves bound to observe it when they recovered their strength ; and accordingly in the treaties of *Westphalia*, concluded in the reign of *Ferdinand* the third, we find them insisting upon an alteration in several articles, and obtaining privileges which this emperor would never have granted.

THE town of *Strasburg* dreading the resentment of *France*, *Strasburg* excused itself from submitting to the peace of *Prague* ; and, refuses to notwithstanding the menaces of the king of *Hungary*, deter- sign the mined to observe a neutrality until it should see to what side treaty, and fortune would incline : but the regency of *Colmar* openly es- Colmar poused the articles of *Hailbron*, and admitted a *French* garri- receives a son, after *Lewis* had obliged himself by treaty, to maintain its French privileges, on condition that the Catholics should enjoy the garrison. free exercise of their religion ¹.

THE treaty of *Prague* would have certainly completed the destruction of the *Swedish* forces in *Germany*, if *France* had not made great efforts to support them. *Lewis* the thirteenth began to levy forces with great diligence, so as to compose several considerable armies ; the first and greatest of which he sent into the *Low Countries*, under the marechals *de Chatillon* and *Breze* ; the second marched into *Lorraine* with *la Force* ;

¹ BARRÉ, t. ix. p. 676.

the third took the route of the *Milanese*, under the command of the *marechal de Crequy*; the duke de Rohan, the fourth into the *Valteline*; and the fifth acted upon the *Rhine*, under the orders of the duke de *Weymar*, until the king should appoint another general (S).

THE emperor, in order to oppose the operations of the *French*, sent thither general *Galas*, at the head of a powerful army, with orders to join the duke of *Lorraine*, who intended to besiege *Colmar*, and had already made himself master of almost all the towns in the neighbourhood of that place; but the severity of the season, and the orders which *John de Wert* and *Merci* received to act on the other side of the *Rhine*, defeated the duke's projects, and obliged him to repass that river. In the month of *May*, however, he appeared at the head of twelve thousand men, with design to enter *Burgundy*, and marched to *Montbeliard*, which he invested; but he was obliged to raise the siege on the approach of the duke de la *Force*, who fell upon him in his retreat, and defeated his rear: so that the check, and the fatigues he underwent in retiring towards *Belfort*, reduced his army to four thousand men, and disabled him from attempting any new enterprise.

MEAN while *Galas*, the imperial general, fixed his headquarters at *Worms*, from whence he sent detachments to ravage the country, and surprize the towns that were garrisoned by the *Swedes*. *Mentz* was blocked up by the count de *Mansfeld*; and though the preservation of this place was of the utmost importance to the *Swedes*, by securing their communication with both sides of the *Rhine*, *Bernard* was in no condition to raise the blockade. He was still more interested in preserving *Kaiser-louter*, where he had deposited all the booty he had taken since the beginning of the war; but this place, though defended with great obstinacy in several assaults, until the greatest part of the garrison fell in the breach, was at length taken by storm by the Imperialists, who put every soul to the sword, and indemnified themselves for the loss they had sustained, with the riches of the duke de *Weymar*.

GALAS afterwards undertook the siege of *Deux-ponts*; but in the month of *August*, the cardinal de *Valette*, at the head of eighteen thousand *French*, entered *Germany*, and joining the duke of *Weymar* near *Binghen*, these two generals made themselves masters of this place, then marched to the relief of *Mentz*, which they revictualled, after having forced the lines

(S) This was *Bernard* duke the treaty of *Prague*, to which of *Saxe-Weymar*, younger brother of *William*, who had signed *Bernard* would never accede.

of

Kaiser-louter is taken by the Imperialists.

of the count *de Mansfeld* (T); and lastly, compelled *Galas* to abandon the siege of *Deux-ponts* *.

THE *French* having no other obstacles to surmount, marched towards *Frankfort*, in order to prevent the regency from acceding to the treaty of *Prague*; but, failing in their attempt, they put a strong garrison in *Saxenhausen*, and returning encamped under the cannon of *Mentz*. While they remained in this situation, *Galas* having assembled an army of thirty thousand men in the neighbourhood of *Worms*, ordered the marquis *de Gonzague* to occupy *Sarbruck*, and several other places, so as to hinder all convoys from arriving in the camp of the allies; by which means they were reduced to such extremity, and provisions sold at such an excessive price, that the imperial soldiers went thither to sell bread, though at the hazard of their lives†. In this emergency the generals resolved to decamp, and leaving four thousand men in *Mentz*, repassed the *Rhine* at *Binghen* on a bridge of boats, as if their route had been to *Coblentz*. This step, however, was not taken until the duke *de Weymar* had ordered his cannon to be buried, and all his superfluous baggage to be burnt. As the intention of the confederates was to retire into the three bishoprics of *Lorraine*, they marched night and day without refreshment or repose, with a view to reach *Vaudervange*, where there was a *French* garrison. *Galas*, who had crossed the river at *Worms*, in order to pursue them in their retreat, overtook them with his cavalry on the river *Glänn*, between *Odernheim* and *Messenheim*, where the *French* and *Swedes* facing about, repulsed the Imperialists. *Galas*, not at all discouraged by this check, put himself at the head of nine thousand horse, traversed the dutchy of *Deux-ponts*, passed the *Sarre*, entered *Lorraine*, and waited for the allies in a défile between *Vaudervange* and *Bou-lai*, where a very obstinate engagement ensued, in which the imperial cavalry was routed. The *French* retired to *Pont a ter an ob-Mousson*, and the *Swedes* to *Vie* and *Moyenvie*, with the wreck of their armies, which were now greatly reduced. Mean while *Galas*, who was still at the head of a strong body, made himself master of *Vaudervange*, and encamped near *Zagermunde*, between the *Sarre* and the *Wilde*, that he might be at hand to join the duke of *Lorraine*.

The French and Swedes are in great distress for want of provisions.

They decamp, and are pursued by the Imperialists, whom they repulse obstinately.

* BARRE Hist. t. ix. p. 678. † PUFFENDORF, l. viii. sect. lxxxviii. Memoires DE MONGLAT. t. i.

(T) This count *de Mansfeld* troops, and must not be confounded with *Ernest* count *de Mansfeld*, who died in 1626.

DURING these transactions the marquis *de Saint Chaumont*, who had been sent by the king of *France* into *Germany*, exerted himself with such address, as prevented several states of the empire from signing the peace of *Prague*. He made an agreement with the circles of *Suabia*, *Franconia*, and the *Rhine*, importing, that his most Christian majesty, over and above the sums payable to the confederates, should maintain on this side of the *Rhine* an army of twelve thousand men, to be joined by the troops belonging to the Protestant states, in order to subdue the cities on the other side of the *Rhine* as far as *Constance*, and reduce *Alsace*, with all the towns of that province, under the protection of *France* ^u.

The king
of France
concludes
a treaty
with the
duke de
Weymar,

A. D.
1636.

who takes
the city of
Saverne.

IN the month of *October* the duke *de Weymar*, [by his agent at *Paris*, concluded a treaty with cardinal *Richelieu*, in which it was stipulated, that, in consideration of a certain yearly sum the duke should maintain an army of eighteen thousand men, which he should command in person, as general of the troops belonging to the *German* princes in alliance with the *French* king, to whom he should take the oath of allegiance: that *Lewis* should cede in his favour all his pretensions upon *Alsace*, and, in case of a treaty with the emperor, use all his influence to obtain for the duke the title of landgrave of that province, or some equivalent, and engage to indulge him for life with a pension of fifty thousand crowns, payable at the commencement of the peace ^x. This convention being ratified by the duke, who went to *Paris* for that purpose, and measures being taken with cardinal *Richelieu* for the ensuing campaign, he, in the beginning of summer, repaired to *Lorraine*, where his army was; and having surprised the castle of *Hohenbaar*, joined *La Valette*, in order to besiege *Saverne*, which the marquis *de Grana* had taken towards the end of the last year. They accordingly invested the place, which made a gallant defence, in hope of being relieved by *Galas*, who promised to march against the besiegers; but he halted at *Drusenheim*, perceiving that it would be impracticable to succour the town, which surrendered about the beginning of *July* ^y. Immediately after this conquest, the duke and the cardinal took measures for preventing an irruption into *Franche-comté*, which was threatened by the duke of *Lorraine*, the imperial general, and the *Spaniards*, who were already joined for that purpose, to the number of forty thousand men. The cardinal and the duke omitted nothing that could obstruct and harass them in their march; and their efforts were so success-

^u Recueil de Traités de Paix.
t. viii. p. 340.

^x SIRI. Memor. record.
^y PUFFENDORF, l. viii. n. xlv.

ful, that *Galas* lost above seven thousand men before he entered *Burgundy*: nevertheless, he arrived at *Mirabeau*, and about the end of *October* undertook the siege of *St. Jean de Laone*, which he was fain to abandon, in consequence of the overflowing of the waters, and continual rains, which rendered the approaches to the place quite inaccessible. He therefore retired into *Franche-comté*, whither he was close followed by the viscount *de Turenne*, and the count *de Rantzau*; and towards the end of *November* arrived at *Besançon*, after having lost above five thousand men, and the greatest part of his baggage, in this retreat.

WHILE the duke of *Weymar* carried on his operations in *Franche-comté*, general *Bannier*, whose army was augmented by twelve thousand *Prussians*, being ordered by *Oxenstiern* to attack the *Saxons*, surprised their quarters near *Parkein* in *Mecklenburg*, cut in pieces five regiments of horse, and took a number of officers, together with a great quantity of baggage; so that the elector was fain to relinquish his camp, and go and join *Maracini*, who commanded the imperial troops in *Pomerania* ². He was, however, close pursued by the *Swede*, *The elector* who took *Havelsberg* in sight of both armies, and gained several other considerable advantages over them while he ^{of Saxony} *besieges and* camped in their neighbourhood; but these small checks did ^{takes Mag-} not hinder the elector from besieging *Magdeburg*, after he was ^{deburg,} reinforced by a body of *Austrian* troops, commanded by *Hasfeld*. The place was defended with great resolution until the breach was practicable, and the horn-work actually taken by assault; when the garrison, despairing of relief, obtained an honourable capitulation, and were escorted to *Verden*, where *Bannier* lay encamped; while the regency took the oath of allegiance to the elector, who promised to maintain them in the enjoyment of their antient privileges ³. Elated with this success, the *Saxon* resolved to attack the *Swedish* army; but receiving intelligence that it was reinforced, he changed his design, and detached general *Hasfeld*, with a body of troops, ^{and sur-} to surprize *Tangermunde*, the territory of which was plun- ^{prises Tan-} dered with great barbarity. ^{germunde.}

BEING afterwards joined by *Maracini*, and a reinforcement under *George* duke of *Lunenbourg*, he approached the *Swedish* camp, in order to provoke *Bannier* to a general action; but the two armies having faced one another for a long time, that general retired to the dutchy of *Mecklenburg*, and encamped at *Parkein*, whither he was followed by the *Saxons*,

² CIBANITZ, l. 4. p. 957.
p. 198.

³ KHEVENHULLER, t. xii.

who intrenched themselves in a forest within a league of the enemy. While they continued in this situation, *Maracin* returned to the siege of *Stargard*, which he had before undertaken without success, and took it by assault, notwithstanding the vigorous defence of the *Swedes*, who lost a number of soldiers and officers on this occasion.

THE war between this nation and the house of *Austria* was likewise maintained with great spirit and obstinacy in *Gerawerland*. The *Swedes*, under general *Lefly*, over-ran the country of *Darmstadt*; from whence, however, they were obliged to retire on the arrival of the marquis *de Grana* and general *Goeutz*. Nevertheless, with the help of the *Hessians* their allies, they took *Amneburg*, belonging to the elector of *Mentz*, and besieged *Stadberg*, in the dominions of the archbishop of *Cologn*. On the other hand, the *Austrian* generals made themselves masters of *Homburg*, though they in vain attempted to subdue the citadel; and ravaged the whole country of *Hesse-Cassel*, except *Zegenheim* and the capital: while the landgrave, to revenge these outrages, joined *Lefly*, and, entering *Westphalia*, subdued *Paderborn*^b.

The elector of Saxony and general Hasfeld are defeated by the Swedes in the plain of Wislock.

THE Imperialists, commanded by the elector of *Saxony* and *Hasfeld*, and the *Swedes* under *Bannier*, were not long in the neighbourhood of each other without coming to a general action. After having watched the motions of one another for some time, they halted at length in the plain of *Wislock*, where both were drawn up in order of battle. The imperial camp was upon an hill, fortified with fourteen redoubts, under which the army stood in battalia; and *Bannier*, being desirous of drawing them from this advantageous post, ordered part of his cavalry to advance and skirmish. At the approach of the *Swedes*, the *Austrians* changed their order; their infantry retiring upon the hill, being flanked on both sides by their cavalry, while the rear was closed up with waggons. Then *Bannier* ordered colonel *Gun*, who commanded the right wing, to march and attack the enemy; and he himself, at the head of five brigades, advanced to support him; while general *Stalans* with the left wing wheeled round the hill, in order to charge the Imperialists in flank. These attacks were performed with such fury, that almost all the *Austrian* and *Saxon* infantry were either slain or taken; and *Stalans*, who pursued their cavalry for three days, returned with a considerable number of prisoners: so that of twenty thousand men, that composed the imperial army, scarce three thousand escaped to *Magdeburg*. Five or six thousand fell in the field, or in the flight; seven

^b PUFFENDORF, l. viii. sect. xxxvii.

thousand were taken; and three or four thousand, having dispersed themselves, would never engage again in the service: as for the elector of *Saxony*, he escaped by the way of *Mecklenburg* to *Leipsick*. In this battle, which was fought on the fourth day of *October*, the *Swedes* gained a considerable booty, over and above thirty pieces of cannon and eighteen thousand waggons, the greatest part of which were loaded with provision, ammunition, and baggage. The fortress of *Werben* opened its gates to the conquerors, and the garrison, consisting of two thousand men, enlisted in the service of *Sweden*^c.

WHILE the *Austrian* generals thus prosecuted the war in *Saxony*, *Westphalia*, *Hesse*, and *Alsace*, the emperor, in person, held a diet in *Ratisbon*, which was opened on the fifteenth day of *August*, and at which were present the electors of *Mentz*, *Cologne*, and *Bavaria*, with the deputies of *Saxony* and *Brandenburg*: as for the elector of *Triers*, he was still detained a prisoner. *Ferdinand's* chief aim in this assembly being to secure the imperial throne to his son, he sent four articles to the diet, as the subject of its deliberations, importing, that as he was now well-stricken in years, and felt his strength sensibly decay, he wished they would proceed to the election of a new king of the *Romans*; that they would determine the fate of the elector of *Triers*; that they would take measures for a vigorous continuation of the war, in order to re-establish the peace of the empire; and that, as the states of *Germany* were not present at this meeting, they would consider whether or not it would be necessary to convoke a general diet next year at *Nuremberg*.

The emperor con-
vokes a
diet at
Ratisbon.

ALTHOUGH the emperor had secured the suffrages of *Bavaria*, *Saxony*, *Brandenburg*, *Bohemia*, and *Mentz*, and signified that they should begin with the election, and postpone the pacification of the empire to another assembly, the deputies of the Protestant electors refused to proceed to the election, until the emperor should promise to give peace to *Germany*, as soon as it should be in his power: and they even wanted to stipulate, that, notwithstanding *Ferdinand's* being chosen king of the *Romans*, he should not be crowned before that desirable event. It was in consequence of these remonstrances that the emperor summoned an assembly at *Cologne*, in order to deliberate upon the preliminaries; and actually nominated his commissaries for that purpose, while the Catholic electors, princes, and states, promised to send thither their deputies to facilitate the work. At the same time he called another assembly at *Hamburgh*, where the Protestants and their allies might freely

^c Id. ibid.

revolve and debate upon the same subject; on condition, that neither convention should come to any conclusion, without having first communicated their resolution to the other: for, should this correspondence fail, he would not ratify their transactions^d.

Ferdinand
is elected
king of the
Romans.

THESE points being settled, *Ferdinand* king of *Hungary* was elected king of the *Romans* on the twelfth day of *December*, and crowned on the twentieth of the same month, together with his wife *Maria*, the infanta of *Spain*^e. But this new dignity was not immediately acknowledged by all the princes of *Germany* and foreign powers: the king of *France*, in particular, maintained, that an election performed without the concurrence of the elector of *Triers*, against whom no criminal process had been instituted, was contrary to the *Golden Bull*, and the fundamental laws of the empire. Nevertheless, it was in a little time received and held as good and lawful through every part of *Germany*.

A. D.
1637.

Charles I.
king of
England
demands
the re-esta-
blishment
of the count
palatine,
who pub-
lishes a
manifesto
against the
emperor.

CHARLES the first, king of *England*, had sent the earl of *Arundel* as his ambassador to the emperor, with pressing solicitations in favour of his nephew, *Lewis* count-palatine; but this affair being referred to the future assembly at *Cologne*, the earl returned to *London*, and *Charles* resolved to go more politically to work. He was persuaded, that the house of *Austria* eagerly longed to wrest *Lorraine* from the king of *France*, and was extremely apprehensive of *England's* engaging in a league with his most Christian majesty and the states-general of the *United Provinces*. In this conviction, he sent the earl of *Leicester* to the court of *Vienna*, with orders to threaten the emperor with this projected alliance, in case he should still refuse to do justice to the young count-palatine; but he was still amused with general promises, because indeed *Ferdinand* saw it would be impracticable to satisfy both the palatine and the duke of *Bavaria*. *Charles-Lewis* published a manifesto and protestation, dated at *London*; the first containing an ample refutation of the proceedings against *Frederic*, king of *Bohemia*; and the other implying a juridical act and protest against every step which had been taken to the prejudice of that prince and his family, as well as against the election of the king of the *Romans*, to which he ought to have been called as an elector^f.

The death
of Ferdi-
nand II.

IN all probability these papers were never seen by *Ferdinand* the second, who, after a troublesome reign of eighteen years, died at *Vienna* on the fifteenth day of *February*, in the fiftieth

^d BARRE, t. ix. p. 690.

^f KHEVENHULLER, t. xii. p. 2264.

^e STRUV. per. x. sect. x,

and ninth year of his age⁵. Notwithstanding the eulogiums which have been so lavishly bestowed upon this prince by Roman Catholic historians, he seems to have been born for the misfortune of his country; as it cannot be denied that the empire was involved in all the calamities of civil war by his pride, ambition, and bigotted attachment to the religion of Rome, which indeed seems to have been the only distinguishing part of his character (U). In other respects, his personal talents were mean and contemptible; and all the success of his arms was intirely owing to the capacity of his generals, some of whom were very ill requited for their services.

THE death of *Ferdinand* was soon followed by that of *George Bogislaus*, duke of *Pomerania*, the last prince of that family, which had subsisted about seven hundred years successively in the male line; so that the dutchy devolved to the elector of *Brandenburg*, by virtue of a treaty in force between the two houses: but the *Swedes* having, before the duke's decease, made themselves masters of the greatest part of *Pomerania*, he could not enjoy it on account of the war, and his pretensions were not regulated until the treaties of *Westphalia* took place⁶.

⁵ KHRVENHULLER, t. xii. p. 2361.
p. 696.

⁶ BARRE, t. ix.

(U) At the age of twenty, *Ferdinand* made a vow before the image of the Virgin at *Loretto*, to drive the Protestants from *Styria*, *Carintbia*, and *Car-niola*, at the hazard of his life. He afterwards, when turned of forty, repeated this vow at *Marienzell*, against the Protestants of *Bohemia* and the depending provinces. About eight years before his death, he took a solemn oath to protect the Roman Catholic religion, and invited his prime minister to lay himself under the same obligation. All these vows he performed with the utmost zeal, by which he acquired the appellation of the apostolic emperor. He mar-

ried first *Anne-Maria*, daughter of *William* duke of *Bavaria*; and afterwards *Eleonora*, daughter of *Vincent* duke of *Mantua*, by whom he had no children. By the first, however, he had six, four of whom survived him; namely, *Ferdinand* the third, his successor; *Leopold-William*, who was bishop of *Passau*, *Strasburg*, *Halberstadt*, *Olmütz*, and *Breslau*, grand-master of the *Teutonic* order, and afterwards governor of the *Low Countries*; *Mary-Anne*, wife of *Maximilian*, elector of *Bavaria*; and *Cecilia-Renée*, married to *Uladislaus*, king of *Poland*. Heiff. l. iii. c. ix.

F E R D I N A N D III.

Ferdi-
nand III.
succeeds to
the impe-
rial throne.

WAR had desolated *Germany* during the whole reign of *Ferdinand* the second, whereas that of his successor was mostly consumed in intrigue and negotiation.

THE conferences at *Hamburg* were productive of no solid consequence, as neither the *French*, *Swedes*, nor *Dutch*, would send deputies thither; for they firmly believed that nothing could be determined without the consent of the Catholic league; and, in the mean time, both sides made vigorous preparations for continuing the war.

The Impe-
rialists
take Her-
menstein.

AT the solicitation of the archbishops of *Mentz* and *Cologne*, who were incommoded by the neighbourhood of a *French* garrison, *John de Wart* invested *Hermenstein*, upon which the Imperialists had more than once made fruitless attempts; and *Saladie*, who commanded in the place, took all the necessary precautions of holding out as long as possible, that the duke of *Saxe-Weymar* might have time to march to his relief: but this general being otherwise employed by cardinal *Richelieu*, who was this year obliged to neglect the affairs of *Germany*, in some measure, in order to oppose the *Spaniards*; and *William* landgrave of *Hesse-Cassel* being kept in awe by the marquis de *Grana*, so that he durst not abandon his own dominions: for these reasons, I say, *Saladie*, despairing of succour, and being reduced to great extremity, demanded a capitulation. It was agreed, that the elector of *Cologne* should be put in possession of the place, and keep it until the archbishop of *Trier* should be set at liberty; and that the *French* garrison should be conducted to *Orsoy*, a town belonging to the states-general.

The duke
of Wey-
mar routs
Merci.

DURING this transaction, the duke of *Weymar* advanced into *Franche-comté*; and the passage of the *Saone* being disputed by the duke of *Lorraine*, who had detached *Merci* with his whole cavalry on that service, *Weymar* gave him battle on the thirteenth day of *June*, put him to flight, after having slain eight hundred of his men, and took one thousand prisoners, with twice the number of horses, and the whole baggage and standards of the detachment. *Merci*, having rallied his troops, was resolved to retrieve his honour in another action; when the rhingrave *John-Philip* falling upon him, cut in pieces one half of his forces, and pursued the rest as far as *Vezoul*¹.

¹ Mercur. Franc. t. xxii.

AFTER this action, duke *Bernard* reduced the castle of *Leure*, entered *Alsace*, and, building a bridge of boats, passed the *Rhine* about six leagues above *Strasburg*. Then he ordered *Schoembach* to take possession of a large island in that river, opposite to *Rhinaw*, and raise a kind of fort for the security of his men: there he was attacked by general *de Wert*, who nevertheless abandoned his enterprize, finding that this body had received a considerable reinforcement. Though the duke was now master of the banks of the *Rhine*, which he passed on a bridge of boats, and encamped between that river and the *Eltz*, a whole month elapsed without his being able to make any considerable progress, because *de Wert* would never risque a general action; and then, understanding that the duke of *Lorraine* had entered *Alsace*, and that the *Bavarian* army was reinforced by the duke *de Savelli*, he resolved to repass the *Rhine*: but, in order to preserve his bridge, he raised several forts in the island of *Weittenweyer*, where he left colonel *Manicamp* and the *French* troops, whom, after his departure, *de Wert* intirely defeated, and compelled to surrender at discretion. This check, however, was not of consequence enough to disconcert the duke of *Weimar*, who was about this time much more embarrassed by the death of his friend *William* The death landgrave of *Hesse-Cassel*, who had actually formed the design of the of re-establishing the *Palatine* family, by means of the league landgrave between *France*, *Sweden*, and the *United Provinces*: he had of Hesse- repaired to *Holland*, in order to engage the states-general in *Cassel*. the interests of the young elector; and, having finished his negotiation, set out from the *Hague* for *Vesel*, where he signed a treaty of confederation with *Saint Chaumont*, minister of *France*. But he was seized with a fever at *Leer* near *Emden*, where he died, to the infinite regret of the *Protestants*, who in him lost their firmest support and most zealous defender^k.

THE duke of *Weymar* was sensibly afflicted by his death, which he was afraid would discourage the *Protestants* that were attached to the family of *Hesse*; but by his singular address he soon confirmed those that began to waver; and, without staying till the winter should be past, quitted his quarters about the latter end of *January*, in order to take advantage of the enemy's inaction. Having loaded a waggon with two fishing-boats, he marched to *Stein*, a little town at a league's distance from *Basil*, and, crossing the *Rhine* with some troops, attacked and reduced *Seckingen*, one of the forest-towns: then he detached colonel *Schoembach* with a part of the army towards

A. D.
1638.

^k DUMONT. t. ix. part i. p. 128.

The duke
de Wey-
mar de-
feats the
Imperial-
ists.

Lauffemburg, which made no resistance: *Waldsbüt* submitted; and *Rhinfeld* being now the only forest-town that remained untaken¹, the duke resolved to besiege it in form. It was accordingly invested; and the trenches being opened on the seventh day of *February*, the works were carried on with such vigour, that it was supposed the place could not long hold out: nevertheless it was so resolutely defended by the governor, that the Imperialists had time to come to its relief. *Savelli* quitted *Besançon*, and, being joined by *John de Wert*, appeared before *Rhinfeld* on the twenty-eighth day of *February*, with nine regiments of cavalry, two of *Croats*, and about four thousand infantry. Both armies were immediately ranged in order of battle, when the duke de *Weymar*'s right wing fell with such fury upon the left of the enemy, commanded by *de Wert*, that it was broke in a very little time, the general being wounded in the cheek, and colonel *Wolf* with some imperial officers taken prisoners. *Weymar*'s left wing did not meet with the same success; but, on the contrary, was at first repulsed: however, he rallied his cavalry, and returned to the charge; but the enemy retired in good order by favour of the night. The rhingrave *Philip* was slain in the action, and the duke de *Roban* died in a little time of the wounds he received upon this occasion. *Weymar* retreated to *Lauffemburg*, where he passed the night; and next day, having joined *Tapadel*, he put his army in order of battle, and advanced to attack the duke de *Savelli* and *John de Wert*, whose troops, being dispersed among the villages in search of provision, were with great difficulty re-assembled: they could not withstand the shock of this second engagement, but were intirely defeated, the two generals themselves being taken, together with a great number of officers^m.

AFTER this victory, *Hunningen* submitted to *Tapadel*, and the duke returned to the siege of *Rhinfeld*, which, after having made a gallant defence, surrendered upon a very honourable capitulation; and the conqueror found a great quantity of provision and ammunition in the place. This conquest was followed by that of *Neuburg* and *Rottelen*; immediately after which the duke advanced towards *Friburg*, the capital of *Brisgaw*, garrisoned by nine hundred men, under the command of colonel *Escher*, who defended the town until a breach was made and an assault given, and then evacuated the place upon very favourable termsⁿ.

¹ PIACES. p. 612. ^m WASSENBERG, p. 427.
cur. Franc. t. xxii. a l' An. 1638.

^a Mer-

THE next siege he undertook was that of *Brisack*, in which *Brisack* the duke of *Lorraine* and general *Goetz* attempted to interrupt *surrenders* him by attacking his intrenchments, but they always found *after an* him upon his guard; and the town was at last obliged to sur- *obstinate* render, after having been reduced to such extremity of famine, *defence.* that the governor was obliged to set a guard upon the burying places, to prevent the inhabitants from digging up and devouring the dead. The news of this important success no sooner arrived at *Paris*, than *Lewis* the thirteenth dispatched one of his gentlemen, on pretence of congratulating *Weymar*, but in reality, to communicate private instructions to *Guébriant*, who was ordered to employ his whole address, in order to induce the duke to cede *Brisack* to the crown of *France*°. This could not but be a very difficult negotiation, as *Weymar* had set his heart upon the county of *Brisgaw*, which he meant to keep in his own possession, as a thorn in the side of the house of *Austria*, which had divested *John-Frederic*, his great grandfather, of his dominions and dignity. He thought the conquest of *Brisack* would secure *Brisgaw*, of which he intended to make a settlement that should not be easily shaken, *Brisack* being situated between *Strasburg*, *Benfeld*, and *Basil*, in the neighbourhood of *France*, and the princes of *Germany*, who were his allies; so that he could not be attacked from behind, and would, with the assistance of his friends, be able to counteract the designs of the emperor in *Germany*. In a word, he had now re-established his family, and believed himself equal to the elector of *Saxony*, against whom he entertained such resentment, that he resolved to strip him of his dominions, and with that view had, for a long time, formed a scheme upon *Thuringia*.

ON the other hand, *Lewis* wished to be master of *Brisack*, the possession of which would secure to him a passage to the other side of the *Rhine*, and at the same time exclude the Imperialists from *Alsace* and *Lorraine*. He therefore spared no pains to obtain it from the duke *de Weymar*, to whom *Guébriant* made very advantageous proposals on the subject: to which he answered, that, after he should have put his troops in good winter quarters in *Franche-comté*, he would go, and, in person, pay his respects to the king, whose orders he should receive touching *Brisack*, as well as the operations of the ensuing campaign^p. This, however, was a mere evasion; for when he was afterwards pressed by *Guébriant* to explain his intentions on this head, he replied, “To part with my

° *SIRI. Memor. record. t. viii. p. 767.*

p. 708.

p BARRE, l. ix.

“ conquest

“ conquest would be to sacrifice my honour.” Nevertheless, in order to amuse the court of *France*, he sent thither *Erlach* with a limited power of negotiation, who managed his master’s interest with such dexterity, that *Lewis* promised to furnish the duke with a reinforcement of eight thousand men, although nothing was concluded in the affair of *Brisack* ¹ (X).

Bannier
reduces several
places in
Pomerania.

WHILE the duke *de Weymar* triumphed over the *Austrian* in *Alsace*, the *Swedish* general *Bannier* carried on his conquests in *Pomerania*. After the victory obtained at *Wislock*, he reduced *Gartz*, *Loetz*, *Demmin*, and *Wolgast*; and understanding that *Galas* had extended his army, sent *Stalans* and *Torsten-son* to reconnoitre with a detachment, that surprised and cut in pieces two regiments of their horse ².

Charles-
Lewis,
prince pa-
latine, is
defeated by
the count
de Has-
feld.

CHARLES LEWIS, prince palatine, and his brother *Robert*, were not so fortunate in *Westphalia*: they had several times attacked the *Spanish* garrison of *Gueldre* with various success; and all their motions were narrowly watched by the count *de Hasfeld*, the emperor’s lieutenant-general in *Westphalia*, who having discovered that *Charles-Lewis* had abandoned the village of *Embsbüren*, in order to besiege *Lemgau*, the capital of the county of *Lippe*, assembled all his troops with a view to frustrate his design. Accordingly prince *Lewis* finding himself in no condition to defend his lines against such an army, retreated towards *Minden*; but the count having overtaken his rear in the valley of *Astheim*, brought him to an action, which continued very obstinate on both sides for the space of two hours, and then victory declared in favour of the Imperialists, who made themselves masters of the palatine’s artillery. Prince *Robert*, and the count *de Ferents*, were made prisoners, with a great number of officers, and *Charles-Lewis* escaped with great difficulty to *Minden* ³.

A. D.
1639.
Thau sur-
renders to
the duke de
Weymar,

IN the beginning of the year *Thau* was invested by *Guebriant*; but as the siege did not advance to the satisfaction of the duke *de Weymar*, he went thither in person, and ordered it to be battered with red-hot balls, which threw the inhabitants into such consternation, that they surrendered without further opposition, and the duke’s character became so formidable to the emperor, that about this time he made some un-

¹ STRUV. per. x. p. 3050. ² PIACES. p. 512. ³ ADLZ-REIT. part iii. l. xxiii. n. xxxviii.

(X) It was believed in *France* of *Erlach*, that in case the duke and *Germany*, that cardinal *de de Weymar* should die, he would *Richelieu* had, by means of a deliver up *Brisack* to *France*. round sum, obtained a promise *Barre*, t. ix. p. 710.

derhand attempts to engage him in his interest. *Sigismund Heusner* was the person intrusted with this negotiation; but the duke would not listen to the proposals of *Ferdinand*, persuaded that he neither could with safety or honour depend upon the bare promises of his greatest enemy: he, therefore, far from allowing himself to be intrapped in the snare, or slackening in his operations, redoubled his industry in making preparations for passing the *Rhine*: however, in the midst of these occupations, he fell sick at *Huningen*, from whence he was transported by water to *Newburg*, where his distemper gaining ground, he made his will, which was put into the hands of his secretary *Relingen*, and died on the eighteenth day of *July*, in the thirty and fifth year of his age^t (Y). By his will, he ordained that his conquests should be enjoyed by the eldest of his brothers; but in case none of them should chuse to take possession, they should devolve to *Lewis* the thirteenth, on condition that the garrisons should consist of an equal number of *French* and *Germans*, and that the places of strength should be restored to the empire at the general peace. He bequeathed the command of his army to major-general *d'Erlach*, and in his default, to colonel *Obem* and count *Nassau*, or the eldest colonel in succession; and he left legacies to his officers and domestics, to the amount of three hundred thousand crowns^u.

who dies
at New-
burg.

THE duke's death was no sooner known, than the *Swedish* agent at *Benfeld* endeavoured to engage the soldiers and officers to go and join *Bannier*: the emperor took every measure in his power to draw them into his service, and regain possession of the places they had conquered: the dukes of *Bavaria*, *Lauenburg*, and *Lunenburg*, pretended to the succession; and *William* of *Saxony* demanded, by virtue of his brother's will, that he should possess the conquered places till the peace; but *Lewis* the thirteenth prevailed over all these pretenders, by concluding at *Brisack* a treaty with the *Weymarian* officers on the following terms: That the troops of the duke *de Weymar* should constitute a separate body, under the direction of the officers named in the will for that purpose; that the king of *France* should keep this body always

A treaty is
concluded
between
the king of
France
and the
Weymar-
ian forces.

^t Memor. de Guébriant, p. 125.
t. ii. p. 419.

^u Memor. d'Auberi,

(Y) The death of this gallant prince is said to have been hastened by the *French*, who longed to be in possession of *Brisack*, to such a degree, that by their

agents they administered a certain soup to the duke, in consequence of which he expired. *Puffendorf Introd. l. vi.*

effective,

effective, by the payment of a certain yearly sum for raising recruits; that he should continue to the general officers the same appointments which they had received from the duke, furnish them with bread, ammunition, and all other necessities of war, and ratify all the donations which the duke had made to his officers and soldiers: that the troops should receive their orders from the duke *de Longueville*, by the medium of their own directors, who should be summoned to all councils held for the service of the common cause: that the conquered places should be put into the hands of his most Christian majesty, who might at pleasure appoint governors for *Brisack* and *Friburg*, to command the garrisons which should consist equally of *French* and *Germans*: but with regard to other places, the governors should be chosen from the *Weymarian* army, and all the officers and garrisons bind themselves by oath, to preserve the places for the service of the king, without whose express order they should not be delivered to any person or power whatever^x.

IN consequence of this treaty the duke *de Longueville* was acknowledged general, and a resolution taken to march towards the *Lower Palatinate*. The count *de Guébriant* put *Brisack*, *Friburg*, and the forest towns, in a proper posture of defence. *John-Lewis d'Erlach* was continued in the government of *Brisack*, colonel *Kanoski*, a *Pole*, had that of *Friburg*, and *Philip Bernold*, a gentleman of *Alsace*, was invested with the command of *Rhinfeld*. Thus ended this important negotiation, which rendered the king of *France* sovereign of almost all *Alsace*, and a great part of *Brisgau*.

MEAN while conferences were held at *Hamburgh*, to pave the way for a general peace; but the powers who sent their ministers thither seemed to despise and distrust one another. *France* fell out with the count-palatine about the ceremony of addressing letters to each other; or, rather, *Lewis* made a pretence of the young count's having failed in some expression of respect, to act coldly in his interest. There was likewise a grudge between the *French* and *English* nations, which rendered them averse to the conclusion of a treaty; and the *Dutch*, who were ill affected to both, openly refused to renounce the neutrality which they had agreed with the emperor to observe^y.

BESIDES the contending parties in the empire, there was a third which remained neuter, composed of the landgrave of *Hesse-Cassel*, some princes, and free cities, the hans-towns,

^x MEYER. LONDORP. Sup. t. iv. p. 170.
t. ix. p. 716.

^y BARRE,

and other states which had some grievances to be redressed: *William* landgrave of *Hesse-Cassel*, had left the administration of his dominions, and the tutorage of his children, to his widow *Amelia*, whom, in his will, he recommended to the kings of *France* and *England*, and the states-general, in full persuasion that *George* landgrave of *Hesse-Darmstadt*, who was his declared enemy, as well as a zealous partizan of the emperor, would take advantage of the troubles that distracted *Germany*, in order to enrich himself with the spoils of his children. Nor was he mistaken in this conjecture, inasmuch as *George* did not fail to avail himself of an act, by which *Ferdinand* the second had put *William* to the ban of the empire; and altho' this decree had never been published, he obtained of the present emperor letters patent, establishing him administrator of *Lower Hesse*. Nevertheless, the discreet princess managed the inhabitants of *Cassel*, and the other towns, with such prudence, that they excused themselves from obeying the repeated orders of the emperor. Though she was not in a condition to withstand the Imperialists and *Bavarians*, she gained time by a truce, and afterwards by a treaty of peace, effected by the mediation of the elector of *Mentz*; which treaty, however, she refused to ratify, unless the emperor would grant the free exercise of the Protestant religion through all the dominions of the empire. This demand being, according to her expectation, refused, she renounced the other articles, and threw herself into the arms of *France*, by which she could be enabled to support the war to advantage². By her agreement with *France*, concluded at *Dorsten*, she engaged to maintain a body of horse and foot to act against the common enemies of the empire; to cede no part of the conquests she should make, or come to any accommodation with the king of *Hungary*, or his allies, without the consent and approbation of his most Christian majesty, who, in consideration of these engagements, promised to supply her with the yearly sum of two hundred thousand rixdollars; to make no truce or treaty with the king of *Hungary*, or his allies, without comprehending the landgrave and his interests; to engage the states-general to admit her into their alliance; to continue to her son the pension which had been granted to his father; and finally, to guarantee, for the space of ten years after the re-establishment of peace, all the dominions of the landgrave.

The widow of the landgrave of Hesse concludes a treaty with Lewis at Dorsten in Westphalia.

THESE different negotiations did not disturb the house of *Austria* so much as did the progress of *Bannier* in *Saxony* and *Bohemia*. In the beginning of *February* this general had passed

² DUMONT, t. vi. part i.

Bannier
makes
great pro-
gress in
Saxony
and Bohe-
mia.

the *Elbe* with eighteen thousand men, though his military chest was quite empty: nevertheless he was cheerfully followed by the soldiers, who knew he would provide for all their necessities. Accordingly he obliged the duke of *Lunenbourg* to furnish the troops with every thing they wanted. Colonel *Ulric Wrangle*, who had quitted the *Swedish* service, and entered that of the emperor, now surrendered the town of *Carlben*, rejoined his own countrymen with eight hundred horse and three hundred musketeers, and supplied them with plenty of provisions: *Halberstadt* purchased their forbearance with a large sum of money; and *Augustus* of *Saxony*, archbishop of *Magdeburg*, expected to buy the same favour at the same price: but *Bannier* gave his deputies to understand, that the archbishop's father, the elector of *Saxony*, having abandoned the party of the *Swedes*, he could not help looking upon him as an enemy; he therefore would order his vanguard to march towards *Thuringia*, in order to lay that country under contribution, and open their route to *Magdeburg* and *Leipsick*. His army being now considerably augmented by recruits, he detached general *King* into *Westphalia* with five thousand men, to interrupt the levies of the Imperialists in that province, and carry off the provisions which were amassed for the use of the *Austrian* troops, who possessed part of the duchies of *Juliers* and *Cleves*. *Bannier* himself, entering *Misnia* at the head of five and twenty thousand men, reduced *Kemnitz*, *Scheneberg*, *Hannberg*, and *Marienberg*, without having met with the smallest opposition; but the siege of *Frieberg* in some measure checked the rapidity of his conquests. Colonel *Hungar*, who commanded the garrison, made several successful sallies; and at length *Bannier*, having received information that the *Saxons* were coming to the relief of the place, quitted the siege, and advanced to give them battle.

He defeats
Maracini.

MARACINI, the *Saxon* general, no sooner perceived his design than he crossed the river *Wezevita*, and divided his cavalry into squadrons, with which he charged, routed, and pursued *Bannier's* vanguard even to the main body of their army. However, the *Swedish* troops were soon rallied, so as to repulse *Maracini*; and, advancing into a plain, attacked the *Saxons*, who had by this time retired into a very advantageous situation, flanked by a wood, in which they planted their artillery: after a very obstinate and bloody engagement they were put in disorder, routed, and pursued to the very gates of *Dresden*, which the victorious *Swedes* would certainly have entered, had not they been prevented by the approach of night. They therefore contented themselves with the honour, and other advantages they had acquired by the battle, in which four thousand

thousand Saxons were slain, and almost all their officers killed or taken. This defeat, however, did not so much discourage *Maracini* but that he assembled a fresh army, in order to make another effort in favour of *Frieberg*; to the siege of which *Bannier* had returned after his victory, and even given an assault, in which he sustained great loss. Hearing of *Maracini*'s second approach, he sent major-general *Pfuel* to reconnoitre; but he chancing to take the wrong road, the Saxons suddenly appeared, to the number of eighteen thousand; so that *Bannier* had scarce time to retire to an eminence, where he intrenched himself, while the enemy threw into *Frieberg* a reinforcement of men, provisions, and ammunition. The Swedish general sent orders to *Torsten*son to join him with all possible dispatch; and being informed that *Maracini* waited for a reinforcement of six thousand Croats, and that general *Hasfeld* was upon his march to hem in the Swedes on all hands, he resolved to try the fortune of another battle, and attack *Maracini* in his lines. With this design he departed from *Zeitz* on the thirteenth day of *April*; and receiving intimation that the Saxons had abandoned their lines, he followed them with great expedition, and pursued their rear to the main body of their army, which being inaccessible, except by a narrow passage between two morasses, he ordered *Pfuel* to dismount his dragoons, and attack it on foot. This service being performed, the Swedes were drawn up in order of battle as they arrived; and *Bannier*, at the head of his own regiment, charging the left wing of the enemy, a furious contest ensued, and the issue continued long doubtful, until *Torsten*son arriving with his horse, determined the victory in favour of the Swedes: *Bannier* for the left wing of the Saxons giving way, the right was overwhelmed with such consternation, that the greatest part of it laid down their arms without fighting, and their whole army was pursued with great slaughter. Above two thousand were slain in the action; by which *Bannier*, whose loss did not exceed four hundred, made himself master of five and forty pair of colours, sixty standards, together with all their cannon, baggage, and ammunition^a.

By this victory *Thuringia*, *Weteravia*, *Saxony*, *Misnia*, and the neighbouring provinces, were left under the dominion of the Swedes: for the wreck of the Saxon army was destroyed by major-general *Pfuel*, who falling suddenly upon a body of troops rallied by *Maracini* near *Kemnitz*, cut them in pieces, and took their general prisoner. *Torsten*son was ordered to renew the siege of *Frieberg*; but, perceiving the breaches were

^a PUFFENDORF, l. xi. sect. vi. &c.

well repaired, he contented himself with blocking up the place, and went to join the *Swedish* army, which by this time had reduced *Pirna*.

WHILE *Bannier* and his generals thus filled *Saxony* and *Bohemia* with terror and dismay, general *Koningsmarck* acted the same part in *Franconia*; and *Axel-Cili* made great progress in *Mecklenburg* and *Brandenburg*, where many places surrendered without opposition, and a good number secured themselves from the tempest by demanding a neutrality: as for the circle of *Lower Saxony*, and the *hans-towns*, they promised to the regency of *Sweden*, that they would neither furnish the emperor or his allies with troops or money.

Hasfeld
surprises
Marien-
berg, but
is obliged
to retire by
Bannier,

HASFELD, the imperial general, taking the advantage of *Bannier's* being at a distance, surprised *Marienberg*, blocked up *Kemnitz*, and marched towards *Pirna*, in order to make himself master of that place. *Bannier*, being apprised of these motions, quitted *Brandeck*, where he was encamped, and passing the *Elbe*, seemed to have a design upon *Prague*; but, all of a sudden he turned towards *Misnia*, in order to meet *Hasfeld*, and relieve the towns that were threatened by that general. He accordingly drove the *Croats*, who blocked up *Kemnitz*, under the cannon of *Dresden*: then marched towards *Pirn* in quest of the elector of *Brandenburg*, who had joined *Hasfeld*; but they did not think proper to hazard a battle against such victorious troops, so that all he could do was to harass them in their retreat. He afterwards re-entered *Bohemia*, with intent to attack the Imperialists, who were encamped upon the *White Mountain*, at some distance from *Prague*; but they wisely retired into the town, and the *Swedes* undertook the siege of *Konigsaal*, in which they succeeded without much difficulty^b.

who takes
Konig-
saal.

THE emperor, finding his arms ineffectual to stop the progress of *Bannier*, had recourse to other arts, by which that general had like to have been amused to his own destruction. His wife, who had a great ascendancy over him, was tampered with by the count *de Schlitt*, president of the council of war in *Bohemia*, to whom she was allied; and she listened to his instigations so far as to dispose her husband to a pacification with the house of *Austria*, in whose name the count promised that *Bannier* should be created a prince of the empire, and be gratified with the possession of two duchies in *Silesia*. These splendid offers actually began to dazzle the eyes of the *Swede*, who could not think of neglecting such a glorious opportunity of putting an end to his fatigues: the negotiation

^b BARRE, t. ix. p. 722.

was begun by a physician of *Prague*, whom *Schlitt* sent on pretence of visiting the marechal's lady, who was indisposed; and proceeded so far, that *Beauregard*, the *French* minister, who attended *Bannier*, got an inkling of the design, which he immediately communicated to the count *d'Avaux* at *Hamburg*, who exerted himself with such address on this occasion, that the council of *Stockholm* would not invest *Bannier* with the full powers which he demanded.

FRANCE was very much alarmed at this secret correspondence between the Imperialists and the *Swedish* general, and took every measure she could devise to break off the negotiation, which was no other than a political stratagem of the imperial court to amuse *Bannier* until the arrival of *Picolomini*, who was ordered to march from the *Low Countries* with an army to retrieve the *Austrian* affairs in *Bohemia*. The scheme succeeded to their wish; for the marechal was not undeceived until he saw the archduke *Leopold* arrive in *Prague*, with a body of five thousand men, which were soon followed by general *Picolomini* at the head of another, consisting of twelve thousand.

THE departure of this officer left the duke *de Longueville* at liberty to advance along the *Rhine*, and reduce *Altzey*, *Oppenheim*, *Bingen*, and *Creutznach*. Indeed the *Bavarian* army, which had thrown itself into the *Rhingaw*, hindered him at first from extending his quarters; but for want of provisions it was soon constrained to retire into *Wirtemberg*, so that all this side of the *Rhine* was left to the discretion of the *Weymarian* troops. However, as this country could not long furnish them with subsistence, the duke assembled the chiefs at *Creutznach*, in order to deliberate upon their next motion. Here it was determined to cross the *Rhine*; and this enterprize being effected by the conduct and invention of the count *de Guébriant*, they found very good quarters in *Weteravia* and *High Hesse* ^c.

AMONG the other pretenders to the succession of the duke *de Weymar*, *Charles-Lewis*, prince-palatine, was strongly recommended by the prince of *Orange*, the states-general, and the king of *England*; and this last was so impolitic as to suppose that *France* would concur in supporting his pretensions. With this opinion he spoke to *Bellievre*, the *French* ambassador at the *British* court, in order to procure a safe-conduct for the *Palatine*, that he might pass through *France*, and wait upon *Lewis* in person, before he should set out for the *Rhine* ^d. But

A. D.

1640.

Charles-

Lewis,

count-pala-

tine, pre-

tends to

the succes-

sion of the

duke de

Weymar.

^c Memor. de Guébriant, p. 221.
t. iv. ad An. 1640.

^d Theatrum European,

this project was not at all relished by cardinal *Richelieu*, who deferred the grant of this passport so long, that *Charles-Lewis*, in the impatience of youth, resolved to go incognito; and actually arrived at *Paris*, from whence he set out for the *Weymarian* army. The cardinal, being perfectly aware of all his motions, allowed him to advance into the heart of the kingdom: then he was arrested at *Moulins* in the *Bourbonnois*, and carried prisoner to the castle of *Vincennes*; and his two brothers, who learned their exercises at *Paris*, were secured at the same time. The count for some time refused to own his rank and quality; and this refusal furnished the cardinal with a pretence for saying, that *France* had good reason to suspect he was engaged in some enterprize to her prejudice; while *Lewis* the thirteenth, who was at that time absent from his capital, gave out that this arrest was executed without his order, in consequence of the sage precaution of the ministers whom he had left at *Paris*.

His detention was no sooner known, than the kings of *England* and *Denmark*, together with the young queen of *Sweden*, interested themselves in his cause, and solicited his release in the most pressing terms; and, in consequence of their repeated requests and remonstrances, he was set at liberty, tho' not before he had entered into an engagement, by which he was restricted from making any attempt to put himself at the head of the *Weymarian* troops, and from embarking in any enterprize to the prejudice of *France*.

General Bannier is joined by the troops under the duke de Longueville. GENERAL *Bannier* having received a reinforcement of troops from *Thuringia*, marched towards *Picolomini* in order to give him battle; but he avoided an encounter, and abandoning the passages of the *Elb* which he occupied, retired to *Henneberg*, where he learned that the Imperialists were on their march to *Egra*, that they might be at hand to succour the *Bavarians*, in case of necessity. *Bannier* took the opportunity of this conjuncture, to demand of the duke de *Longueville* the junction of the two armies, threatening, in case of a refusal, to consult his own safety for the future, and to think no more of acting in concert with the *French*^c. Understanding that the *Bavarians* were advanced to the frontiers of *Franconia* and *Voigtland*; in their approach to the Imperialists, he resolved to compel the dukes of *Brunswick* and *Lunenburg* to renounce their neutrality, and detached a colonel with orders to declare to them, that the only expedient for removing the Imperialists from their neighbourhood, would be to follow the example of the landgraves of *Hesse*, and join the crowns of *Sweden* and *France*. This remonstrance had weight with

^c PUFFENDORF, l. xi. sect. xxxii.

duke *George*, who, in the name of the whole *Brunswick* house, concluded a treaty with the *Swedish* general, by which he obliged himself to furnish three thousand foot and five hundred horse^f, which, with the troops of *Hesse*, marched to the duke of *Longueville*, and these three bodies having joined the *Swedish* army, *Bannier* advanced to *Saltzfed*, where *Picolomini* was posted; but the Imperialists were so advantageously encamped, that it was impossible to attack them with any prospect of success: so that after the two armies had remained in sight of one another for the space of six weeks, the confederates began to be in want of provisions, and decamped. Having passed through *Franconia* they marched to *Neustadt*, and chose a situation near the river *Virra*, in the country of *Hesse-Cassel*, whither they were followed by *Picolomini*. Here they were strengthened by a reinforcement from the duke of *Lunen- burg*; in consequence of which they marched up to the Imperialists, but found them so strongly intrenched, that they would not venture to attack them^g: then they retired to *Hoker* upon the *Wefer*, with a view to put their troops into winter quarters in *Franconia* and upon the *Danube*, *Picolomini* likewise decamped, and took the road to *Westphalia*, with design to throw a bridge over the *Wefer*, and enter the dominions of *Brunswick*; but this project was disconcerted by the diligence of *Bannier*. This was the fourth time that the confederates had been in sight of the whole imperial forces, without engaging in a general battle: nevertheless both armies were miserably reduced; for the scarcity of provisions, and the fatigue of marches and encampments, produced such mortality, that the number of the Imperialists was diminished by nine thousand; and the *Swedes* who died, were pretty much in the same proportion to their army: but whatever the loss might be on either side this campaign, it was certainly very glorious to *Picolomini*, who not only obliged *Bannier* to quit the hereditary countries of the house of *Austria*, but also drove the confederates from *Franconia*, and reduced them to the necessity of defending the dominions of their allies, instead of forming enterprizes as usual against the army of the emperor^h (Z).

The confederates march into Hesse-Cassel, whither they are followed by Picolomini.

^f ADLZREIT. p. iii. l. xxxv. t. viii. p. 812.

^g SIRI. Memor. second.

^h BARRE, t. ix. p. 731.

(Z) The end of this year was rendered memorable by an event which greatly diminished the power of the house of *Austria*. The *Portuguese* shook off the *Spanish* yoke which they had bore for sixty years, and proclaimed *John* duke of *Braganza*, king of *Portugal*. *Berago. Hist. della Disumione del Regno di Portogallo, &c. l. v.*

The electors assembled at Nuremberg.

MEAN while the electors had assembled at *Nuremberg*, in order to deliberate upon the means for restoring peace to the empire, or for continuing the war, in case they should not be able to reconcile the interests of the princes. Here the deputies of *Lunenbourg* complained of the injustice that was done to their master, in obliging him to withdraw the protection he had granted to the town of *Hildesheim*; and this grievance, together with the pretensions of the elector of *Brandenburg* to *Pomerania*, were examined and referred to the diet of *Ratisbon*, which the emperor had convoked for the month of *September*. As no effectual steps could be taken towards a general peace, without the consent of the powers which were at war, a proposal was made to invite their plenipotentiaries to this diet; and though the emperor and his allies did not much relish this proposal, because they were afraid that the treaty of *Prague* would be abolished by the intrigues and remonstrances of the *French* and *Swedish* ministers; yet, in order to avoid the suspicion of an intention to perpetuate the war, they consented to expedite safe conducts for the ambassadors of foreign princes, to come into the empire to treat of the preliminaries of the peace. *Cologne* was the place assigned to the *French*, and *Lubeck*, or *Hamburgh*, to the *Swedes*, whither the emperor engaged to send his ministers. This article being discussed, they proceeded to consider that of winter quarters for the troops of the empire; and these were left to the choice of the emperor, who was likewise enabled to recruit and augment his army by a subsidy of one hundred and fifty *Roman* months, granted by the circles of *Austria* and *Bavaria*; another of sixty, by the rest, which pleaded poverty in consequence of the war¹.

A. D.
1641.

THE diet made these concessions, in hope of obtaining with more facility of the emperor a general amnesty, in favour of those places that were enemies to the house of *Austria*: but the Catholics and Protestants could not agree upon the year from which it should take effect; the last, desiring that it should commence from the time when *Frederic* was crowned king of *Bohemia*; and the others insisting upon its being dated from the year in which *Gustavus Adolphus* undertook the war against the emperor.

Negotiations at Hamburgh, where an agreement is concluded.

DURING these deliberations at *Ratisbon*, *Luizow*, one of *Ferdinand's* aulic counsellors, was employed in negotiating the preliminaries at *Hamburgh* with the count *d'Avaux* and *Salvius*, the plenipotentiaries of *France* and *Sweden*, though he at first made some scruple of treating with the former, because in the safe conduct granted to that minister, *Cologne* was the place assigned for his negotiation: however, the king of

¹ PUFFENDORF, l. xii. xiii.

Denmark, who acted as mediator in the treaty, prevailed upon *Ferdinand* to overlook that objection. This difficulty and some others being removed, the conferences began, and an agreement was concluded to this effect :

THAT a congress for a general peace should be held at *Munster* and *Osnabrug*, the garrisons of which should march out, the inhabitants be released from their oath to either party, and observe a neutrality during the time of negotiation : that both cities should, for that time, be guarded by their own burghers and soldiers, commanded by the magistrates, who should be accountable for the effects, persons, and followers of the negotiators : that the two congresses should be considered as one only ; and the roads between the two cities be safe for all goers and comers, together with the intermediate places where the negotiators might think proper to confer with each other : that in case the neighbours should be interrupted before a treaty could be concluded, *Munster* and *Osnabrug* should return to the same situation in which they were before the congress ; but that the neutrality should be observed six weeks after the rupture of the negotiations ; that all the safe conducts on each side should be exchanged at *Hamburgh*, by the mediation of the *Danish* ambassadors, in the space of two months, reckoning from the date of this agreement ; that the emperor and king of *Spain* should grant safe conducts to the ministers of *France* and *Sweden*, and their allies in *Germany* and elsewhere, and receive the same security from his most Christian majesty ; and that *Sweden* should give safe conducts to the emperor's plenipotentiaries, and to those of the elector of *Mentz* and *Brandenburg*. It was afterwards agreed that *France* should treat at *Munster*, and *Sweden* at *Osnabrug*, and that each crown should have a resident where the other's plenipotentiary was, in order to communicate their mutual resolutions ^k.

THE emperor refused to ratify this previous treaty or convention, which he said was prejudicial to his honour, as well as to the interest of the *Germanic* body ; for these could never suffer the towns of *Munster* and *Osnabrug* to be released from the oath they had taken ; or consider the treaties with *France* and *Sweden* as one, inasmuch as he had never approved of the alliance between these crowns. He therefore recalled *Lutzow*, and sent in his room the count *d'Aversberg*, with orders to make these objections, and propose the negotiation of a new treaty ; but his proposal was not accepted, and the plenipotentiaries of the two crowns would no longer confer with his minister ^l.

^k DUMONT. Corps Diplom. t. vi. p. 231.
t. ix. p. 736.

^l BARRE,

BESIDES

BESIDES the subjects we have already mentioned to have employed the deliberations of the diet, it was agreed that the war against *France* and *Sweden* should be considered as a war of the empire: that fifteen commissaries should be appointed to examine the grievances of the Protestants; and that the affair of the palatine princes should be discussed at *Vienna* in an amicable manner (A).

Bannier
joins the
French
troops un-
der Gué-
briant.

WHILE the diet thus seemed to conspire with the house of *Austria*, in order to prolong the war, *Bannier* formed the design of dispersing the assembly, and even of surprising the town. Having joined the *French* under *Guébriant* at *Erfort*, he arrived at *Hoff* on the sixth day of *January*, and sending five regiments of cavalry to *Egra*, under the command of major-general *Wittemberg*, who had orders to rejoin the army at *Perrew*, he advanced to *Awerback*. On the nineteenth the confederates marched to *Schwendorf*; and next day the count of *Nassau* and *Wittemberg*, being detached with six regiments of cavalry to reconnoitre the country between *Ratisbon* and *Strasbourg*, crossed the *Danube* upon the ice, and took above fifteen hundred of the enemy's horse. The emperor himself ran a very great risque of being surprised; for that very day he intended to hunt, thinking himself secure in an advanced guard, which was actually carried off by the *Swedes*, who likewise took his litter, hawks, and equipage. The approach of these armies filled *Ratisbon* with consternation: the bridge was immediately burned; but the country was covered with enemies, the villages set on fire, and the town defenceless, unprovided, full of strangers, malcontents, and suspected persons ^m.

THE design of the allies was to take the advantage of the frost, to block up and starve the town; but the weather becoming more mild, the count *de Nassau* and *Wittemberg* were obliged to repass the river before it should be thawed, and rejoin the army, which had arrived at *Regenstauff*, about two leagues from *Ratisbon*. Nevertheless, *Bannier*, who would not retire until he should have made another attempt to dissolve the diet, approached that city on the twenty-sixth day of *February*; and *Guébriant*, who commanded the van, placing his artillery on the banks of the *Regen*, which was between the town

^m LOTYCH. rer. German, l. xiv.

(A) Towards the end of this assembly, the emperor created three princes of the empire; namely, *Frederic* of *Hobenzollern*, *John-Anthony d'Eggemberg*,

and *Winceslaus de Lobkowitz*, who were admitted in that quality in the register of the Germanic body. *Barre*, t. ix. p. 736.

and the confederates, saluted the emperor and diet with five hundred shot; an affront that stung *Ferdinand* so severely, that he seemed bereft of his usual constancy and fortitude ^a.

AFTER this ineffectual expedition, the *French* troops separated themselves from the army of *Sweden*, and marched towards *Bamberg*, while *Bannier* took the route to *Chamb*, to penetrate into *Misnia* through *Bobemia*. As for the emperor, ^{The em-} he was no sooner rid of such troublesome neighbours, than ^{peror as-} he issued out orders for assembling a body of troops with all ^{sembles his} possible dispatch, in order to revenge the insult he had un- ^{troops and} dergone. His army being soon formed by the activity of ^{takes} the archduke *Leopold* and *Picolomini*, one part of it under ^{New-} marechal *Gleen*, went in pursuit of *Bannier*, while the other, commanded by *Picolomini*, besieged *Newmarck*, which was defended by a *Swedish* officer called *Schlang*, who after having sustained five assaults, was obliged to surrender prisoner of war. Immediately after the reduction of this place, the imperial general rejoined *Gleen*, in order to pursue *Bannier*, who retreated across the forest of *Bobemia*; on the other side of which, finding himself impeded by the river *Pleiss*, he collected a number of boats with such expedition, that he had transported his men when *Picolomini* appeared upon the bank. This obstruction, however, did not retard the progress of the *Bannier* enemy; the *Austrian* cavalry swam across the river, and the ^{retreats} *Swedes* being now hemmed in between the *Pleiss* and the ^{into Bo-} *Moldaw*, *Bannier's* ruin seemed inevitable, when he extri- ^{hemia-} cated himself by one of those efforts of military genius, which redound more to the honour of a general, than does the acquisition of a victory, because fortune has no share in the success. Finding himself thus severely pressed, he posted some troops in a mill below *Presnitz*, which made such a long and gallant resistance, when attacked by *Picolomini*, that his army had time to retire to *Zuickaw* on the *Moldaw*, whither his baggage and artillery were conveyed in the night: here likewise he was joined by *Guébriant*, who after the siege of *Newmarck* had put himself in motion, and by surprising marches arrived at this place, without having been attacked by the *Austrians*. All *Germany* admired this march, and *Bannier's* retreat, which indeed were scarce credible. *Gleen* and *Picolomini* accused one another of neglect, and were ordered to repair to *Ratisbon* to give an account of their conduct, which satisfied the emperor's son, *Ferdinand* king of *Hungary*, who sent them back to their posts. *Gleen*, at the head of nine *Bavarian* regiments, advanced towards the *Rhine*,

^a Hist. de Guébriant, l. iv. c. ii.

Dies at
Halber-
stadt.

and *Picolomini*, with the rest of the army, followed the *Swedes* towards *Zeitz* °. Mean while, *Bannier*, in consequence of the fatigues he had undergone, fell sick at *Zuickaw*, and ordered himself to be conveyed to *Halberstadt*, where he died on the twentieth day of *May*, in the forty-first year of his age, to the infinite loss and inexpressible regret of his party. This great officer had learned the art of war under *Gustavus Adolphus*, whom he had well nigh rivalled in reputation and success. He was remarkable for his moderation and humanity towards those whom he conquered : he always avoided the effusion of blood, as much as the nature of his occupation would permit : he was robust, patient, laborious, and active, adored by his soldiers, who cheerfully underwent all sorts of toil and danger under his command ; and all *Europe* acknowledged him to be the most able general of his time, especially in the knowledge of encampment, of drawing up an army in order of battle, and of making a retreat in the face of an enemy of superior strength p.

Christian duke of Brunswick
renews the alliance with France and Sweden.

FRANCE and *Sweden* had been alarmed at the death of *George* duke of *Brunswick-Lunenbourg*, which happened in *April*, because they apprehended that the elector of *Saxony* would induce *Christian* his successor, to make an accommodation with the house of *Austria* ; but, in spite of the intrigues of the court of *Dresden*, and the menaces of *Picolomini*, the dutchess-dowager and her son concluded at *Hildesheim*, a new treaty with the two crowns, and engaged to join her forces to those of *France* and *Sweden*. Nevertheless, this alliance was not of consequence enough to prevent the disquiet of *Sweden*, which was overwhelmed with grief and consternation at the death of *Bannier*, seemingly productive of such troublesome consequences : for his army was almost wholly composed of *Germans*, who were retained in the service by the single authority of the general ; and now he was dead, they would be exposed to the arts and temptations of those princes, who were lying in wait for such an opportunity of inveigling them into their own services. Accordingly they were tampered with by the elector of *Saxony*, and even by *Christian* duke of *Lunenbourg*, whose aim was to be at the head of an independent army, that would act against the emperor for his interest only : but the young prince was dissuaded by *Guébriant* from the execution of his scheme, which was altogether extravagant ; and the army, which at first seemed inclinable to mutiny, laid aside all thoughts of declaring for themselves,

° Mercur. Franc. t. xxiv. a l' An. 1641.
DORF, rer. Succ. l. xiii.

p PUFFEN-

and resolved to receive any general that the *Swedish* regency should think proper to appoint ⁹.

THE elector of *Saxony* seeing the *Swedish* army without a general, resolved to seize this opportunity of retaking *Zuickaw*, of *Saxony* which was invested by general *Borry*, and, after a siege of five ^{retakes} weeks, surrendered upon capitulation, tho' he did not keep his *Zuickaw*. word with the garrison, which he disarmed on pretence of their having used iron and tin balls, contrary to the laws of war; and, in order to avoid captivity, they were constrained to enlist in the elector's service ^r.

THE reduction of *Zuickaw*, and the death of *Bannier*, elevated the hopes of the emperor and duke of *Bavaria* to such a degree, that they breathed nothing but total destruction to the army of the confederates. The archduke *Leopold* joined *Picolomini* in *Saxony*, when, trusting to the superiority of their numbers, they resolved to compel the forces of *George* duke of *Lunenburg* to abandon the blockade of *Wolfembuttel*, and to reduce the princes of *Brunswick* and the landgrave of *Hesse* to the necessity of suing for an accommodation. But these pro- *The Impe-*jects were soon frustrated by the *Swedes* and *French*, who, under the command of *Guébriant*, met and defeated them near *Wolfembuttel*. Four thousand Imperialists were slain upon the spot, and a great number taken prisoners, who received quar- *ter*, contrary to the resolutions taken on both sides before the battle began. The greatest part of those who survived, being favoured by the night, fled for refuge under the cannon of *Wolfembuttel*, and the rest reached the forest of *Fimelfen*. No other event of any consequence happened in the course of this year; and the winter approaching, the *Hessian* troops and those of *Lunenburg* went into winter-quarters near the *Rhine*; while the *French* and *Swedes* remained in their camp near *Saastadt*, waiting the arrival of general *Torsten*son, who had begun his march with eight thousand *Swedes*, and was the person whom the regency had chosen as the successor of *Bannier*. This officer, upon his junction with *Guébriant*, proposed to go together and take winter-quarters in *Bohemia*; but in this proposal the count could not acquiesce, because cardinal *de Richelieu*, who was bent upon the conquest of *Roussillon*, had ordered him to lead the *French* troops back to the *Rhine*, on pretence of making a powerful diversion next year, or of defending that frontier against any attempts of the Imperialists. In consequence of this scheme, the armies were parted, *Guébriant* entered *Westphalia*, and *Torsten*son pene-

⁹ BARRE, t. ix. p. 743.
An. 1641.

^r Mercur. Franc. t. xxiv. a 1'

trated into *Bohemia*, in order to try their fortunes separately, as soon as the season should permit^a.

The king of England solicits the emperor in favour of the young count-palatine.

THE princes of *Germany*, whose country had been so long ravaged by so many different armies, longed eagerly for peace; but no one expressed more impatience than the young count-palatine, in whose favour the *English* resident at *Vienna* had orders to repeat the most pressing solicitations. The duke of *Bavaria* consented to restore the *Lower Palatinate* to the count, and even to quit the *Upper*, as soon as he should be reimbursed of the thirteen millions that were due to him^b; but the *Spaniards* could not be prevailed upon to relinquish the places which they possessed in the *Lower Palatinate*; and the archduchess *Claudia* affirmed, that the prefecture of *Germerheim* made no part of it, but belonged to her children the archdukes of *Austria*: to support this assertion, she alledged, that the Palatine princes had never possessed it in any other way than as a mortgage; that the emperor had made a grant of it to the archduke *Leopold*, to whom the subjects of it had taken the oath of allegiance; and that it was but a very slight recompence for the services which her husband had done the emperor and common cause of *Germany*.

Ferdinand proposes an expedient for satisfying that young prince.

FERDINAND, that he might not seem averse to peace, which was so eagerly desired by the whole empire, promised to restore the *Lower Palatinate* to the Palatine princes, and reimburse them of the sums which their ancestors had lent upon the mortgage of this prefecture, provided they would renounce all the alliances in which they had engaged against the house of *Austria*; but this offer, which was not made till next year, they rejected, because he refused to re-establish the count in the electorate, and the dominions thereto annexed^c.

France and Sweden renew their treaty of alliance.

ABOUT this time the ministers of *France* and *Sweden* were employed at *Hamburg* in renewing the treaty of alliance between these crowns, which was on the point of expiring. The count *d'Avaux*, and *Adler Salvius*, who were the two negotiators, exerted all their dexterity in obtaining their separate aims. The former affirmed, that the duration of the treaty was not limited to a certain number of years, so as that they should be put to the trouble of renewing it from time to time, while the *Swedes* were loth to tie up their own hands, and deprive themselves of the liberty of concluding a separate peace with the emperor, in case favourable conditions should be offered. However, the regency reflecting that they could never be secure in a separate peace without the guarantee

^a LOTYCH. rer. German. part ii. l. xxviii. l. xxvii. n. i.

^b PUFFENDORF, l. xiv. n.

^c ADLERBIT.

* VITTORIO SIRI, t. i. l. ii.
Contin. ii. p. 189.

CHAPTER. XX.

GEORGE-WILLIAM, elector of Brandenburg, having died in the month of *November* of the preceding year, his son and successor *Frederic-William* sent *Winterfeld* to *Ham-*
burgh, to negotiate a truce with *Salvius*; and at the same time *Branden-*
dispatched another minister to *Stockholm*, in order to forward *burg, soli-*
the treaty, which he desired to conclude rather from a motive *cits an al-*
of private interest, than an inclination to give peace to his *liance with*
dominions. This was no other than the view of securing to *Sweden.*
himself the dutchy of *Fagerndorf*, after the death of the pre-
sent duke *Ernest*, who had no children. Though this apenage
of right belonged to the elector, he foresaw a difficulty in
obtaining

obtaining it from the house of *Austria* by fair means; and therefore he had recourse to the alliance of *France* and *Sweden*, by which his claim might be supported. But his conduct on this occasion was influenced by another consideration. By an article of the treaty of truce, concluded between *Sweden* and *Poland*, it was stipulated, that the fort of *Puילau* should remain in the hands of the elector of *Brandenburg*: nevertheless, *Ladislaus* king of *Poland* pretended that this was nothing but an incidental article, upon the execution of which the treaty did not at all depend, and therefore he refused to grant the investiture of *Prussia* to the elector, unless he would restore the fort. In order to preserve the possession of *Puילau*, *Frederic* had now recourse to the authority of the *French* king, who had been mediator in the treaty of *Stumsdorf*, and for that reason ought to interest himself in the execution of its articles. The count *d'Avaux*, to whom the elector wrote upon this subject, promised that *Lewis* the thirteenth should employ his good offices with *Ladislaus* in his behalf; but in the mean time gave him to understand, that he ought to merit the king's protection by taking some step that would be advantageous to the party of the allies. Over and above these considerations, he had other reasons to cultivate the friendship of the *Swedes*. Under pretence of treating with them concerning the interests of his aunt, who was dowager of *Sweden*, he endeavoured to pave the way to the throne of that kingdom, which he was ambitious of mounting, by marrying the young queen, who was now in the fifteenth year of her age. This match, which had been projected by her father *Gustavus*, with a view of uniting *Pomerania* and *Prussia* to the kingdom of *Sweden*, was now countenanced by *England* and *Holland*, as an event that would tend to the support of the Protestant religion, and the ballance of power in *Germany*, where the house of *Austria* preponderated to such a formidable degree: but the *Swedish* regency had other views, and took such measures as effectually disappointed the aim of the elector, though the negotiation was serviceable to the allies; for, while it remained upon the carpet, he made but very feeble efforts in favour of the contrary party ^z.

A. D. 1642. THE disposition of the dukes of *Lunenbourg*, with regard to the allies, became every day more and more equivocal. They demanded of *France* the same subsidy of money which that crown granted to the landgrave of *Hesse*; and of the *Swedes*, the restitution of some places which they had possessed for many years. Being disappointed in this quarter, they attempted

The dukes of *Lunenbourg* negotiate with the emperor.

^z PUFFENDORF de reb. Frid. Guill. l. i. sect. xv.

to effect an accommodation with the emperor, who had long solicited them to re-unite with his interests : but they would not enter into any negotiation with his imperial majesty, until he should put them in possession of *Wolfenbuttle* ; and the conferences which were held at *Gastor* upon this affair, being protracted to a great length of time, the allies reaped the advantage of their uncertainty and suspense, for they still continued to treat the Imperialists as enemies, and at last the convention proved ineffectual.

NOR was the emperor more successful with the thirteen *Swiss* cantons, which the diet of *Ratisbon* had required to recall the troops of their nation, that were in the service of *France*, and to hinder the forces of that kingdom from passing through the *Helvetic* territory into the empire ; but neither the letters of the diet, nor the promises of the Catholic cantons, produced any effects in favour of *Ferdinand*, who did not much consult his dignity in trying such feeble resources, and who now sustained an irreparable loss, by the reconciliation of *France* with *Charles* duke of *Lorrain*, the first step towards which was his relinquishing his correspondence with the house of *Austria* ; yet even this misfortune was not of such consequence to the emperor, as the progress made by the arms of *France* and *Sweden*.

THE count *de Guébriant* having crossed the *Rhine* in *January*, upon a bridge which he built at *Wesel*, marched to *Ordinguen*, which surrendered at discretion ; and understanding that *Hasfeld* was on his march to join *Lamboy*, whose quarters were near *Kempen*, he resolved to hinder this junction by attacking the last in his intrenchments. With this view he left his baggage at *Ordinguen*, advanced towards the enemy, drew up his army in order of battle, and proceeded to the attack. After an obstinate opposition, the *Austrian* infantry was forced and put to flight : *Lamboy*, who rallied his troops, and returned to the charge, was, together with *Merci*, surrounded and taken ; and of the whole imperial army, not above six hundred escaped. This victory, obtained upon the seventeenth day of *January*, was followed by the conquest of *Nints*, *Buert*, *Berehem*, *Caster*, and *Guewembruck* ; so that the count *de Guébriant* saw himself master of almost the whole electorate of *Cologne*^a. His next step was to besiege *Kempen*, which *Groensfeld* defended with great gallantry and skill ; but a large breach being made, he knew it would be impossible to sustain the assault, and therefore capitulated upon honourable terms^b.

The count
de Guébriant de-
feats the
Imperial-
ists near
Mem-
phen.

^a HEISS. l. iii. c. x.
An. 1642.

^b Mercur. Franc. t. xxiv. a 1'

The duke
of Saxe-
Lawem-
burg sub-
dues Sile-
sia,

THE defeat of *Lamboy*, and success of the *French* general, did not hinder the archduke *Leopold* and *Picolomini*, who commanded the Imperialists in *Moravia*, from marching against *Torsten*, whom they intended to surprise; but finding the *Swedish* general always upon his guard, *Picolomini* resolved to substitute artifice in the room of valour, and tampered with one *Seckendorf*, a *Swedish* colonel, so successfully, that he promised to admit the Imperialists into the camp by night: this design, however, was discovered, and the traitor being convicted of the crime, was beheaded at *Salzuedel*. In the mean time the duke of *Saxe-Lawemburg*, with a detachment of *Austrians*, entering *Silesia* attacked *Beuthen*, which was defended by three forts. The first was abandoned by the *Swedes*, who took refuge in the second, where they were forced and put to the sword; and the garrison which was in the third, capitulated, in order to avoid the same fate. The duke having razed these three forts, reduced the castle of *Carloth*, and marched against *Buntzlaw*, which he besieged and took. *Naumburg* surrendered almost without resistance; and all *Silesia* being thus subjected to the house of *Austria*, he joined the archduke and *Picolomini*^c.

and is af-
terwards
defeated by
the Swe-
dish gene-
ral.

SILESIA was no sooner abandoned by the Imperialists, than *Torsten* marched thither to recover the places which had been lost, and proceeded in his conquests with surprising rapidity, which, in order to check, the duke of *Saxe-Lawemburg* marched towards *Schwentz* with great expedition. He found the *Swedes* in order of battle, and having no desire to engage in a general action, thought proper to retire; when *Torsten* pursued him at the head of his cavalry, and found means to decoy him into an ambuscade of his musqueteers, who charging the *Austrian* squadrons in flank, soon put them in disorder, and produced a panic among the infantry, in consequence of which they fled with great precipitation. The duke made many efforts to rally his troops; but the *Swedish* horse, far from giving him time, fell upon his men with such impetuosity, that three thousand were killed upon the spot; the duke himself being dangerously wounded, was obliged to surrender, with the greatest part of his officers, and was conveyed to the next town, where he died without issue by his dutchess *Christina*, daughter of *John Albert* duke of *Mecklenburg*^d.

TORSTENSON having now no enemy near to oppose him, invested *Brieg*, and in all probability would have taken the place, had not the king of *Hungary* ordered *Picolomini* to

^c BARRE, t. ix. p. 752.

^d PUFFENDORF, l. xiv. sect. xx.

assemble all the forces he could collect, and succour the place even at the expence of a battle. The archduke *Leopold*, foreseeing, that the reduction of *Brieg* would be followed by the loss of all *Silesia*, joined this body, which being greatly superior in number to *Torsten*, obliged him to relinquish his enterprize; though he retired in good order, and intrenched himself in an advantageous situation between *Grave* and *Gros-Glogau*, the siege of which last place the archduke immediately undertook; but the besieged made such a vigorous defence, that he despaired of reducing the place, and retired to *Luben*, where he established his head-quarters. The *Austrians* were not more successful in the siege of *Olmütz*, from which they were recalled by the archduke, in order to act to greater advantage against *Torsten*.

THIS general being strengthened by a reinforcement from Sweden, had passed the *Elbe* with intent to besiege *Leipsick*; and having seized two posts, the possession of which might facilitate that enterprize, ordered general *Koningsmarck* to invest the place, in hope of making himself master of it, or of obliging the Imperialists to fight, should they come to its relief. Accordingly, while he was employed in the operations of the siege, he received intelligence that the *Austrians* had crossed the *Elbe*; and, in consequence of this intimation, he converted the siege into a blockade, and made preparations for receiving the enemy. On the thirty-first day of *October*, the count *de Bouchain*, who commanded a body of *Croats* and *Hungarians*, advancing within two leagues of the *Swedish* camp, *Torsten* marched out to meet them at the head of his cavalry; but understanding that the archduke had drawn up his army in order of battle, he returned to his camp to deliberate upon the next step he should take. Mean while *Leopold* approached *Leipsick* in such a manner, as that the *Swedes* were between his army and the town; and *Torsten* finding himself between two fires, filed off his troops into a plain at the distance of a league from *Leipsick*: The *Austrians*, imagining his design was to avoid an action, followed him in his march with a view to harraß his rear; but the *Swedish* general having put his army in order, faced about to the enemy, and a mutual cannonading ensued. Major-general *Wittemberg*, who commanded the right wing of the *Swedes*, charged the left of the Imperialists with such impetuosity, that they were routed after having made a slight resistance: however, their right wing behaved with more valour, and the emperor's cuirassiers had well nigh broke the *Swedish* cavalry, which was rallied by *Koningsmarck*, and at length put the *Austrians* to flight. While the cavalry of both armies thus disputed the victory, the in-

*Torsten-
son under-
takes the
siege of
and is in-
terrupted
by the Im-
perialists.*

*who are
totally de-
feated in
the plain
of Breiten-
feld.*

fantry in the center fought with inexpressible rage and resolution, until the *Swedish* foot, animated by the example of their horse, and supported by a body of reserve, which advanced in the heat of the action, obliged the Imperialists to leave the field, and retreat into a wood, after having abandoned their cannon.

TORSTENSON pursued the left wing as far as *Leipsick*; *Koningsmarck* gave no quarter to the right; and the *Austrian* infantry being driven from the wood to which they had retired, were surrounded by the enemy, and cut in pieces. In this battle, which was fought in the plain of *Breitenfeld*, on the second day of *November*, the Imperialists lost above eight thousand men, including three hundred officers that were found among the slain (B). As for the conquerors, they took a great number of prisoners; together with forty-six pieces of cannon, one hundred and sixteen pair of colours, seventy-five standards, the chancery and plate of the archduke and *Picolomini*, a great many coaches, and six thousand waggons; and their whole loss did not amount to one thousand men, including some officers of distinction*. With regard to *Picolomini*, he escaped to *Leipsick* with twelve hundred horse; but as he did not doubt that *Torsten* would renew the siege, he would not shut himself up in that place, but retired with the archduke into *Bohemia*, to reassemble the wreck of their army.

THIS total defeat of the *Austrians* overwhelmed the court of *Vienna* with consternation. General *Enckenford* was ordered

* *Theat. Europ.* t. iv. p. 900.

(B) The regiment of *Madlon* being the first that fled without fighting, and in some measure the cause of the general confusion that ensued, the archduke resolved to inflict an exemplary punishment on that corps, when the remains of the army retreated into *Bohemia*. Six regiments which had signalized themselves in the battle, being drawn up under arms, surrounded that of *Madlon*, which was severely reproached for its cowardice and misconduct, by the prevot general, and ordered to lay down its arms at the feet of general *Picolomini*. When they had obeyed this command,

their ensigns were torn in pieces; and the prevot, having mentioned the causes of their degradation, and razed them from the register of the imperial troops, pronounced the sentence which had been agreed upon in the council of war, condemning the colonel, captains, and lieutenants, to be beheaded, the ensigns to be hanged, and the soldiers to be decimated. This sentence, however, was partly mitigated at the intercession of many persons of distinction, though the colonel actually lost his head. *Hist. l. iii. c. x.*

to make new levies with all expedition, *Hasfeld* and *Wahl* were sent for to court, *Goltaker* and *Galtz* exerted their utmost diligence to join the archduke, and all the troops in the service of the house of *Austria* were assembled to stop the progress of the victorious *Torstenſon*^f.

This general had returned to the siege of *Leipſick*, which *Torstenſon* he carried on with unabating ardour, by means of sixty pieces of battering cannon: but the valour of the garrison was equal to the siege to that of the besiegers. They made a number of successful sallies, in which they damaged the *Swedish* works; but, being destitute of all hope of relief from the elector of *Saxony*, they sent deputies to *Torstenſon* to demand a sum of money, in consideration of which they would give security that the electoral troops in the citadel should live on good terms with the *Swedes*, and the burghers should observe an exact neutrality during the present war. These proposals were rejected by the *Swedish* general, who proceeded in his attacks with incredible vigour, until he had advanced to the very bastions of the place. Notwithstanding this progress, the garrison defended themselves with great obstinacy until the *French* troops arrived in the *Swedish* camp, when the town and citadel surrendered upon these conditions: that fifteen hundred Imperialists, who were in the town, should engage in the service of *Sweden*; that the *Saxons*, who composed part of the garrison, should be conducted to *Dresden*, with their arms and baggage; that the town should redeem itself from pillage by the sum of seven hundred thousand rixdollars; and receive a *Swedish* governor, without a garrison, though the *Swedish* troops should take possession of the citadel^g. which he reduces.

THE articles of capitulation being executed, *Torstenſon* proposed an interview with the count *de Guébriant* at *Rudſtadt*, in order to deliberate upon the march of the troops, and winter-quarters for both armies. His design being to pursue the interest of *Sweden* only, he would have persuaded the *French* general to march into *Bohemia*; but *Guébriant* representing that such a motion would disappoint them of the fruit which they might expect from their victories and success, another plan of operations was settled, in consequence of which the *French* should pass the *Maine* and the *Neckar*, in order to oppose the designs of *Hasfeld* and *Wahl*, the *Bavarian* generals, while the *Swedes* should besiege *Hoff* in the marquisate of *Culmbach*, in *Franconia*, and, after the reduction of that place, advance to the *Upper Palatinate*; and the march of both ar- A. D. 1643. A plan of operations settled by the French and Swedish generals.

^f BARRE, t. ix. p. 757.
LER. Ann. Freiberg, p. 594.

^g Annales Vogel. p. 598. MOL-

Torsten-
son
marches
towards
Frieberg.

mies was regulated in such a manner, that in two days they could join one another ^b. This was certainly a very feasible project, and the most advantageous enterprize that could have been undertaken in favour of the common cause. The armies of the emperor and duke of *Bavaria* were not strong enough to make head against those belonging to the two crowns; and the small body which *Guébriant* proposed to detach into *Germany*, by *Brisack*, would have made a very useful diversion: they would have made themselves masters of towns and excellent posts for winter-quarters, and there was nothing to obstruct their success. But this scheme was defeated by *Torsten-son*, who after two days march returned, and, instead of besieging *Hoff*, took the road to *Frieberg* upon the *Elbe*; as for *Guébriant*, he passed the *Maine* at *Gemund*, established quarters of refreshment on the *Tauber*, and afterwards marched towards the *Neckar* ¹.

THE archduke and imperial generals being assembled at *Pilsen*, to concert measures for stopping the current of the enemy's success, it was resolved to march to the relief of *Frieberg*, which was by this time blocked up by *Torsten-son*, who being apprised of their design, left one half of his infantry to continue the blockade, and marched out to meet them with the rest of his army. After having scoured the country three days, without finding the Imperialists, he returned to the siege, in which he proceeded with indefatigable industry, considerable breaches were made, and an assault actually given; but the garrison sustained it with such courage, that he was fain to recal his troops for that time. However, he was employed in making preparations for another attack, when he understood that *Picolomini*, at the head of fourteen thousand men, approached to the relief of the place. He no soon received this intimation, than, ranging his army in order of battle, he put himself in motion to meet them half-way; when *Picolomini*, foreseeing his design, took another road, by which he threw supplies into the town, and then retired with the utmost expedition; so that the *Swedish* general, now despairing of being able to reduce *Frieberg*, marched into *Lusatia*, in order to wait for the reinforcements which he expected, with *Stalhaus* and *Koningsmarck*, from *Pomerania* and *Lower Saxony*.

Proceed-
ings at
Ham-
burgh.

THE conferences were still continued at *Hamburgh*, though in a cold and ineffectual manner. After the battle of *Breitenfeld*, the allies expected that the house of *Austria* would appear sincerely disposed to an accommodation: but as the courts of

^b PUFFENDORF rer. Suec. l. xiv.

¹ Id. ibid.

Vienna and *Madrid* foresaw that *France* and *Sweden* would set a high price on the peace at that conjuncture, they seemed very indifferent about renewing the negotiations. The king of *Denmark* had, the preceding year, sent to *Langerman*, his minister at *Hamburgh*, a model of ratification of the preliminary treaty, touching the safe-conducts, which model was approved by *Salvius* and *St. Romain*, the *Swedish* and *French* envoys. But the emperor's minister, the count *d'Aversperg*, was willed about the title of ambassador, which it bestowed upon *Salvius*; and the term assigned for the commencement of the congress, and these two articles, produced long debates: at length, however, the emperor finding the allies determined against any alteration, was obliged to acquiesce in this model, and the negotiators communicated to one another copies of the safe-conducts and ratifications. These being examined and exchanged, and all the formalities adjusted, they agreed to open the conferences for a general peace in the month of *July*; and, the preliminaries being published, all the nations which had been so long exposed to the calamities of war, congratulated themselves upon the near approach of peace, plenty, and security. Nevertheless, this agreeable prospect was suddenly overcast by the death of *Lewis* the thirteenth, king of *France* (C), which happened on the fourteenth day of *May*, and induced the *Swedes*, who were dubious of the politicks of the new government, to think of a separate peace with the emperor. But their doubts were soon removed by a victory obtained near *Ardennes* by the duke *d'Enguien*, over the *Spaniards* commanded by the count *de Mello*, which convinced them of the intention of the *French* ministry to act in concert with their allies.

Death of Lewis the thirteenth of France, and victory obtained over the Spaniards near Ardennes.

THE arms of *France* were not so fortunate in *Germany*. The duke of *Lorraine* renounced his treaty with that kingdom, and took upon himself the command of the *Bavarian* troops; and *Guébriant* being mortally wounded at the siege of *Guébri-Ratweil*, which however was taken, a misunderstanding prevailed among the chief officers of the army, and produced a relaxation in their discipline, which was the cause of their total defeat. The count *de Rantzau*, who succeeded *Guébriant* in the command, marched to the neighbourhood of *Dutlingen* in *Suabia*, upon the *Danube*, where the count *de Merci*, the *Bavarian* general, surprised, defeated, and took him prisoner, with the greatest part of the general-officers, and about four thousand men; and the remains of the army retreated to *Al-*

ant dies of a wound, and his army is defeated by count de Merci.

(C) Cardinal *Richelieu* died on the fourth day of *December*, in the preceding year. *Barre*, t. ix. p. 762.

sare, where they were collected and re-assembled by the count *de Turenne*, who was sent thither for that purpose^k.

Plenipotentiaries appointed for the negotiations at Munster and Osnaburg. THE eyes of all Europe were now fixed upon the assemblies at *Munster* and *Osnabrug*. The plenipotentiaries nominated by the emperor were the count *d' Aversperg* and the baron *de Krane*, with *Henry* of *Saxe-Lawemburg*, who was chief of the embassy: *France* appointed the count *d' Avaux*, and *Abel Servieu*, counsellor of state: the marquis *de Castel Roderigo*, and *Diego de Saavedra*, were chosen by the king of *Spain*; and deputies were also named by the other European courts which were interested in the negotiations. The *Swedish* garrison quitted *Osnabrug*, which, together with *Munster*, was by the baron *de Krane* released of the oath they had taken to the empire: the regencies of both cities swore to observe an exact neutrality, and to protect the persons and effects of the negotiators.

Cause of the war between Sweden and Denmark.

IN the midst of these transactions, *Torstenson* was ordered by the court of *Sweden* to march towards *Holstein*, the regency being incensed against the king of *Denmark*, whom they accused of harbouring all the sentiments of an enemy, under the mask of mediator. He had indeed taken several *Swedish* vessels that traded in the *Sound*, and neglected to give satisfaction to the regency, who complained of these acts of hostility, which, in a general assembly of the states of *Sweden*, they resolved to retort; and this resolution was not known till the moment in which *Torstenson* invaded *Holstein*, where he reduced *Oldisloe*, *Kiel*, *Christian-pries*, and several other places of importance^l.

CHRISTIAN, king of *Denmark*, alarmed at this irruption, complained of it to *Torstenson* as a palpable infringement of the treaty which he had lately concluded with *Sweden*; but finding that, instead of paying any regard to this remonstrance, he penetrated into *Futland*, and made himself master of almost all the towns in that province, his *Danish* majesty had recourse to the assistance of the emperor, who ordered *Galas* to march immediately to his relief, though the winter was by this time pretty far advanced. Though their march was very much retarded by the snow, which rendered the roads almost impassable, these auxiliaries at length appeared on the frontiers of *Holstein*, and their general resolved to furnish the *Swedes* who were in *Futland*, by occupying the defiles between *Stapelholm* and *Sleswick*. This enterprize was defeated by the vigilance of *Torstenson*, who marched towards *Rensburg*, with intent to give *Galas* battle, in case he should dispute the pas-

^k BARRE, t. ix. p. 764.

^l HEISS. l. iii. c. x.

sage; but the *Austrians* did not think proper to give him the least molestation, so, that he quitted *Holstein*, intercepted some of their convoys, and encamped near *Ratzburg*, whither he was followed by the imperial general, whose troops did nothing but exhaust the country. The *Danes* complained, that *Misunder-* the slowness of *Galas*, in executing the project of starving the *standing* *Swedes*, had given them time to retire with safety; while he, *between* on the other hand, alledged, that the *Danes* had promised a *the Danes* great deal, and performed nothing; that he expected to have *and Impe-* found money for the subsistence of his troops, together with a *rialists.* reinforcement of four thousand disciplined soldiers, and twice the number of peasants; instead of which, he saw not above four thousand raw men, ill payed, and miserably equipped^m.

IN the beginning of this war, the duke of *Neuburg* and the archbishop of *Colagn* had projected a league in the circle of *Westphalia*, with design to defend themselves equally against the *Swedes* and *Austrians*, and to maintain an exact neutrality. This affair seemed to be the more important, as the circle of *Franconia* appeared well disposed to follow the example; and the count *d'Avaux*, in a letter to the duke, represented, that such a league would be altogether opposite to the interests of the *Germanic* body, because, in obliging the foreign troops to quit the empire, it would furnish the house of *Austria* with means for enslaving the whole nation. This argument had no effect upon the duke, who persisted in his design, which however miscarried in the sequel through want of money.

THE treaty which the elector of *Brandenburg* negotiated *The elector* with *France* proved also ineffectual. He wanted to be sup- *of Bran-* ported by that kingdom in his pretensions to the succession of *denburg* *Juliers*, and in his scheme of marrying the queen of *Sweden*; *negotiates* but, as I have already observed, the *Swedes* dreaded the go- *with* vernment of a foreigner, who would, in all probability, be- *France.* stow the best posts of the kingdom upon his own creatures and followers, to the prejudice of the natives; and *France* did not wish to see such an accession of power to any Protestant prince of the empireⁿ.

DURING these efforts of the elector at the *French* court, *The pro-* the emperor's commissaries, assembled at *Frankfort*, exerted *ceedings of* their endeavours to destroy the alliances subsisting between the *the diet at* princes of *Germany* and foreign powers. *Ferdinand* had sum- *Frankfort.* moned a diet to meet in this city; and *Ernest Oetingen*, who presided in his name, proposed, at first, that the abuses which

^m BARRE, t. ix. p. 767.
p. 819.

ⁿ Id. ibid. LONDORP. t. v.

had crept into the administration of justice should be reformed. But this proposal was indifferently received by the deputies, who, suspecting the house of *Austria* of a design to protract the war, alledged, that the first object of their deliberation ought to be the means of restoring peace to *Germany*. The imperial commissaries, in order to remove the suspicion they had incurred, assented to the justness of this proposal; but represented, that, in order to procure a general solid peace, the members of the *Germanic* body ought, first of all, to be united among themselves; that the landgrave of *Hesse* should detach himself from *France* and *Sweden*; and the elector of *Brandenburg* be obliged to renounce his neutrality, and act in concert with the other states of the empire against all foreign powers whatever. This article was after a long debate rejected, and a resolution taken to make peace with foreign princes, before measures could be taken to re-establish union in the empire, because the one necessarily depended upon the other^o.

College of
the princes
and towns
claim the
privilege
of sending
deputies to
the con-
gress.

THE next question that fell under consideration was, whether or not the college of the princes and towns should send deputies to the congress at *Munster* and *Osnabrug*. The college of electors represented, that they were the depository of the rights of the empire, and the guardians that ought to preserve them; that it would be impossible to keep the negotiations secret, provided they should be communicated to such a number of envoys, and that confusion must necessarily attend such a number of opinions. The deputies of the princes and towns, on the other hand, declared, that they had no intention to encroach upon the prerogatives of the electors, or even to mingle in the conferences held between the imperial ministers and ambassadors of foreign princes; but it was no more than reasonable, that they should assist in the deliberations about the common interest of their country, on which subject no resolution ought to be taken without their privacy and consent^p.

THIS pretension was extremely disagreeable to the emperor and greatest part of the electors, who, fearing that the party of their adversaries would prevail, so as that they should be obliged to acknowledge their right of deputation to the congress of *Westphalia*, proposed to continue the diet at *Frankfort*, where the states should be exactly informed of the negotiations at *Munster* and *Osnabrug*. They promised at the same time to convoke another general assembly, for regulating the differences on account of religion, and reforming the abuses which had crept into the aulic council and imperial chamber.

^o Theat. Europ. t. v. p. 59.

^p PUFFEN. l. xv. sect. lix.

THESE proposals gave rise to warm debates, in the midst of which they received letters from the plenipotentiaries of *France*, expressing their astonishment that the members of the empire, after having called in foreigners to their assistance, and supported a long and troublesome war, should let slip a favourable opportunity of retrieving their liberty, and convincing the world of their sovereign power to make peace or war, independent of any superior. They likewise exhorted the deputies of the empire to repair forthwith to the place of conference, and openly accused the house of *Austria* of a design to oppress the freedom of *Germany*.

FERDINAND was so much incensed at this affront, that he demanded authentic satisfaction, and would have considered as null and void the passports he had received from *France* for his ambassadors, on pretence that they were not signed by a prince of the blood, or ratified by the parliament of *Paris*, whose authority was very great during the minority of *Lewis* the fourteenth. Various were the opinions of the electoral deputies, concerning the manner in which this outrage ought to be resented: but the subject of their deliberation was soon changed by the progress of the *French* arms upon the banks of the *Rhine*, though the misfortune of their country still remained. The princes and states of the empire were irreconcilably divided on the score of religion. The Protestants, who were often at variance among themselves, and always surpassed in number by those of the other communion, made very weak and languishing efforts in return to the invitation of *France* and *Sweden*; and the Roman Catholics sacrificed the liberty of their country to the interests of the house of *Austria*. Among other instances of their attachment to this family, they opposed and rendered ineffectual a scheme of the princes and cities for removing the diet to *Munster*, that it might be more at hand to consider the articles of the peace; for the emperor foresaw that *France* and *Sweden* would form a considerable party in such an assembly, and the elector of *Bavaria* was afraid that the cause of the Palatine would be brought before that tribunal.

Division between the Catholic and Protestant states of the empire.

FRANCE being disturbed by the war between *Sweden* and *Denmark*, which was fomented by the emperor, sent the sieur *de la Thuillerie* to *Copenhagen*, in order to negotiate an accommodation; but his proposals met with little regard, until the retreat of *Galas*, and the bad success of some sea-engagements rendered his *Danish* majesty more tractable. Now that he despaired of obtaining fresh succours of the emperor, he listened

A. D.
1644.

Peace is
re-esta-
blished be-
tween the
crowns of
Sweden
and Den-
mark, and
a treaty
concluded
between
Denmark
and
France.

to the mediator, and on the seventeenth day of *August*, a treaty was concluded at *Bromsboe*, by which Sweden restored to *Denmark* all the towns she had conquered in *Holstein*, and *Stormarie*, *Dybmarsie*; and on the other hand, *Christian* ceded to the queen of Sweden, *Jemptie*, *Halland*, the island of *Gothland*, the citadel and town of *Wisbie*, with all the isles depending upon it.

BESIDES this treaty, which enabled Sweden to act with all her forces against the house of *Austria*, *La Thuillerie* concluded another between *France* and *Denmark*, by which *Christian* engaged to yield no assistance directly or indirectly to the enemies of *France* and her allies; and *Ferdinand* was in no condition to prevent the execution of this new league: for the viscount *de Turenne* had retrieved the affairs of his nation upon the *Rhine*, which he crossed at *Brissack*, and advancing with a small army towards the source of the *Danube*, routed the Imperialists commanded by the baron *de Merzi*.

The Impe-
rialists take
Friburg.

IN the month of *May* the *Bavarian* army being recruited and augmented, went and laid siege to *Friburg*. *Turenne* was no sooner apprised of this motion, than he marched to the relief of the place; but count *de Merzi*, brother of him whom he had just before routed, took such measures as effectually prevented the *French* general from throwing supplies into the town; so that finding himself too weak to act with vigour against the enemy, the viscount retired, and encamped within a league and an half of the town, which was obliged to capi-

The duke
d'Enguien
and vis-
count de
Turenne
attack
Merzi,
and oblige
him to re-
tire into
the coun-
try of Wir-
temberg.

tulate. The queen-regent of *France* being informed that the king's army was greatly inferior in strength to the *Bavarians*, ordered *Lewis de Bourbon*, duke *d'Enguien*, to join *Turenne* with a reinforcement; and these two generals attacked the count *de Merzi* with such impetuosity, that notwithstanding his situation, which seemed almost inaccessible, he was obliged to retire with the loss of three thousand men. This action, which lasted seven hours, on the third day of *August*, was immediately followed by another, in which the *Bavarians* had at first some advantage. The duke *d'Enguien* rallied his troops, which were in disorder, and marched up to the enemy, whom they drove from their intrenchments three several times, but at length they were repulsed with some loss, though as neither party quitted their ground, the victory remained undecided. *Merzi*, who had lost one half of his infantry, resolved to avoid a third shock by a quick retreat, which he effected in good order, notwithstanding the efforts of the *French*, who attacked his rear. Continuing his route, he reached the country of *Wirtemberg*, leaving to the enemy his artillery and baggage,

baggage, with all the towns situated between the Rhine and the Moselle, from Mentz to Landau.

FRANCE and Sweden were not the only foreign enemies that incommoded the house of Austria. Ragotski, vaivode of Transylvania, had proposed to these crowns an alliance against the emperor; and they would not let slip this opportunity of finding employment for the emperor in Hungary and Bohemia, while the Swedes were employed in the Danish war. Accordingly a treaty was concluded, and the consent of the Grand Signior, to whom Ragotski was tributary, being obtained, the Transylvanian prince took the field with thirty thousand men. He advanced into the county of Neugrad, undertook the siege of Filock, which he was constrained to abandon, while another corps of his army invested Cassovia. Having made himself master of a great many places, his army increased to sixty thousand men, whom he divided into four bodies for the convenience of provision.

IN order to oppose the progress of the vaivode, the emperor sent the troops that were designed as auxiliaries to the king of Denmark, under the command of the count de Bouchain, who entered Hungary with eight thousand men, and marched directly to Presburg, where he expected to be joined by thirty thousand Hungarians. Before these could be assembled, Cassovia was taken by Ragotski, who then convened the states of Transylvania, of which he obtained an augmentation of his forces. For the justification of his conduct, he published a manifesto, addressed to the noblemen of Hungary, in which he assured them, that his whole aim in taking up arms was to defend their liberty and privileges from the encroachment of the emperor, whose design was to make that kingdom hereditary in his family: he therefore conjured them to join him in such a laudable undertaking. This manifesto was answered by Ferdinand, who reproached the vaivode for having made an alliance with the enemies of the empire, to whom (he said) he had promised to deliver up the principal places of Hungary. At the same time he augmented the count de Bouchain's army, and gave the chief command to general Goetz, who encamped within a few leagues of Presburg; but being still greatly inferior to the enemy, all he could do was to harass and attack their parties, cut off their provisions, and intercept their convoys. Ragotski's troops being raw, undisciplined, and without subordination, he durst not venture to give battle, until he should be joined by a reinforcement which Torstenson had promised to send to his assistance, together with a

Ragotski takes Cassovia; but is obliged to retire before general Goetz,

though he
refuses the
terms of
peace of-
fered by
the em-
peror.

Torsten-
son pursues
the impe-
rial army
from place
to place.

sum of money ; but instead of this supply, he soon received intelligence that the *Swedish* general had occasion for all his strength to make head against the king of *Denmark* ; that the grand vizier, his protector, was dead ; and that the king of *Poland* intended to declare against him. These concurring circumstances filled him with such despondence, that he believed himself on the brink of ruin, and resolved forthwith to retreat. He was eagerly pursued by *Goetz* ; but the country being destitute of provisions, the imperial troops were half-starved, and afterwards totally ruined at the siege of *Cassovia*, where the vaivode had left five regiments, who defended the place with extraordinary bravery *. This disorder of the enemy re-inspired *Ragotski* with courage, insomuch that he rejected the conditions of peace which *Ferdinand* offered, and was of signal service to *Sweden*, by making a diversion in *Germany*, while her forces were employed in *Denmark*.

NOR was the emperor's forces in better plight in *Lower Saxony*, where *Galas* fled before the *Swedes*. On the last day of *August* this general crossed the *Elbe* at *Lawemburg*, without waiting for the provision which he had bought at *Hamburg* ; and *Torsten*son pursued him with such diligence, that he was fain to leave his heavy artillery at *Magdeburg* ; then crossing the *Saale* at *Bernburg*, he was joined by the *Saxons* : but hearing of the junction of major-general *Koningsmarck* and *Torsten*son, he could not afford the least repose to his troops until he arrived at *Hall*, and established his quarters between *Weten* and *Treidenberg*. Here he was reinforced by a body of *Saxons*, under general *Enkenfort*, who had reduced the town of *Lukaw* ; but this reinforcement served only to increase the dearth of forage and provision in his army : for such was the vigilance of *Torsten*son, who had pursued him all the way, and was now encamped at *Oldensleben*, that no party could go out of the imperial camp without being attacked. *Koningsmarck* defeated a convoy of fifteen hundred loaded waggons, of which he took one thousand, together with twelve hundred soldiers, and four hundred horses † : and this misfortune was followed by another of the same kind, in sight of the Imperialists, who durst not move from their situation : nevertheless, *Galas* finding it would be impossible for him to subsist in the place where he was, had recourse to a stratagem that succeeded. He detached colonel *Donabe* with fifteen hundred horse, and two thousand foot soldiers, to surprise *Eisleben* ; and this officer set out in the dark, so as to conceal his march from the *Swedes*. *Torsten*son was no sooner informed of this motion, than he fol-

* Id. ibid.

† PUFFENDORF, l. xvi. sect. v. and vi. &c.

owed the detachment with the best part of his cavalry, in order to cut off its retreat; then *Galas*, taking advantage of their absence, decamped without loss of time, taking the road to *Stasfort*, where general *Enkenfort* waited for him, and arrived at *Magdeburg*, leaving behind him some pieces of artillery which he could not carry off. Notwithstanding all his vigilance and expedition, the *Swede* was at his heels, and hampered him in such a manner, that he could not find subsistence for his troops, which were reduced to such misery, that many died of famine, a great number deserted to the *Swedish* army, and all the rest were so exasperated against *Galas*, that they engaged in a conspiracy to blow him up with gunpowder; but this combination was happily discovered^u.

A. D.
1645.

THE imperial general being thus as it were besieged, *Torsten* *Galas* left part of his army with *Koningsmarck* to starve the *Austrians*, while he himself, at the head of twelve thousand men, took the road to *Annesberg*; and making himself master of the pass of *Presnitz*, advanced into *Bohemia*, every horseman carrying a pike and shovel, and every soldier being provided with victuals for eight days. As for *Galas*, he was reduced to such extremity, that he resolved to cut his way, sword in hand, through the *Swedes*, and was lucky enough to escape into the circle of *Leutmeritz*. Mean while *Torsten*, who now found himself nineteen thousand strong, advanced directly to *Prague*, in hope of surprising that city, and taking the emperor and archduke *Leopold*, who had resided there for some time: but *Ferdinand* was no sooner apprised of his march, than he ordered all the troops that could be assembled to approach the place, under *Galas*, *Hasfeld*, *John de Wert*, and the counts of *Brouay* and *Montecuculli*; yet all these forces could not dissipate his fear, in consequence of which he and *Leopold* retired to *Vienna*^x.

forces his way into the circle of Leutmeritz.

THE imperial army being formed, encamped between *Thabor* and *Budweis*, at a small distance from the *Swedes*, and each side watched the motions of the other with equal diligence and address: at length *Torsten*, in order to decoy the *Austrians* from their post, spread a report that he intended to march to *Moravia*, and actually took the road to that province, till finding the enemy in motion to follow his route, he returned and encamped at *Strockwitz*. On the second day of *March* he passed the *Moldaw*, and arrived in the neighbourhood of *Thabor*, whither he was followed by the *Austrians*. Here, though both armies glowed with an equal desire of battle, neither would quit its advantageous situation to attack the enemy,

The Imperialists are defeated at Janckaw near Thabor.

^u BARRE, t. ix. p. 778.

^x Id. ibid.

enemy,

enemy, and during four days nothing happened between them but slight skirmishes; at last the *Swedes* resolved to advance to the Imperialists: the cannonading began at break of day, and about seven o'clock in the morning, both sides were engaged in an action, that continued for the space of four hours with equal obstinacy and success on both sides. At first the left wing of the *Swedes* began to give way; but being timely supported, the battle was restored, and they charged the *Austrians* with such fury, that their cavalry was routed, and their infantry cut in pieces: general *Gœutz*, and about three thousand men were killed upon the spot; six and twenty pieces of cannon were taken, together with sixty-three pair of colour, and the number of the prisoners amounted to four thousand, comprehending general *Hasfeld*, and several officers of distinction. The *Swedes*, in pursuing their victory, overtook a party of fugitives, who had escaped to the neighbourhood of *Krembs* upon the *Danube*, slew twelve hundred, and took the rest, together with three thousand horse: then they sent a reinforcement to *Olmütz*, and filled all the hereditary dominions of the house of *Austria* with consternation and despair.

FERDINAND, terrified at these repeated misfortunes, pressed the elector of *Bavaria* to assist him with troops, and the duke sent four thousand men towards *Vienna*, excusing himself from furnishing a greater number, on account of his being obliged to protect his own dominions from the insults of the *French*, who threatened the *Upper Palatinate*. *Galea* collected the broken remains of the imperial army in *Bohemia*, set on foot new levies, and having formed a body of troops, encamped under the cannon of *Pilsen*, to observe the motions of *Torsten*son. This general, in consequence of his victory, had reduced *Leipnitz*, *Pilgran*, *Iglaw*, and several other places: the towns of *Krembs*, *Stein*, and the fort of *Tyraslin*, submitted to the conqueror, so that he was master of the *Danube* on the *Moravian* side; and all the towns of this province surrendered at discretion, except *Brinn*, which he besieged, as the conquest of it seemed necessary for his junction with *Ragotski*, in order to penetrate into *Hungary* and *Austria*.

Torsten-
son besieges
Brinn.

THIS enterprize raised such terror in *Vienna*, that the emperor retired to *Ratisbon*, and the empress, with the nobility, took refuge at *Gratz* in *Stiria*. All the valuable furniture was removed; the suburbs were pulled down; the bastions and ramparts repaired; some old regiments threw themselves into the place; the burghers and students were armed, the

gazines were filled, and preparations made for supporting a long siege, which, however, *Torstenſon* never dreamed of undertaking. He was now employed at that of *Brinn*, which, by its gallant reſiſtance, gave *Ferdinand* time to put his affairs in ſome order. He declared the archduke *Leopold* generaliſſimo of his forces, and *Galas*, who ſerved under him in quality of lieutenant-general, aſſembled the militia from all quarters to augment the army, that they might hinder the *Swedes* from croſſing the *Danube*, and ſending parties to lay *Upper Hungary* and *Auſtria* under contribution. While the Imperialiſts thus exerted themſelves in repairing the damage they had ſuſtained, the elector of *Bavaria* was buſy in taking meaſures to ſtop the progreſs of the *French* conqueſts, which alarmed his whole dominions. General *Merci* having received intelligence, that the viſcount *de Turenne*, after having quitted his winter-quarters at *Spire*, had eſta bliſhed his head-quarters at *Mariendal*, which he had taken, and that his troops were diſperſed in the neighbouring towns for the convenience of finding ſubſiſtence, reſolved to attack him unaware before he ſhould be able to re-aſſemble them, and with this view extending himſelf in the plain of *Mariendal*, he drew up his forces in order of battle, placing his infantry in the center, and his cavalry on the two wings. After having cannonaded the *French* for ſome time, he put himſelf at the head of his infantry, and marched to the attack of a ſmall wood which covered their front, a poſt which it was abſolutely neceſſary to poſſeſs, before his left wing, commanded by *John de Wert*, could act to advantage. *Turenne*, at the ſame time, with his cavalry, charged the right wing of the Imperialiſts, which he broke, and penetrated as far as the ſecond line: but three thouſand *French* foot ſoldiers, under the command of general *Roſe*, were routed and diſperſed by the *Bavarians*, and *de Wert* perceiving their diſorder, advanced with his left wing to take the viſcount *de Turenne* in the rear. This general, ſeeing the riſque he ran of being ſurrounded, ordered his cavalry to wheel about and retire acroſs the wood; at the other ſide of which being joined by three freſh regiments, and fifteen hundred horſemen who had been already engaged, he ranged them in order of battle, with a view to attack the enemy ſhould they paſs the wood to purſue him; but *Merci* did not think proper to try the experiment; and the *French* general having rallied his troops, repaſſed the *Tauber*, and retired in good order. Nevertheleſs, he was very much harraſſed in his retreat, and often obliged to face about to repulſe the enemy, in whoſe deſpight he croſſed the *Maine*, and reached the frontiers of *Heſſe*, where he was joined by the reſt of his army, after hav-

*Merci the
Bavariaⁿ
general
ſurprizes
the viſ-
count de
Turenne,
and defeats
him near
Marien-
dal.*

Turenne
is rein-
forced by
the duke
d'Enguien

ing lost a good part of his infantry, twelve hundred horse, four pieces of cannon, and his whole baggage ².

THE elector of *Bavaria* elevated by the advantage he had obtained, made very lofty proposals of peace to *France*; which, without paying the least regard to them, sent a reinforcement of eight thousand men to *Turenne*, under the conduct of the duke d'Enguien; and these two generals resolved, either to oblige the *Bavarians* to come to a general action, or to drive them as far as the *Danube*, and then undertake the siege of *Heilbron*. With this view they marched directly to *Dumitelsbubel*, and encamped near the enemy, who were intrenched at *Weietewaugh*: their intention was to attack *Dumitelsbubel*; but understanding the *Bavarians* were in march to frustrate that scheme, they resolved to meet them half way, and just as they quitted a wood, perceived their vanguard filing off on one side. *Turenne*, whose turn it was to command, drew up his squadrons in order of battle, and the *Bavarians* took post upon a rising ground, which was so inaccessible that the *French* would not attack them, though they cannonaded each other with pretty equal success. The duke d'Enguien seeing it would be impossible to bring the *Bavarians* to an action against their will, determined to prosecute his design of advancing to the *Danube*, and took the road to *Nordlingen*, while the enemy marched towards *Donauwert*. Orders were actually given to return to *Heilbron*, when news were brought that the *Bavarians* were in march within a league and an half of the army; and in a little time they appeared on this side the river of *Wermitz*. The duke immediately drew up his army in order of battle upon the plain, giving the command of the right wing to the marechal de Grammont, that of the left to the viscount du Turenne. *Marsin* was at the head of the infantry of the first line; the second, composed chiefly of *Hessians*, was commanded by major-general *Geiss*; and the fleur de Chêne conducted the body of reserve. The *Bavarians* put themselves in order, upon a mountain of easy ascent; their right wing composed of the infantry posted upon a rising ground; and the rest of their army was intrenched. There was a village below, and upon their left a castle, which they manned with some troops. The action was begun by the *French* general, who ordered *Marsin* to attack the village; but he being dangerously wounded, and the troops under his command giving way, the duke sent in his room the marquis de *Mouffau*, with a reinforcement, which was broke, and would have been entirely defeated, had not the general, in person, led up the whole infantry to their assistance.

² PUFFENDORF Introd. l. vi. HEISS. ubi supra.

YET, notwithstanding all his efforts, this first advantage *The duke* of the enemy might have ended in a complete victory on their d'Enguien side, had not their general, count *de Merci*, been killed in the *attacks the* hottest of the action. Even the death of this great captain, *Bavarians* and the intrepidity of the duke d'Enguien, who behaved with *and Aus-* the most heroic ardour, could not prevent the destruction of *trians,* a great part of the *French* infantry. On the other hand, the *who are* left wing of the *Bavarians* fell with such impetuosity on the *defeated* *French* cavalry, that they were routed, and the marechal *de* *Nordlin-* *Grammont* taken prisoner; while *John de Wert*, attacking the *gen.* corps de reserve, defeated *Chabot*, and penetrated as far as the baggage, which was pillaged. During these transactions, *Turenne* attacked the right wing of the Imperialists; and, having reached the top of the hill in good order, a terrible engagement ensued, in which the first line of the *Austrians* was broke; but general *Gleen*, advancing with the second, disconcerted the *French*, who being in their turn seasonably supported by the duke d'Enguien, the enemy were obliged to give way; and their cannon being taken, was pointed against the rest of their right wing, that extended to the village: then *Turenne*, charging the *Bavarians* in flank, repulsed them beyond the village, after having taken *Gleen* prisoner; and some regiments that were intrenched at a church and farm in the neighbourhood, despairing of assistance, surrendered at discretion. *John de Wert*, being informed of what passed on the hill, hastened thither with his victorious wing; but he was too late, the day was lost, and every thing in confusion: so that all he could do was to conduct the remains of the army to *Donauwert*, whither they retreated by favour of the night, though they were pursued to the banks of the *Danube*. This victory was dear bought by the *French*, four thousand of whom were slain upon the spot; though they kept possession of the field, took a great number of prisoners, and made themselves masters of the enemy's artillery^a.

AFTER the retreat of the *Bavarians*, *Nordlingen* and some *Nordlin-* neighbouring places opened their gates to the conquerors, who *gen and* afterwards marched into the county of *Hohenlae*, where they *other* found abundance of forage and provision; while the enemy *places sub-* encamped within five or six leagues of them, and both sides *mit to the* remained in that situation till the seventeenth day of *October*. *The elector of Bavaria*, being apprehensive that the inten-

^a BARRE, t. ix. p. 786. PUFFENDORF Introd. l. vi. HEISS. l. iii. c. x. Beaulieu Conquêtes de Louis le Grand, t. i. a l' An. 1645.

but are
soon re-
trieved by
the arch-
duke Leo-
pold.

The elector
of Triers
is re-esta-
blished in
his domi-
nions.

The em-
peror makes
peace with
the vai-
vode Ra-
gotski.

tion of the *French* was to take winter-quarters in his domi-
nions, solicited the emperor to send him a speedy reinforce-
ment; and *Ferdinand*, who was then upon the eve of a peace
with *Ragotski*, so that he had no occasion for troops in *Hun-
gary*, sent a large detachment of horse and dragoons into *Be-
varia*, under the command of the archduke *Leopold*, accom-
panied by general *Galas*; and they being joined by *John de
Wert* and *Gleen*, who had been exchanged for the marshal
de Grammont, marched forward with great expedition, in or-
der to surprise *Turenne*, who, being apprized of their design,
passed the *Neckar*, and fortified himself under the cannon of
Philipsburg. The archduke, disappointed in this project, be-
sieged and took *Winphen*: *Dinkespuel*, *Nordlingen*, and the
other towns which the *French* possessed between the *Nahr*
and the *Danube*, made no resistance; so that all their con-
quests of this year vanished in smoke, and *Leopold* retired into
Bohemia to oppose the operations of *Torsten*son. The duke of
Bavaria put his troops in winter-quarters in *Suabia*: *Gram-
mont* returned to *France* with the army of the duke d'*Enghien*,
and the viscount *de Turenne* finished the campaign by re-
establiſhing the elector of *Triers* in his dominions. This
prince, after a captivity of ten years, had obtained his liberty,
and permission to go to the congress of *Munster*, in conse-
quence of a secret treaty with *Ferdinand*, by which he sub-
mitted to the articles of the peace of *Prague*, relinquished to
the *Spaniards* the possession of what they had taken, and pro-
mised to retrieve what was occupied by the *French*. As he
had signed this treaty with no other view than to deliver him-
self from a tedious and disagreeable imprisonment, he was so
sooner enlarged than he had recourse to the protection of
France, and the queen-regent ordered *Turenne* to effect his
restoration. Accordingly that general invested *Triers*, the
garrison of which was obliged to capitulate, and the elector
entered his capital amidst the acclamations of his subjects.

DURING these transactions the elector of *Saxony*, seeing
himself unable to stop the progress of *Konigsmarck*, who had
reduced a number of places in *Thuringia* and *Misnia*, had re-
course to negotiation, and concluded a truce with the Swedish
general for six months, before the expiration of which a peace
might be negotiated. This treaty was the more disagreeable
to the house of *Austria*, as it enabled *Konigsmarck* to join *Tor-
sten*son in *Bohemia*, and put him in a condition to advance his
progress in *Moravia*, where he was already very powerful:
the emperor, however, in some shape counterbalanced this
advantage by making peace with *Ragotski*, vaivode of *Transyl-
vania*,

vania, though the articles were not much for the interest of *Ferdinand* ^b.

WHILE the pope and *Venetians* sent the nuncio *Chigi* and *Congress Contareni* to mediate an accommodation at the congress of *Munster*, the parties concerned proceeded in their conferences *at Munster and at Osnabrug* without any intercessor, and drew up preliminaries, which were published under the title of *Propositions of Peace*: but in these the demands of the emperor and the king of *Spain* were so high, that peace seemed to be at as great a distance as ever; for they insisted upon having every thing restored that had been taken from them during the war. *France* wanted to preserve all the conquests she had made in the *Low Countries*, and in *Roussillon*; and demanded, that the emperor should make an absolute cession of the bishoprics of *Metz*, *Toul*, and *Verdun*; which, however, she consented to hold as fiefs of the empire, by which means she would have a seat in the diet, and a share in electing the emperor: she likewise claimed *Alsace*, pretended to appropriate *Lorraine* by right of confiscation, and to retain the conquests she had made on the coast of *Italy*.

THE *Dutch*, though heartily tired of the war, by which they were loaded with debts and taxes, were yet afraid of concluding a separate peace with *Spain* and the emperor, lest they should give umbrage to the king of *France*, who was a dangerous neighbour, and therefore they delayed the departure of their plenipotentiaries for *Munster*.

SWEDEN was resolved to keep *Pomerania*, notwithstanding the opposition of the elector of *Brandenburg*; and, moreover, laid claim to three bishoprics in the circle of *Westphalia*, and to two in *Lower Saxony*. The emperor, who dreaded the *Swedish* arms, attempted, by flattering the ministers of that crown, to detach them from the interests of *France*, which continued still to cultivate the friendship of queen *Christina*, though not at all disposed to see Protestants in possession of so many Catholic dioceses.

THE king of *Spain*, notwithstanding his high pretensions, was reduced to such extremity, by the loss of several battles, the conquests of *France* in the *Low Countries* and *Roussillon*, the revolt of *Catalonia* and *Portugal*, the insurrection of *Naples*, and the invasion of *Sicily* by the duke *de Guise*, that he invested his ministers at *Munster* with the most ample powers to effect a general peace, or even to conclude a separate treaty with the king of *France*, or the states-general.

^b Annal. de L'Empire, t. ii. p. 839. BARRE, t. ix. p. 789.

FERDINAND wished for nothing more than a pacification; but the same motives that inspired his wish, hindered him from enjoying it: for he had been so unfortunate in his operations of war, that he was afraid of making advances to a peace, which he could not expect on any other than unfavourable terms.

As for the elector of *Bavaria*, though connected with the emperor by the ties of interest and religion, he secretly favoured the views of *France* upon *Alsace*, in hope of acquiring a powerful neighbour, to whose assistance he could have recourse, in case of any future breach with the house of *Austria*. His troops and dominions were ruined, therefore he wished for peace; though he dreaded a general accommodation, by which he might be obliged to restore the *Palatinate* and the electoral dignity. Mean while, his private correspondence with *France* did not escape the penetration of *Ferdinand's* plenipotentiary the count *de Trausmandorff*, who traversed his designs in the negotiation, and represented him to his master as a perfidious ally.

ALL the interested powers were jealous of one another; and this jealousy, together with the differences about religion, raised very strong obstacles to a general peace.

THE ceremonial being adjusted at the congress, with respect to the titles conferred on the different powers (B), a dispute arose among the three colleges of the empire. The emperor had been obliged to admit the electors to the congress, contrary to his inclination; and now the princes and towns claimed the same privilege, which was supported by *France* and *Sweden*, because these powers thought the consent of all the states might be necessary to confirm the acquisitions they intended to make in the empire. *Ferdinand* was therefore obliged to grant them permission to send deputies to the assembly of *West-*

(B) The *French* ministers insisted upon having the title of *majesty* bestowed upon their king by the electors, and yet refused that of *most serene* to the elector of *Brandenburg*. At length, they agreed that neither should be used. The king of *France* demanded, that the title of *altesse* or *highness* should be given to the duke of *Longueville*, because he was descended of a bastard of *Lewis* of *Orleans*, brother to *Charles* the sixth; but

the count *de Nassau*, the emperor's plenipotentiary, claimed the same right, and it was refused to both. Another dispute arose about the title *excellency*, which the emperor would not grant to the ambassadors of the electors; and *Oxenstiern* was of the same opinion. At last, a temperament was found, and they called the *Swedish* deputies *royal ambassadors*, and those of *Brandenburg*, *electoral ambassadors*. *Barre*, t. ix. p. 797.

phalia:

philia : it was accordingly agreed, that the Catholics and Protestants of the three colleges, should be equally divided in the cities of *Munster* and *Osnabrug*, with liberty of passing and repassing occasionally, in order to communicate their deliberations.

THESE regulations being made, they were all unanimous in the article of politics ; but when religion came upon the carpet, the Protestants complained that the aulic council, composed entirely of Catholics, took cognizance of religious as well as civil causes, and decided upon petitions without hearing the parties ; and embraced every opportunity of oppressing those who adopted the confession of *Augsburg*. These complaints, though supported by the *Suedes*, were referred to the decision of a general diet, that they might not interfere with the negotiations ; and this evasion convinced the Protestants of the power and obstinacy of their adversaries.

MEAN while *Torsten*son ravaged *Austria* to the very gates of *Torsten-Vienna*, while the archduke *Leopold*, with the wreck of the son *rava-* Imperialists, who had been so often defeated, intrenched him- ges Auf- self at *Lagenlabd*, and the emperor retired to *Lintz*. In *Bo-* tria, Mo- *bernia*, general *Konigsmarck* reduced one town after another, ravia, and and laid the country under contribution ; and *Wrangel* com- Bohemia, manded in *Pomerania*, and over-awed the negotiations at and quits *Munster* and *Osnabrug*. *Torsten*son, however, that his army the com- might not be infected with the plague which raged in *Vienna*, mand of the *Swe-* decamped from *Stockeraw*, and marched into *Moravia*, and dish army. afterwards advanced into *Bohemia*, as if he intended to undertake the siege of *Prague* : but the archduke *Leopold* being joined by the count *de Bouchain*, took effectual measures for covering that city ; while *Torsten*son being terribly afflicted with the gout, quitted the command of the army, and retired to his own country ^c.

HE was succeeded by general *Wrangel*, who found himself A. D. at the head of fifteen thousand horse, and eight thousand in- 1646. fantry, exclusive of the garrisons, and a flying camp under the He is suc- conduct of *Konigsmarck* ; for at this time *Wittemberg* had ceded by retired from *Silesia* to join the main body. Against these the Wrangel, Imperialists advanced, to the number of thirteen thousand who re- horse, and eleven thousand foot, reinforced by twelve regi- treats be- ments of cavalry, and eighteen of infantry, belonging to the fore the Im- elector of *Bavaria*. Their design was to attack the *Suedes* perialists. before they could be joined by *Konigsmarck*, or the *French* make a diversion upon the *Rhine* : but *Wrangel*, in order to avoid a battle with an enemy, who in a little time must be

^c BARRE ubi supra.

obliged to divide his army, decamped with great expedition, and retreated into *Misnia* : then he detached a body of troops with *Wittemberg*, to levy contributions in *Silesia*, and beginning his march towards the *Weser*, reduced *Hoxter*, *Paderborn*, *Stadbergen*, and some other small places in his route. The viscount *de Turenne* having given him to understand, that he would pass the *Rhine* at *Bacharach* in the beginning of *June*, *Wrangel* advanced into *Upper Hesse*, and posted himself near *Wetzlar*, where he was joined by *Königsmarck* ; but *Turenne* failing in his promise, the *Swedish* general saw himself exposed to the utmost danger from the *Imperialists*, who now advanced against him with all their forces. In this dilemma he encamped near *Amenibourg*, in order to observe the designs and countenance of the enemy, as well as to wait for his junction with the *French*.

and is
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the vis-
count Tu-
renne.

They ra-
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varia.

IN order to prevent this junction, and cut off the *Swedes* from all supplies of provision, the *Imperialists* and *Bavarians* posted themselves upon a rising ground, at the distance of half a league from the *Swedish* camp, which they overlooked; but they were disappointed in their expectation : for *Wrangel* was plentifully supplied from *Cassel*, while they themselves suffered greatly by want of provision and forage ; and the *Swedes* were joined by *marechal Turenne*, in spite of all their vigilance and precaution^d. This junction being effected, the allies advanced to the enemy, who had retired to a strong camp near the convent of *Ilmenstad* ; but as the *Imperialists* did not choose to hazard a battle, they ravaged *Franconia* and *Suabia*, and passing the *Danube* and the *Lech*, invested *Rain*, which was obliged to capitulate. Then they undertook the siege of *Augsburg*, in which they had made considerable progress ; when the archduke approaching to its relief, they relinquished the enterprize, and retired towards *Lowingen*. *Wrangel* was very desirous of penetrating farther into *Bavaria*, as they had a manifest superiority of strength ; but the *French* rejected the proposal, and, indeed, during the whole course of the war, they had carried on a secret correspondence with the *Bavarians* ; for they had no design to oppress the enemy in such a manner, as that the *Swedes* should be able to subsist of themselves without the assistance of *France* : for this reason the allies abandoned *Bavaria*, after having pillaged the country, and went into quarters in *Suabia*. *Turenne* seized the places along the *Danube*, and *Wrangel* occupied the country that extends towards the lake of *Constance* ; though they afterwards made an irruption into *Bavaria* by the way of *Rain*,

^d Hist. du Vicomte de Turenne.

and routed two thousand horse near *Bruckheim*; and *Wrangel* had the good fortune to surprize some fortresses and castles, where he found a very rich booty. While the main body of the *Swedish* army gained these advantages in this part of *Germany*, *Witttemberg*, with a detachment of five thousand men, took *Warttemberg* in *Silesia*, which, together with *Bahemia* and *Moravia*, he laid under contribution, and compelled a body of Imperialists to retire: yet, in the midst of these transactions, the emperor's troops found means to retake several places in his hereditary provinces, which had been conquered and garrisoned by the *Swedes* ^c. The emperor seeing the *Swedes* employed in ravaging *Silesia*, took that opportunity of repairing to *Prague*, where his eldest son *Ferdinand* was crowned king of *Bohemia*: from thence he set out for *Presburg*, where, assembling the states of *Hungary* to determine the differences which had arisen between the Catholics and Protestants, these last were re-established in their religious privileges, and then the archduke *Ferdinand* received the crown of that kingdom ^f. A. D. 1647. The emperor's son crowned at Prague and Presburg.

PERHAPS he might not have been so indulgent to the Protestants, had not he dreaded dissensions in *Hungary*, which might have been of the worst consequences to his interest at this juncture, when he was abandoned by *Maximilian* elector of *Bavaria*, who now concluded a separate peace with the *French*, to whose hands he consigned *Lawinguen*, *Gondelfinguen*, and *Hochstet*, and withdrew his subjects from the service of the emperor ^g. The elector of Bavaria concludes a separate peace with France. At the same time he negotiated a neutrality for the archbishop of *Coblen*, and his example was afterwards followed by the archbishop of *Mentz*, and the landgrave of *Hesse-Darmstadt*, who were reduced to the necessity of taking this step, by the arms of *Turenne*, who laid waste their country; so that now *France* had no other enemy in the empire than the house of *Austria*.

NOR did the *Swedes* fail to take the advantage of the *Bavarian's* defection: they secured the towns they possessed in *Westphalia* and *Upper Suabia*; made themselves masters of *Schweinfurt*, which had cut off the communication between these two provinces; and after this achievement, *Wrangel* entering *Bohemia* invested *Egra*, which was obliged to capitulate before the approach of the *Austrian* army under *Melander*. This general being a Protestant, the Catholic officers refused to obey his orders, and a mutiny would have ensued, had not the emperor taken the command in person. Scarce had he arrived at the camp when he had like to have been surprized by a

^c PUFFENDORF Introd. a l'Hist. de l'Univ. l. vi. ^g BRACHILIUS, p. 118.

^f LONDORP. t. vi. p. 182.

detach-

detachment of the enemy, and a battle ensued, in which the *Swedes* obtained the victory, though at a considerable expence.

which he
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wards re-
newed.

AT this period, when the interest of the emperor seemed almost extinguished, the face of affairs changed all of a sudden. The elector of *Bavaria*, by the insinuation of the pope's nuncio and the bishop of *Osnabrug*, was prevailed upon to renounce the treaty he had concluded with the *French* at *Ulm*, and re-unite himself to *Ferdinand*; and the elector of *Cologne* had already infringed his neutrality. *Maximilian* attempted to justify his conduct in a manifesto; then he took the field, and invested *Memmingen*, which was occupied by a *Swedish* garrison, and compelled it to capitulate. The conquest of this place was succeeded by the taking of *Iglaw* in *Moravia*, which surrendered at discretion to the count *de Bouchain*: the Imperialists made themselves masters of *Ravensburg* in *Suabia*, and divers advantages were gained over the *Swedes* in *Westphalia* by general *Lamboy*, who commanded the *Austrians* in that province.

THE reunion of the *Bavarians* with the Imperialists gave these last such a superiority over the *Swedes*, that *Wrangel* resolved to retire; and having provided for the security of the places he had conquered in *Bobemia*, he began a long and difficult march through the dominions of the elector of *Saxony*, followed and harrassed by *Melander*, the imperial general, as far as *Jena* in *Misnia*. At last he arrived in the duchy of *Brunswick*, where he put his troops in winter-quarters, and then exerted all his endeavours to recruit and augment his army, that it might be in a condition to take the field in the spring^b.

Hostilities

recommence
between the
French
and Bava-
rians.

THE *French*, on their side, without waiting for a favourable season, attacked *Weissensteig*, belonging to the elector of *Bavaria*, which they reduced, and afterwards surprised the castle of *Hohentechberg*; while the *Bavarians*, on their return from *Hesse*, which they had plundered, made themselves masters of some posts, and seemed to prepare for some more important expedition.

A. D.
1648.

WRANGEL advanced in the spring to join the viscount *de Turenne*; but they were obliged to separate for want of provision: and while the *Swede* marched along the *Maine*, the *French* general kept on the left of the *Neckar*. *Wrangel* wanted to make *Bavaria* the theatre of the war; and *Turenne* would not consent to leave *Suabia* and *Wurtemberg*, where he had established his magazines. Perhaps he had secret orders

^b PUFFENDORF Introd. l. vi. p. 396.

to spare the duke of *Bavaria*, in hope of gaining him over again to the interests of *France*. This certainly was the opinion of *Wrangel*, which he avowed openly to *Turenne*; who and *Turenne* nevertheless continued staunch to his purpose, in which the *Swedish* general was obliged to acquiesce.

THEY joined again, however, in order to drive the Imperialists beyond the *Danube*. These, under the command of *Melander*, had retired towards the *Neckar*; and, being pursued by the confederates, proceeded to *Augsburg*, in order to cover themselves with the river *Lech*: but their march being retarded by their baggage and carriages, the confederates came up and attacked their rear. The action soon became general, and both sides fought with incredible resolution; until *Melander* being killed on the spot, the Imperialists fell into confusion, and were utterly defeated, notwithstanding the inconceivable efforts and intrepidity of *Montecuculli* and *Ulric* duke of *Wurtemberg*, who made a fine retreat with the remains of the army to *Augsburg*, where they passed the *Lech*: *Picolomini* afterwards took the command, and retreated towards *Passau*; while the *Swedish* and *French* generals, passing that river, penetrated into *Bavaria*, and laid the whole country under contribution; so that the duke was obliged to quit his capital, and demand an asylum of the archbishop of *Salzburg*¹.

THIS was not the only loss which the Imperialists sustained since the opening of the campaign. Baron *Lamboy*, who commanded the troops of *Westphalia* and *Cologne*, gave battle to the *Hessians* near *Grevenburg* in the dutchy of *Fuliers*, and was defeated: and the count of *Konigsmarck* surprised the new city of *Prague*, while *Wittenberg* made himself master of *Thabar*. In a word, *Charles-Gustavus*, prince-palatine, arriving from *Sweden* with a reinforcement of eight thousand men, undertook the siege of old *Prague*, and carried on his attacks with such vigour, that the place must have been taken, had not the emperor, dreading the loss of this city and the whole kingdom of *Bohemia*, resolved in earnest to conclude the peace².

HITHERTO the negotiations at *Munster* and *Osnabrug* had varied according to the vicissitudes of the war: the cession of *Alsace* to *France*, and the several demands of the treating powers, met with such difficulties, and formed such obstructions, as one would think almost impossible to surmount: nevertheless, after infinite debates and altercation, all these difficulties and obstructions were removed; and at length they determined this famous negotiation, which for the space of

¹ HEISS. l. iii. c. x.

² PUFFENPORF, l. xx. sect. xlvii.

five years had held all *Europe* in suspense. The conferences were translated to *Osnabrug*, and from thence transported to *Munster*, and at each place a treaty was concluded, since well known by the appellation of **THE PEACE OF WESTPHALIA**.

THESE being considered as fundamental and perpetual laws and constitutions, which serve as a basis to all subsequent treaties, it will be necessary to give extracts of them for the information of the reader.

Substance
of the treat-
ies of
Munster
and Osnab-
brug.

THE treaty of *Munster* imported, “ That there should be a perpetual peace and sincere friendship between his imperial majesty and the most Christian king, as well as between all the allies and adherents of his said imperial majesty, the house of *Austria*; their heirs and successors, the princes and states of the empire, on one part; and all the allies of his said most Christian majesty, their heirs and successors, chiefly the most serene queen and the kingdom of *Sweden*, and respectively the electors, princes, and states of the empire, on the other part.

“ THAT the circle of *Burgundy* shall be and remain a member of the empire, after the differences between *France* and *Spain* shall have been determined; and that neither the emperor nor any of the states of the empire shall intermeddle in the present war between the two crowns.

“ THAT the dispute touching *Lorraine* shall be submitted to arbitrators, chosen by both parties; and that it shall be terminated by the treaty between *France* and *Spain*, or by some other amicable expedient.

“ THAT the electors of the sacred empire, the princes and states, comprehending the nobility holding immediately of the empire, their vassals, subjects, and citizens, &c. shall be fully re-established on both sides, with respect to spirituals and temporals, in the condition which they lawfully enjoyed, or might have enjoyed before the destitution, notwithstanding all the changes made to the contrary, which shall now be annulled.

“ THAT if the possessors of the effects and rights to be restored shall think it incumbent upon them to make exceptions, they shall not, for all that, hinder the restitution; but, this being once made, their reasons and exceptions may be examined and discussed before competent judges.

“ THAT the electoral dignity which the electors-palatine have formerly enjoyed, with all the regal rights, offices, precedencies, &c. as also all the *Upper Palatinate*, and the county of *Chusa*, with all their dependencies, &c. shall be vested, as in past times, so for the future, in *Maximilian* count-palatine
of

of the *Rhine*, duke of *Bavaria*, and his children, and in all the *Willielmine* line, as long as it shall produce male issue.

“As for what concerns the Palatine house, the emperor and empire, in regard to public tranquillity, consents, by virtue of the present convention, that an eighth electorate shall be established, and possessed by *Charles-Lewis* count-palatine of the *Rhine*, his heirs, and all his descendants of the *Rodolphine* line, according to the order of succession expressed in the Golden Bull, &c.

“In the second place, that all the *Lower Palatinate*, with none and all the effects, ecclesiastic as well as secular, the rights, appurtenances, &c. shall be intirely restored to him; and every thing which may have been enacted to the contrary shall be repealed.

“THAT if the male issue shall intirely fail in the *Willielmine* line, while it still subsists in the Palatine family, the electoral dignity shall revert to this last, and the eighth electorate by these means be extinct.

“THAT the *Pacta Familiae* between the electoral houses of *Heidelberg* and *Neuburg*, confirmed by the preceding emperors, touching the electoral succession, as also the rights of the whole *Rodolphine* line, so far as they are not contrary to this disposition, shall be preserved and maintained in their full force.

“THAT the said *Charles-Lewis*, and his successors to the *Lower Palatinate*, shall not in any shape molest the courts of *Linangen* and *Daxburg*; but leave them in peaceable possession of their rights, &c.

“THAT those of the confession of *Augsburg*, who have been in possession of churches, and, among others, the burghers and inhabitants of *Oppenheim*, shall be maintained in the ecclesiastical state of the year 1624; and that others, who are desirous of embracing the same exercise of the confession of *Augsburg*, shall be at liberty to practise it in public as well as in private, &c.

“THAT the most Christian king shall restore to the duke of *Wirtemberg*, the towns and fortresses of *Hobenweil*, *Sohorendorf*, *Tubingen*, and all the other places which he occupied in the dutchy of *Wirtemberg*.

“THAT the princes of *Wirtemberg* of the branch of *Montbeliard*, shall be likewise re-established in all their dominions situated in *Alsace*, and elsewhere, and particularly in the two fiefs of *Upper Burgundy*, called *Clairval* and *Passavant*.

“THAT the electors, princes, and states of the *Roman* empire, shall enjoy, without contradiction, the right of voting in all deliberations touching the affairs of the empire, especially

cially when they turn upon the declaration of war, the imposition of a tribute, the levies of troops, treaties of peace or alliance; and they shall treat of other such affairs, which henceforth shall not be settled without the privity and free concurrence of all the states of the empire.

“ THAT each of the states shall freely, and for ever, enjoy the right of making alliances among themselves, or with strangers, for their own preservation and security, provided that these alliances shall not be formed against the emperor and the empire, or contrary to the public peace, &c.

“ To the end that peace and friendship may be more and more strengthened between the emperor and the king of *France*, &c. it is agreed, that the supremacy, the rights of sovereignty, and all other rights to the bishoprics of *Metz*, *Toul*, and *Verdun*, to the towns so called, and to the whole extent of these bishoprics, and especially to *Metz*, shall, for the future, belong to the house of *France*, with which they shall be incorporated perpetually and irrevocably, in the same manner as they have hitherto belonged to the *Roman* empire, reserving, nevertheless, the right of metropolitan, which belongs to the archbishop of *Triers*.

“ THAT the emperor in his own name, as well as in that of the most serene house of *Austria*, and also the empire, shall cede all the rights, properties, domains, possession, and jurisdiction, which they may have hitherto had to the town of *Brisack*, the landgravate of *Upper* and *Lower Alsace*, the *Suntgaw*, and the provincial prefecture of the ten towns situated in *Alsace*, namely, *Haguenau*, *Scelestat*, *Weissemburg*, *Colmar*, *Landaw*, *Oberenheim*, *Rosheim*, *Munster*, *Val-saint gregoire*, *Kaiserberg*, *Turingheim*, and all the villages and other rights depending on the said prefecture, and shall transfer all and every one of them to the most Christian king, and kingdom of *France*; so as that the town of *Brisack*, with the villages of *Hoeftadt*, *Niderensing*, *Hartem*, and *Atharrem*, belonging to the community of the town of *Brisack*, with all the territory and precincts, according to their antient extent, shall, for the future, appertain to the crown of *France*, without prejudice, nevertheless, to the privileges and immunities heretofore granted to the said town by the house of *Austria*.

“ Item, THE said landgravate of *Upper* and *Lower Alsace*, and the *Suntgaw*, as well as the provincial prefecture over the said ten towns and places depending: Item, all the vassals, inhabitants, subjects, men, cities, boroughs, castles, farms, fortresses, woods, forests, mines of gold, silver, and other metals, rivers, brooks, pasturages, and the rights of regality and other rights and appurtenances, without any reserve, shall hence-

henceforward belong in perpetuity to the most Christian king, and to the crown of *France*, and shall be incorporated with the said crown, with all sorts of jurisdiction and sovereignty, without contradiction on the part of the emperor, the empire, the house of *Austria*, or any other; in such a manner, that no emperor or prince of the house of *Austria*, shall ever usurp or even pretend to any right or power over the said countries, as well on the other side as on this side of the *Rhine*. The most Christian king shall, nevertheless, be obliged to maintain in all, and each of these countries, the Catholic religion, as it hath been-maintained under the princes of *Austria*, and to banish all innovations which may have crept into it during the war.

“ IN the fourth place, with the consent of the emperor and all the empire, the most Christian king and his successors, in the kingdom of *France*, shall have a perpetual right to keep a garrison in the fortress of *Philipsburg*, as protector; which garrison shall be limited to a proper number of soldiers, that cannot give any just suspicion to the neighbourhood, and shall be maintained intirely at the expence of the crown of *France*. The passage by land and water shall be free through the empire, as often as there shall be occasion to convey thither soldiers, necessaries, or ammunition.

“ NEVERTHELESS, the king shall pretend to nothing in the fortress of *Philipsburg*, except the protection, garrison, and passage: but the property of the place, the jurisdiction, the possession, all the emoluments, fruits, revenues, rights of regality, and other rights and servitudes, men, subjects, vassals, and all that antiently did, or ought, to belong to the bishop or chapter of *Spire*, in the whole extent of the bishopric of *Spire*, and of the churches incorporated therewith, shall remain in their possession for the future, and be preserved to them intirely and inviolably, saving always the right of protection.

“ THE emperor, the empire, and the archduke of *Innspruck Ferdinand-Charles*, respectively, absolve the orders, magistrates, officers, and subjects of the said counties and places, from the engagements and oaths by which they have been hitherto bound to them and the house of *Austria*; and remit and oblige them to yield subjection, obedience, and fidelity to the king and kingdom of *France*; and thus establish the crown of *France* in full and just sovereignty and possession over them, renouncing, from henceforward for ever, all the rights and pretensions which they may have to them: and this the emperor, the said archduke and his brother, for them and their descendents, as they are concerned in the said cession, shall confirm by particular letters patent, and cause the Catholic

tholic king to make the same renunciation in the most authentic form; and this shall likewise be done in the name of the whole empire, on the very day that the present treaty shall be signed.

“ FOR the greater validity of the said cessions and alienations, the emperor and empire, by virtue of the present transaction, expressly derogate from all and every the decrees, constitutions, statutes, &c. which may be contrary thereto, &c.

“ IMMEDIATELY after the restitution of *Rhinfeld*, the fortifications of that place shall be razed, as well as those of *Fort Rhinau*, *Saverne* in *Alsace*, and the castles of *Hohenbach* and *Neuburg* on the *Rhine*; nor shall there be any soldier in garrison in any of these places. The magistracy and inhabitants of the said town of *Saverne* shall exactly observe the neutrality; and the king's troops shall pass through it freely and securely, as often as there shall be occasion.

“ No fort shall be raised on the banks of the *Rhine*, on this side, from *Basil* to *Philipsburg*; nor shall the course of the river be impeded or altered on either side, in any shape whatsoever.

“ WITH respect to the debts of the chamber of *Ensisheim*, the archduke *Ferdinand-Charles* shall take upon himself one third of all these debts, without distinction, &c. when he receives that part of the province which is to be restored to him by the most Christian king.

“ And with respect to the debts with which the colleges of the states are charged, by a particular convention made with them, and by the princes of *Austria*, or such as the same states have contracted in common, as being thereunto obliged, there shall be a suitable distribution between those that pass under the dominion of the king, and those that remain under that of the house of *Austria*, to the end that each may know what share of the said debts he is to pay.

“ THE most Christian king shall restore to the house of *Austria*, and especially to the said archduke *Ferdinand-Charles*, eldest son of the late archduke *Leopold*, the four forest-towns, namely, *Rhinfeld*, *Seckingen*, *Lauffemburg*, and *Waldshut*, with all their territories, bailiages, farms, villages, mills, woods, forests, vassals, subjects, and appurtenances on this as well as on the other side of the *Rhine*.

“ Item. THE county of *Haversteim*, the *Black Forest*, all the *Upper* and *Lower Brisgaw*, and the towns therein situated, antiently belonging to the house of *Austria*, namely, *Neuburg*, *Friburg*, *Endingen*, *Kensingen*, *Waltrich*, *Willingen*, *Bräulingen*, with all their territories, bailiages, farms, villages, mills, woods,

woods, forests, &c. as also all the monasteries, abbeys, prelatures, provostships, &c. and all the rights of regality, other rights, jurisdictions, fiefs, &c. antiently belonging, in that whole country, to the sovereignty and patrimony of the house of *Austria*.

“ *Item*. ALL the *Orntnaw*, with the imperial towns of *Ofsemburg*, *Gingembach*, and *Zell*, upon the *Hammerspach*, so far as they depend upon the prefecture of *Orntnaw*, in such a manner that no king of *France* shall or ought ever to pretend or usurp any right or power over the said countries, situated either on this or on the other side of the *Rhine*; provided always, that the princes shall acquire no new right to them by this present restitution.

“ THAT henceforward the trade and passages shall be free to the inhabitants of both banks of the *Rhine*, and of the adjacent provinces.

“ THAT the most Christian king shall oblige himself to leave the bishops of *Strasburg* and *Basil*, the town of *Strasburg*, and the other estates or orders which are in both *Alfices*, immediately subject to the *Roman* empire; the abbots of *Mourbach* and *Luders*, the abbess of *Andlaw*, *Munster* of *Val-St. Gregoire*, of the order of *St. Benedict*, the palatines of *Luzelstein*, the counts and barons of *Hanaw*, *Flekinstein*, *Oberstein*, and the nobility of all the *Lower Alsace*: *item*, the ten imperial towns which acknowledge the prefecture of *Hagenaw*: all these the most Christian king shall leave in that liberty of possessing the *Indemnity*, with regard to the *Roman* empire, which they have hitherto enjoyed, in such a manner as that he shall not hereafter pretend to any royal sovereignty over them; but remain content with such rights as belong to the house of *Austria*, which are by this treaty of pacification ceded to the crown of *France*: provided still, that nothing shall be understood in this present declaration as derogatory from the supremacy granted to the states of that province, as holding of the empire.

“ IN like manner the most Christian king, as a compensation for these cessions, shall pay to the said archduke *Ferdinand-Charles* three millions of livres, *Turnois*, within the three succeeding years of 1649, 1650, and 1651, at *St. John's-Day*, paying every year one third of the said sum at *Basil*, in good and lawful money, deposited in the hands of the said archduke, or of his deputies. Over and above the said sum, the most Christian king shall be obliged to charge himself with two thirds of the debts of the chamber of *Ensisheim*, without distinction, &c. Moreover, the mention made of the Catholic king, and the nomination of the duke of *Lorraine*, in the

treaty between the emperor and Sweden, and the title of landgrave of *Alsace* given to the emperor, shall in no shape prejudice the most Christian king.

“THAT nevertheless the peace concluded shall remain in full force and vigour: that all those concerned in this transaction shall be obliged to defend and protect all and every the laws and conditions of this peace against every person whatsoever, without distinction of religion, &c. and if in the space of three years the difference cannot be determined, &c. one and all the parties concerned in this transaction shall be bound to join the injured party, and assist in redressing the grievance with their counsel and forces, &c.”

SUCH were the conditions of the treaty, properly regarding *France* and the empire. That which concerned *Sweden*, and was concluded at *Osnabrug*, was the same with regard to general clauses: but the particular articles imported, that the archbishopric of *Bremen* should devolve to *Sweden*, saving the rights and liberty of the town and bishopric of *Werden*, the effects of which shall be secularized; and *Sweden* shall hold the fiefs of these benefices immediately of the empire, with a deliberative voice in the diets. Moreover, that crown shall possess the town and port of *Wismar* in *Mecklenburg*, with *Stetin*, and all the *Upper Pomerania*: the *Lower* shall remain in possession of the elector of *Brandenburg*; who shall not enjoy the bishopric of *Halberstadt*, or the principality of *Munster*, with the county of *Hobensheim*, and the archbishopric of *Magdeburg*, till after the death of the administrator *Augustus*, duke of *Saxony*.

IT was likewise stipulated, that, if the male branch of *Brandenburg* should fail, all *Pomerania* should revert to the crown of *Sweden*. In order to indemnify the duke of *Mecklenburg* for the town and port of *Wismar*, he was put in possession of the bishoprics of *Swerin* and *Ratzeburg*, with two commanderies of the order of *St. John of Jerusalem*, situated in the dominions of that prince. The dukes of *Brunswick* and *Lunenbourg*, as a compensation for the coadjutorships of *Magdeburg*, *Bremen*, and *Halberstadt*, &c. which they had ceded, were, with the Catholics, secured in the alternative succession of the bishopric of *Osnabrug*, without altering the state of religion on either side.

IN order to reimburse the crown of *Sweden* for the sums she had expended, it was agreed to pay five millions of crowns in three terms, to be charged upon the circles of the empire, excepting however those of *Austria*, *Bavaria*, and *Burgundy*.

WITH respect to the complaints of the Protestants, touching the administration of justice in the imperial chamber and

aulic

aulic council, it was decreed, that, besides the judge and the four presidents, two of which, in the nomination of the emperor, should be of the *Augsburg* confession, the number of assessors should be increased to fifty; so as that the Catholics should be restricted to the presentation of twenty-six, comprehending the two appointed by the emperor, and the other four and twenty should be presented by the Protestants, who should be permitted in each neutral circle, not only two Catholics, but the same number of Protestants. That the emperor should decree, that in the imperial chamber, as well as in the aulic council, the judges of both religions, being equal in number, should decide ecclesiastic and civil causes between Catholics and Protestants, or between these last only, or between the Catholics and an intervening Protestant; and, for that effect, he should choose in the circle a suitable number of lawyers well versed in the affairs of the empire, and take such measures as should preserve an equality of judges in both religions ^b.

THE articles of this treaty were now signed by all the ministers assembled at each congress, except those of the county of *Burgundy*, who, in the name of the king of *Spain*, director of that circle, not only refused to subscribe, but formally protested against them, as prejudicial to his Catholic majesty. Nevertheless, the treaties were next day published at *Munster* and *Osnabrug*, and couriers dispatched to all the generals to order a cessation of arms. A. D. 1648.
The king of Spain protests against the treaty,

NOTWITHSTANDING all the precautions that could be taken, many difficulties intervened before the ratification could be effected. The pope published a bull, annulling all the articles which he conceived prejudicial to the Roman Catholic religion. The king of *Spain* employed his influence with the emperor so effectually, that *Ferdinand* had well nigh frustrated the whole negotiation. He wrote to *Munster*, that the Catholic king was lawful possessor of the *Lower Palatinate*, which he had acquired at a great expence, and of which he had received the investiture in the most solemn manner: but as the states of *Germany* had not been consulted, they deemed it illegal, and paid no regard to the remonstrances of the emperor ^c. *against which the pope publishes a bull.*

THE *Swedes* were in no hurry to exchange the ratifications, because the article concerning their winter-quarters was not yet executed; and the *French* refused to quit *Germany*, until the *Spanish* branch of the house of *Austria* should have renounced *Alsace* and *Suntgaw*: for this reason the viscount of

^b DUMONT, t. vi. part i.

^c THALDEN. t. ii.

A. D. 1649. *Turenne* kept his army encamped on the banks of the *Ijse*; till at length the deputies of the states, impatient to see the exchange of the ratifications thus retarded, declared, in the name of the *Germanic* body, that every article should be faithfully and effectually executed after the exchange: at the same time they proposed a sure and commodious plan for evacuating the places, and disbanding the troops. In consequence of their declaration, the plenipotentiaries of the different powers mutually delivered the ratifications of the treaty, and began to take measures for its being put in execution ^d.

and the execution is regulated by another treaty concluded at Nuremberg.

THIS subject was discussed in conferences at *Nuremberg* where the treaties of execution were signed, on condition that the emperor should immediately disband part of his armies and troops, and maintain the rest in his own dominions; that the king of *France* should withdraw all his troops that remained in the empire; and that three terms should be fixed for the restitution of the places, within the year, and as it was foreseen that the opposition of the *Spaniards* would put it out of the power of the house of *Austria* to deliver up *Frankendal* within the term prescribed, the emperor obliged himself to surrender *Heilbron*, as a security to *Charles-Lewis* count-palatine, until *Frankendal* should be restored.

TERMS were likewise fixed between the empire and *Sweden*, touching the dismissal of troops and evacuation of places; as also for the payment of the sum due to the *Swedish* soldiers: and every thing relating to the annuities granted to the princes and towns which had espoused the *Swedish* party, as well as to the redress of grievances which the Protestants suffered, and the repartition of five millions of rixdollars to be payed by the circles of *Sweden*, was confirmed by this treaty, which was signed by the plenipotentiaries of the emperor, of *Sweden*, and of the princes and states of the empire.

^d Pax. Westphal. t. vi. p. 854.

C H A P. XXI.

Giving a Detail of the War with the Turks in Hungary, and with the French on the Rhine, to the Peace of Nimeguen.

MEAN while *Conringius* the celebrated civilian, undertook to answer the pope's bull against the erection of an eighth electorate, the liberty of conscience, and secularised bishoprics granted to the Protestants. In his justification of the peace of *Westphalia*, he proved, that the dignity of elector was purely temporal, and altogether independent of the pope's authority; and that it was absolutely necessary to secularize some benefices, in order to restore the peace of the empire. A. D. 1650.

THE next contest that engrossed the attention of the emperor, was the famous dispute which had continued so long touching the succession of the dutchies of *Juliers* and *Berg*, between the elector of *Saxony*, the marquis of *Brandenburg*, and the duke of *Neuburg*; in order to terminate which in an amicable manner, *Ferdinand* convoked an assembly at *Dresden*, where many expedients were proposed, and mutual offers made for effecting an accommodation; but after all their conferences, the affair still continued undecided (D).

NEVER-

(D) In order to convey a distinct idea of this dispute, it will be necessary to trace it to its origin. *Albert*, duke of *Saxony*, from whom the electoral branch descends, received from *Ferdinand* the third, the reversion of *Juliers* and *Berg*; and this eventual investiture was confirmed by *Maximilian* the first. Notwithstanding this patent, *Charles* the fifth, in 1521, bestowed the investiture of these dutchies upon duke *John* the second and his wife, with this proviso, that he should satisfy the house of *Saxony* with regard to its pretensions. Next year, however,

the emperor being made sensible of the justice of the *Saxon's* pretensions, offered to bestow upon the dukes the same investiture of *Juliers*, *Berg*, and the county of *Ravensberg*, declaring that he had no intention to invade the right of the dukes of *Saxony*. Perhaps this declaration was made on account of a marriage which was then negotiating between *John-Frederic*, duke of *Saxony*, and *Sybella*, princess of *Cleves*. On this occasion, the emperor was solicited to consent that if the duke and dutchess should die without male issue, the dutchess

NEVERTHELESS *Germany* did not fail to enjoy the happy fruits of the peace. Tranquility was restored in all the provinces. The *Spaniards*, after innumerable disputes, agreed to take

of *Cleves* and *Juliers*, with their dependencies, should be vested in the daughters of the marriage; but an additional clause was made to the contract, importing, that the elector *John* should likewise reserve his ancient rights. At length, by a transaction at *Spire*, in 1544, between *Ferdinand* king of the *Romans*, and *John-Frederic* elector of *Saxony*, it was concluded that this contract of marriage should be confirmed in the following manner: in case the duke of *Juliers*, *Cleves*, and *Berg*, should die without male issue, the emperor, or his successors, shall confer on the said elector, or in case of his decease, upon the heirs male of his body, the dutchies of *Juliers*, *Cleves*, and *Berg*, as masculine fiefs. *John-William*, duke of *Cleves*, dying in 1609, without issue, his succession was disputed by the children of his sisters. *John-Sigismund* of *Brandenburg*, son of *Eleonora* of *Cleves*, and *Wolfgang-William*, duke of *Neuburg*, son of *Anne*, her younger sister, seized the dominions by force, and maintained themselves in possession by the assistance of foreign powers. Mean while, the elector of *Saxony* had recourse to the emperor, from whom, in 1610, he received the investiture of these dutchies; and that same year a congress was held at *Cologne*, and afterwards at *Interbock*, where, by the mediation of *Christiern*, margrave

of *Brandenburg*, and *Maurice* and *Lewis*, landgraves of *Hesse*, a treaty was concluded on these conditions: that the houses of *Brandenburg* and palatine, should admit that of *Saxony* into a real communion of the possession of *Juliers*, &c. until a definitive sentence could be obtained; that the house of *Saxony* should possess them either undivided or conjunctly with those of *Brandenburg* and *Neuburg*; that the disputed dominions should be governed by a council, which should take the oaths to the princes of the three houses; that the duke of *Saxony*, after his admission, should give four hundred and fifty thousand florins of *Misnia*, by way of reimbursing the money expended by the elector-palatine and duke of *Neuburg*, which sum should be restored to him, in case his pretensions should be set aside by a definitive sentence: but the marquis of *Brandenburg* and duke of *Neuburg* refused to ratify this treaty, though confirmed by the emperor: then *George*, duke of *Saxony*, instituted a process against them, before the tribunal of the emperor; but this suit being strangely protracted, the marquis of *Brandenburg* and palatine of *Neuburg*, in 1629, made a provisional agreement, by which the succession was shared between them. The marquis had the dutchy of *Cleves*, with the counties of *la Mark* and *Ravensburg*; while the duke enjoyed

take *Hailbron* in exchange for *Frankendal*, which was no sooner delivered to the count palatine, than he demanded and received the investiture of the *Lower Palatinate* from *Ferdinand*, who ordered the count *de Furstemberg* to invite that prince to the diets of the empire¹. It was a much more difficult task to regulate the difference subsisting between *Sweden* and the elector of *Brandenburg*, touching *Pomerania*. That prince was not as yet put in possession of all that had been adjudged to him by the treaty of *Osnabrug*; yet the queen of *Sweden* expected, that her deputies should be admitted into the diet, as she now assumed the title of dutchess of *Pomerania*. The elector of *Brandenburg*, and the other princes opposed this demand, because she had not as yet terminated her difference with the marquis of *Brandenburg*; and the negotiations occasioned by this affair obliged the emperor to postpone the diet which he had summoned to meet at *Ratisbon*.

A. D.

1651.

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A. D.

1653.

FERDINAND glowed with impatience to see his eldest son elected king of the *Romans*; and therefore, without waiting for the convocation of the diet, he proposed the election to the electors, and all of them gave their consent, without hesitation, except the elector of *Brandenburg*, who, tho' he opposed *Ferdinand's* intention at first, was soon brought over to his views. Then assembling at *Augsburg*, they unanimously chose his son *Ferdinand-Francis* king of the *Romans*, after he had signed a capitulation, obliging himself to maintain inviolably the *Golden Bull*, and the eighth electorate created in favour of the count palatine; to observe religiously the treaties of *Munster*, *Osnabrug*, and *Nuremberg*, with all that should be concluded in the diet at *Ratisbon*; and to contract no alliance concerning the affairs of the empire, without the consent of the *Germanic body*².

THIS ceremony being performed, the emperor returned to *Ratisbon* with the electors, and there receiving an account of *Lower Pomerania's* being restored by the queen of *Sweden* to

Proceed-
ings of the
diet at
Ratisbon.

¹ Gazettes des An. 1650, 1651. ² BARRE, t. ix. p. 852.

enjoyed *Juliers* and *Berg*, with the lordship of *Ravenstein*. The elector of *Saxony* protested against this transaction which *Ferdinand* the second refused to confirm. It was afterwards debated in the congress of *Westphalia*; but as the elector of *Brandenburg* fluctuated between

the house of *Austria* and the allies, neither side payed much regard to his interest, and the affair was still undetermined, when *Ferdinand* the third endeavoured to put an end to it at the assembly in *Dresden*. *Intérêts de Puissances, par Roussé. t. i. p. 210, &c.*

the elector of *Brandenburg*, he ordered the diet to be opened without farther delay, in order to deliberate upon measures for strengthening the peace, and for the intire execution of the treaties of *Westphalia*.

The duke
of Lorrain
is arrested
at Brussels,
and sent
prisoner
to Spain.

THE duke of *Lorrain* still ravaged *Alsace* and *Westphalia*, and resolved to oblige the *Germanic* body to support his interest against *France*: he refused to restore *Hombourg*, *Landstoul*, *Hammerstein*, and some other places occupied by his troops, unless the states would gratify him with a million of rixdollars. They promised to indulge him with a considerable sum, to the payment of which the electors of *Brandenburg* and *Palatine*, together with the free towns, refused to contribute, inasmuch as his imperial majesty had obliged himself by the treaty of *Munster* to rid the empire of the *Lorrain* troops, by his own authority. *Ferdinand*, conscious of this obligation, directed the archduke *Leopold*, governor of the *Low Countries*, to decoy duke *Charles* to *Brussels*, where he was apprehended, and sent prisoner to *Toledo*, though not before he had found means to convey to the count *de Ligneville*, who commanded his army, a billet, ending in these injunctions: "Leave the *Spaniards* immediately; kill and burn all that falls in your way; and remember *Charles* of *Lorrain*."

THIS order, however, his general did not obey. The troops were, by the address of the count *Fuensaldagno*, persuaded to continue in the service of *Spain*. *Francis*, the brother of *Charles*, took the command; and, in consideration of one hundred thousand rixdollars, evacuated the places which the *Lorrainers* occupied in *Germany*.

Hostilities
commence
between
the king of
Sweden
and the city
of Bre-
men.

MEAN while the diet of *Ratisbon* continued to deliberate upon complaints that were made by several states against *France*, by which they alledged their privileges were invaded, in consequence of the cession of *Alsace* to that crown. The town of *Bremen*, likewise ceded to the *Swedes* by the treaty of *Osna-brug*, complained, that *Charles-Gustavus*, successor of *Christina* queen of *Sweden*, who had abdicated the throne, paid no regard to their rights and privileges which were confirmed by the peace of *Westphalia*, but had even surprised and seized a borough in their neighbourhood by force of arms. The towns of *Lubec* and *Hamburg*, alarmed at this act of hostility, made remonstrances to *Konigsmarck*, who paid no regard to their representations, and even affirmed, that neither the diet nor the emperor had the least title to intermeddle in any dispute between *Sweden* and its subjects. *Ferdinand*, incensed at this assertion, ordered the circles of *Westphalia* and *Lower Saxony* to maintain the privileges of *Bremen*, which was an imperial town, while the *Swedish* general invested it without hesita-
tion.

tion. However, the elector of *Brandenburg*, and the dukes of *Brunswick*, beginning to levy troops, and the town being well garrisoned, and supplied with plenty of provision, *Gustavus* listened to the proposals of the *Hollanders* and hans-towns, which offered their mediation; and a congress was appointed at *Staden*, where the deputies concluded a peace, by which the privileges of *Bremen* were confirmed ^h.

*Peace con-
cluded at
Staden.
A. D.
1654.*

THE session of the diet by this time drawing near a close, the Protestants foreseeing, that the indulgencies granted to them by the treaty of *Westphalia* would not have their due effect, unless they could be united under one chief, who should direct their conferences, and execute their resolutions, chose the elector of *Saxony* to perform that function, not only on account of the high rank he maintained among the states of the *Augsburg* confession; but also out of gratitude to his house, which had rendered such signal services to the Protestant cause. Their example was followed by the Catholics, who declared the elector of *Bavaria* chief of their union: but as both parties could not agree about the equal number of deputies to be appointed from each communion, that affair was referred to the deliberations of the next diet at *Frankfort*.

*The Pro-
testants
choose the
elector of
Saxony as
their chief,
and the
elector of
Bavaria is
declared
chief of the
Catholic
union.*

MEAN while the elector-palatine was invested with the title of arch-treasurer, instead of arch-steward of the holy *Roman* empire, which the duke of *Bavaria* assumed, in consequence of having been invested with the electorate of the count palatine. *Frederic Hohenzollern*, *Anthony Eggemberg*, *Winceslaus Lobkowitz*, *Charles count de Salm*, *Maximilian de Districhstein*, *Octavius Piccolomini*, and *Weickard d'Aversperg*, were acknowledged princes of the empire; but, at the same time, it was regulated that those of them who had no fiefs, immediately holding of the empire, should have neither seat nor suffrage in the diet ⁱ.

FINALLY, the diet concluded with their enacting a decree, enjoining all the members of the *Germanic* body to observe the treaties of *Osnabrug* and *Munster*, as fundamental laws of the empire, notwithstanding the protests of the archbishop of *Pisa*, who assisted as pope's nuncio at this assembly.

ALL these affairs being settled, the diet broke up, and the emperor, with his empress and eldest son, repaired to *Vienna*, which they entered in the midst of great pomp and loud acclamations: but their joy was soon blasted by their losing the king of the *Romans*, who died of the small-pox in the twen-

*The king of
the Ro-
mans dies
at Vienna.*

^h ACTZEMA, l. xxxiv. p. 897.
p. 437 & sequent.

ⁱ LONDORP. t. vii.

tieth year of his age ; and the imperial court retired in the utmost consternation to *Ebersdorf*.

The emperor's son Leopold is crowned king of Hungary.

THE emperor having raised his son *Leopold* to the throne of *Hungary*, with the consent of the states convoked for that purpose at *Presburg*, and amused the Protestants of that kingdom with promises of favour and indulgence, he returned to *Germany*, and opened the diet at *Frankfort*, in order, if possible, to terminate the differences between the Protestants and the Catholics, touching the exercise of religion, the temporal and spiritual jurisdiction, and the privilege of filling public offices ; but notwithstanding an infinite number of propositions, on both sides, and almost incessant debates during the space of seven years that the diet lasted, these contests could not be compromised¹.

As for *Ferdinand*, he left them to dispute at their leisure in speeches and writings, and seemed to interest himself more in foreign affairs, than in helping to appease the intestine troubles of the empire. He acted as mediator between *Spain* and the dukes of *Modena* and *Savoy* ; ordered twelve thousand men to march into *Tyrol*, to attack *Piedmont*, in case this last prince should prove refractory ; and sent a reinforcement of troops to *Cassimir*, who returned from *Silesia* to *Lublin*, where he was affectionately received by the Palatines, and began to renew the war with *Sweden*, on the promise of being powerfully supported by the cham of *Tartary*. His first attempt was upon *Warsovia*, which was garrisoned by the *Swedes*, and, after an obstinate resistance, surrendered at discretion : but this smile of fortune was not of long continuance. *Gustavus*, being joined by the elector of *Brandenburg*, advanced, and gave him battle, in which he was defeated, and *Warsovia* opened its gates to the conqueror. After this action, as the elector refused to march farther from *Prussia*, *Gustavus* left the command of his army to *Wrangel*, and repaired to *Lubec*, to terminate a treaty which his ministers negotiated with *Holland*^m.

The emperor engages in a treaty with the kings of Denmark and Poland against the Swedes.

THE neighbourhood of the *Swedes* incommoded *Prussia* so much, that the elector of *Brandenburg* eagerly wished for an opportunity to break with them : the king of *Denmark* projected an irruption into *Sweden*, and the emperor set on foot a negotiation for raising the archduke *Leopold* to the throne of *Poland*, and procuring the resignation of *Cassimir* ; for which purpose he sent the baron *Lisola*, as his minister, to *Dantzick* ; but that effort miscarrying, he concluded a treaty with *Frederic* king of *Denmark*, in which the *Muscovites*, *Tartars*, and the

¹ LONDORP. t. viii. ^m Annales de Provin. Unie. a l' An. 1656.

states of the empire, should be comprehended, and to which the elector of *Brandenburg* should be at liberty to accede, importing, that his *Danish* majesty should declare war against *Sweden*, and that the emperor should send sixteen thousand men into *Poland* to join the *Poles*, and act against *Gustavus*. This league was approved by the cham of the *Crim Tartars*, who ordered an army of an hundred thousand men to march to the assistance of *Casanir*, while *Ferdinand* reinforced him with fifteen thousand horse and foot, and the king of *Denmark* declared war against the *Swedes* by a manifesto ; but the emperor did not live to see the effect of these measures, for he died at *Vienna*, in the forty-ninth year of his age, and in the twentieth of his reign ^a.

He dies
at Vienna,
A. D.
1657.

THIS prince mounted the imperial throne during an obstinate war, which afflicted the *Germanic* body in all its parts ; and it may be affirmed, that no emperor ever saw himself attacked by so many powerful enemies at once, or sustained such defeats and mortifications without sinking altogether under his misfortunes. He was religious even to superstition, expressed on all occasions a tender regard to his subjects, and not wholly void of liberality, though very unfortunate in the distribution of his favours ; for he seemed to think, that his bounty conferred merit on the undeserving ; and, in consequence of this prejudice, he admitted into his councils several persons who engaged him in unlucky enterprizes, and were in a great measure the cause of his miscarriages (E).

His character.

^a BARRE, t. ix. p. 873.

(E) He had three wives, namely, *Mary-Anne* of *Austria*, daughter of *Philip* the third, king of *Spain* ; *Mary-Leopoldina*, daughter of *Leopold* the fifth, archduke of *Austria*, of the branch of the counts of *Tyrol* ; and *Eleonora*, daughter of *Charles* the second, duke of *Mantua*. By his first wife he had *Ferdinand Francis*, king of *Bobemia*, *Hungary*, and the *Romans*, who died in 1654 ; *Mary-Anne*, who married *Philip* the fourth of *Spain* ; *Philippa-Augusta*, who died in 1639 ; *Maximilian-Thomas*, who died in the course of the same year ; and *Leopold-Ignatius*, who succeeded his father.

By his second wife, he had *Charles-Joseph*, bishop of *Passau* and *Olmütz*, and grand-master of the *Teutonic* order : and by his third venter, *Theresa-Maria-Josepha*, who died in 1653 ; *Eleonora-Maria*, first married to *Michel-Koribut-Weisnowiski*, king of *Poland*, and afterwards to *Charles* the fifth, duke of *Lorraine* ; *Maria-Anne-Josepha*, who married *John-William*, count-palatine of the house of *Neuburg* ; and *Ferdinand-Lewis Joseph*, who died in 1698. *Struv. per. x. sect. x. p. 3061. Dian. Europ. t. viii. Theat. Europ. t. vi. § vii.*

It

It was at the diet of *Ratisbon*, in the reign of this emperor, that the session of the princes, and the other states in the general assemblies of the empire, was regulated; for the ancient order of sitting, having been confounded by the cession of several ecclesiastical fiefs to lay-princes, there was a necessity for establishing a new form; in consequence of which it was agreed, that the ecclesiastics should have the right hand, and the laicks the left; and that on the side of the former, there should be a cross bench for the administrator of *Magdeburg*: but as the elector of *Brandenburg* at present possesses that archbishopric as a lay-fief, this bench is occupied by the bishops of *Lubec* and *Osnabrug*, when this last is Protestant, that is, when the bishopric is in the hands of a prince of the house of *Brunswick*; because, by a regulation made in the diet at *Ratisbon*, approved by the emperor, the ecclesiastical princes of the *Augsburg* confession, can neither be admitted to the bench of the Catholic clergy, nor to that of the lay-princes °.

L E O P O L D.

Leopold
sends an
army to the
assistance
of Casimir.

LEOPOLD, already king of *Bohemia* and *Hungary*, though but seventeen years of age, governed his dominions under the tuition of his uncle the archduke *Leopold*, by whose directions he finished the treaty which his father had begun with *Casimir*, and sent an army into *Poland*, commanded by *Hasfeld* and *Montecuculli*, who besieged and retook *Cracovia*, without paying the least regard to the remonstrances of the king of *Sweden*, who complained of these hostilities as infractions of the peace of *Westphalia*.

AT the same time the *Dutch* were embroiled with the princes of the *Rhine*, by a quarrel between the bishop of *Munster* and his subjects, in which those powers espoused different parties: at length the affair was accommodated by mutual agreement, importing, that the city of *Munster* should maintain three hundred foot soldiers, and the bishop be contented with five hundred; the commander of which should take the oath of fidelity to the magistracy, and attempt nothing contrary to the advantage of the place P.

An electoral
diet
convoked
at Frank-
fort, in or-
der to elect
an emperor.

IN the midst of these transactions the archbishop of *Mentz* convoked an electoral diet at *Frankfort*, in order to supply the vacancy on the imperial throne; but the ambassadors of *France* represented, that before the election of an emperor the states should remove the obstacles which retarded the execution of the treaties of *Osnabrug* and *Munster*, effect an accommodation

• Id. ibid..

P Recueil des Traités des Paix, t. iii. p. 720.

between the crowns of *France* and *Spain*, recal the *German* troops which were in *Italy*, revoke the commission of vicariat, granted to the duke of *Mantua*, confer the investiture of *Montferrat* upon the duke of *Savoy*, according to the tenor of the treaty of *Munster*, and declare void all the acts which had passed in the imperial court against the duke of *Modena*.

THE elector of *Mentz* and *Cologne* entered into the interests *The* of *France*, and promised to use their utmost endeavours to ob- French
tain for them the satisfaction they demanded : as previous steps *ambassa-*
to which, the archbishop of *Mentz* reinforced the intrigues of *dors endea-*
the marechal *de Grammont*, and *Hugues de Lionne*, to traverse *vour to*
or retard the election of *Leopold* king of *Hungary* and *Bohe-* *traverse*
mia. They at first offered their interest to his uncle *Leopold*, *the election*
who protracted the negotiation, and amused them with equi- *of Leo-*
vocal answers, until his nephew should have attained his ma- *pold.*
jority, or eighteenth year ; and in the mean time, he, at their pressing solicitations, influenced that young prince to send orders to *Montecuculli* to suspend his march into *Pomerania*.

THE duke of *Neuburg* was also competitor for the imperial crown, and attempted to avail himself of the assistance of *France*, by which he was for some time cajoled ; but cardinal *Mazarine* actually employed all his address and insinuation to persuade the elector of *Bavaria* to aspire to the imperial dignity ; the king of *Sweden* backed the exhortations and promises of *France* ; every argument that could soothe his apprehension, gratify his pride, or influence his ambition, was employed by the *French* deputies ; they even interested his wife and mother in their scheme, but, in spite of all their united efforts, the elector persisted in his resolution to reject their offers, saying, “ He chose rather to be a rich elector than a poor emperor ; ” and his refusal paved the way to the election of young *Leopold*. Nevertheless, the electors were still divided in such a manner, that the vote of *Brandenburg* could make either scale preponderate. The *French* gained over *Charles* count palatine with a sum of money ; the elector of *Cologne* hated the *Austrians*, because, in preference to him, the archbishop of *Mentz* had consecrated *Ferdinand* the fourth king of the *Romans* ; the electors of *Triers*, *Bavaria*, and *Saxony*, had declared for the king of *Hungary* and *Bohemia* ; and as for *Brandenburg*, who had not yet disclosed his sentiments, *France* not only tempted him with sums of money, but also intimidated him by threatening to assist the duke of *Neuburg* in making himself master of *Cleves*. The *French* exerted themselves in this manner, not so much with a design to prevent the election of *Leopold*, as to obtain from that prince before his elevation, a capitulation, obliging him to renounce the *Spainards*

Spaniards in the *Low Countries*, and prevent the infractions of the treaty of *Munster*. In pursuance of this aim, the ambassadors prevailed upon the four electors of *Mentz*, *Cologne*, *Palatine*, and *Brandenburg*, to sign a preliminary convention, interpreting the third article of the treaty of *Munster*, in favour of *Lewis* the fourteenth, by which they obliged themselves to proceed to a new election, in case the future emperor should contravene this capitulation.

Leopold
is elected
emperor.
A. D.
1658.

FRANCE, having gained this important point, raised no further obstruction to the success of *Leopold-Ignatius*, king of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*, who was unanimously elected emperor, and signed a capitulation, promising to take proper measures for the redintegration of the circles, to abstain from alienating aught belonging to the *Germanic* body without the consent of the circles; from citing the electors, princes, prelates, counts, noblemen, and other states, to any other than the ordinary tribunals of the empire; but to leave all of them in general, and each in particular, to enjoy their immediate justice and privilege of *non appellando*, according to the *Golden Bull*, and other ordinances of the holy empire: he obliged himself to preserve the liberty of the ten towns of *Alsace*, and their union with the empire, without prejudice to the prefectorial jurisdiction; to re-establish the electors and states in the possession of what had been taken from them by force, according to the treaties of *Westphalia* and the edict of *Nuremberg*; to favour the Protestant and Catholic religions equally in the restitution; to avoid entering into the war between the kings of *France* and *Spain*, as well as alliances with foreign powers touching the affairs of the empire, without the consent of the electors; and to maintain the privileges of the towns and princes¹.

A treaty
concluded
between
France
and several
princes,
called the
League of
the Rhine.

WHILE this great affair was in agitation, the electors of *Mentz* and *Cologne* formed the project of a peace between the courts of *France* and *Spain*, which was presented to *Lewis* the fourteenth at *Amiens*, and to the count *de Pigneranda* the Spanish minister at *Frankfort*. Neither party was averse to the proposal; and *Lewis* desired it might be discussed before the election of the emperor, in the apprehension, that should it be delayed until a prince of the house of *Austria* should be settled on the imperial throne, he could not expect such favourable terms of accommodation; for that very reason the minister of *Spain* endeavoured to protract the negotiation. He could not, however, prevent the ambassadors of *France* from forming at *Frankfort* the *League of the Rhine*, which was an

¹ THALDEN, l. ix. p. 270.

offensive and defensive alliance between the *French* king, the electors of *Mentz*, *Triers*, *Cologne*, the count-palatine, the king of *Sweden* as lord of *Bremen*, the dukes of *Lunenburg*, and the landgrave of *Hesse*, obliging the contracting parties to employ their utmost endeavours in the diet, and otherwise, to strengthen the peace of *Westphalia*, and to hinder the *German* troops from marching to the assistance of the *Spaniards* in the *Low Countries* (F).

MEAN while, *Leopold*, having obliged the king of *Sweden* *Leopold* to make an accommodation with *Poland*, applied himself like- *assists the* wise to put a stop to his progress in the dominions of *Den-* *Danes* *mark*. *Charles-Gustavus* had seized upon the islands of *Funen*, *against the* *Langeland*, *Lalande*, *Falster*, and *Zeland*. These conquests *Swedes* forced the king of *Denmark* to a treaty, which was concluded at *Roschild*, but in terms very disadvantageous to him; therefore he sought an opportunity to evade them, in which disposition he was encouraged by the emperor and the *Dutch*, who promised to assist him with all their forces. The king of *Sweden*, being informed of this, suddenly embarked ten thousand men, made a descent upon *Zeland*, and even besieged *Copenhagen*; but was forced, after three months spent in the siege, to turn it into a blockade.

THE imperial troops, and those of *Brandenburg*, in the mean time, having entered *Pomerania*, met at first with some success, which encouraged the *Austrians* to besiege *Stetin*; but *Wrangel*, the *Swedish* general, having thrown great succours into the garrison, they were obliged to raise the siege with

A. D.
1659.

The impe-
rial troops
invade Po-
merania.

* DUMONT Corps Diplom. part ii. t. vi.

(F) In the course of this year died the celebrated *Gaspard Barth*, one of the most learned men of the age. In the seven-teenth year of his age, he published a work of merit upon the *Latin* authors, which he is said to have composed in the space of four and twenty hours. He acquired great reputation by his writings, though he died poor; and his narrow circumstances were probably owing to the liberty with which he disapproved of the measures that were taken against the *Jews*, who had been unjustly oppressed

in *Germany* and *Hungary*, during the reign of *Ferdinand*, although they had done him great service in defending *Prague* against the *Swedes*. *Leopold* expelled them from *Vienna*, at the solicitation of his empress, who imagined her sterility proceeded from the toleration of the *Jews*; but after her death they were re-admitted, allowed to farm the customs under the emperor's protection, and even gratified occasionally with honourable titles. *Basnag. Hist. des Juifs.* l. ix. p. 35.

some

some loss. The elector of *Brandenburg* succeeded no better before *Gripwald* *.

THIS invasion of *Pomerania* by the *Austrians* and *Brandenburgers* was the subject of the deliberations of the diet, then assembled at *Frankfort*. The majority of the deputies were of opinion, that the emperor and the elector of *Brandenburg*, by acting against *Sweden*, had broke the treaty of *Osnabrug*; and that the *Germanic* body, having guaranteed the execution of it, ought either to oblige these two powers to recal their troops, or send assistance to the king of *Sweden*. *Leopold*, fearing one of these two resolutions might be agreed to, wrote to the diet, that he transferred their assembly to *Ratisbon*; hoping at that place to over-awe their deliberations: but it was answered, that he claimed a right not granted to him by the constitution of the empire; and that the assembly, having been convoked at *Frankfort* to put the treaties of *Westphalia* in execution, could not be transported elsewhere, without the consent of the states. The deputies of *Saxony* and *Bavaria* did not approve of this answer; but the rest, supported by the promises of the king of *France*, payed no regard to the order of the emperor, but continued their session at *Frankfort*.

The peace
of the Py-
renees be-
tween
France
and Spain,
by which
the city of
Juliers is
added to
the dutchy
of Neu-
burg.

THE duke of *Neuburg* was one of those who most fully opposed the undertaking of the emperor. He was supported by *France*, who promised to cause the dutchy of *Juliers* to be ceded to him, which had a long time been held in sequestration by the *Spaniards*. The ministers of these two crowns were then negotiating the peace of the *Pyrenees*, which was concluded in less than six weeks in the island of *Faisans*. It consisted of twenty-four articles, which, among other things, regulated the restitution of the conquests made during the war. The king of *Spain* renounced the province of *Alsace*, the treaty of *Querasque* was confirmed, *Pignerol* reserved to the *French*, and the city of *Juliers* given to the duke of *Neuburg*.

AT the same time the *French* and *English*, fearing that the *Dutch* and *Austrians* should become too powerful in the *Baltic*, by reason of the dissensions of the northern powers, pressed the states-general, by their ambassadors at the *Hague*, not to give any more assistance to the king of *Denmark*. And having concluded a treaty, called the *Convention of the Hague*, they obliged themselves to reduce by force that party which should refuse to come to an accommodation. The king of *Sweden* rejected it; but being defeated by the *Danes*, and obliged to retire with great loss, he consented to declare his resolution,

* PUFFEND. de reb. C. Gul. l. vi.

after consulting the states of his kingdom, which assembled at *Gottenburg* in the month of *January*; yet delayed coming to any resolution about a peace, depending upon the success of next campaign: but the king of *Sweden* dying of a fever, a peace was immediately after concluded, to which the emperor and the elector of *Brandenburg* acceded.

THE troubles of the North being composed, the emperor was threatened with an invasion from the *Turks*, who had advanced with an army to the borders of *Transylvania*, and demanded the head of young *Ragotski*, with all that his father had possessed in *Hungary*. That prince was then at war with them; and two years before, having represented to *Leopold*, that, if once they possessed *Transylvania*, there would be no barrier betwixt them and the hereditary dominions of the house of *Austria*, he had obtained from him three or four thousand men. This supply encouraged him to attack the vizier's army near *Acad*, which he defeated, after having killed five or six thousand of their troops. But elevated with this advantage, and advancing rashly, he was surprised by the *Turks*, his army cut in pieces, and his baggage and several cannon taken. In consequence of this defeat, the *Turks* made themselves masters of almost all *Transylvania*, and bestowed the government of it upon *Jacob Boskui*. But *Ragotski*, being still in possession of some places, in the beginning of this year made an incursion into the territory of *Giula*, and, finding a considerable body of infidels, he attacked and routed them. As soon as the season would permit, he marched with his little army against the *Turks*, and judging there was no resource for him but in a desperate attempt, he resolved either to conquer or die. Finding them encamped between *Clausenburg* and *Alba Julia*, he fell upon them sword in hand, put their battalions in disorder, and was upon the point of gaining the victory, when, his helmet falling off, he received so violent a blow upon his head, that he fell to the ground from his horse almost dead. His army, astonished at this accident, made no more resistance; but retired with their wounded general, who died soon after at *Waradin*.

ZATHMAR and *Zambolick* were the fiefs which the Grand Seignior had demanded from *Ragotski*, and which, since his death, the emperor, at the intreaty of several lords of that kingdom, intended to take from the princes of *Transylvania*, and fortify their frontier places as barriers against the *Turks*. But, first using the means of persuasion, he sent to *Francis Ragotski*, son of the late vaivode, to engage him to cede these two provinces

¹ BARNES, t. x. p. 9.

His son surrenders Zathmar and Zambolic, the disputed counties, to the emperor. to him, as he was not able to defend them himself, in the present bad situation of his affairs. That prince consulting with the princess his mother, resolved to gratify the emperor, and gave the necessary orders for putting these two counties into the hands of the baron *Mierberg*, his envoy, judging that, by acquiring the friendship of the house of *Austria*, he might one day be enabled to recover *Transylvania* ^u.

AFTER this cession, *Leopold* immediately sent the count *de Souches* with ten thousand men, into *Upper Hungary*. He encamped at *Trenchin*, where the emperor had called a diet of the states of that kingdom, which gratuitously offered to supply his troops with provisions. That the *Turks* might take umbrage at these proceedings, he ordered his resident to declare to the grand vizier, that he had disapproved of the bad conduct of the prince of *Transylvania*, and the *Porte* might be assured, that he would do nothing against the last treaty of peace; his only reason for sending troops into *Hungary*, being to take possession of the counties of *Zathmar* and *Zambolick*.

DE SOUCHES soon after appeared before *Tokai*, and wanted to take possession of it in the name of the emperor; but those who commanded in the place, at first made some difficulties, pretending that the *Hungarian* garrison ought to remain, and that it was sufficient if they took the oath of allegiance to his imperial majesty. *De Souches*, put an end to disputes, by shewing them the emperor's order to take possession of it by force, if they refused to deliver it voluntarily. Upon this the *Hungarian* garrison withdrew, and the *Germans* took possession of the town. After the same manner he entered *Zathmar*, and wanted likewise to put imperial troops into *Erschet* ^w; but the governor for princess *Ragotski* opposed it. *De Souches* had received an order from *Vienna* to treat with the princess, to induce her to allow *German* garrisons to be put into *Erschet* and *Onod*. The *Hungarians* opposed this negotiation, observing with regret the emperor enlarging his authority in *Upper Hungary*, and the princess could not be prevailed upon to trust to their assurances of delivering them up again as soon as the *Turks* should retire. The lords likewise talked high of their privilege of not allowing any *German* troops to garrison their towns; and so averse were they from the imperial troops, that the inhabitants of *Waradin* chose rather to surrender to the *Turks*, than accept of the *German* assistance sent them.

THE surrender of *Waradin* obliged the count *de Souches* to take all precautions against the *Turks*. He supplied the frontier

^u Theat. Europ. t. ix. ad An. 1660. ^w BARRE, ib. p. 11.

towns with all necessaries, and made the kingdom contribute to the expence of the fortifications : he repaired the out-works of *Kalo*, and secured the fidelity of *Erschet*. Afterwards settling his head-quarters at *Cassovia*, he even obtained from the prince *Ragotski* leave to put a *German* garrison into *Onod*.

THE emperor then applied himself wholly to provide for a war with the *Turks*. The *basha* of *Upper Hungary* had laid several villages in the neighbourhood of *Zathmar* under contribution, and had published a manifesto, threatening with fire and sword the inhabitants of the county, if they refused to acknowledge the sultan for their sovereign : besides, the infidels made such great preparations, that it might easily be perceived they designed some important conquest. *Leopold*, preparing to oppose them, acquainted the *Transylvanians* with his intention, and demanded of them *Zekelheid* and *Kovar*, as places of arms, and securities for their fidelity. He sent *Montecuculli* with twenty thousand men into *Hungary* : *Zekelheid* was garrisoned with five thousand *Germans* ; the fortifications of the frontier towns were repaired ; the command of the army given to count *Staremburg* ; and *de Souches* made grand master of artillery.

A. D.

1661.

Leopold

prepares

for a war

against the

Turks.

THESE preparations gave a great deal of uneasiness to the *Palatine* and other *Hungarian* lords : they were persuaded that *Leopold* intended by them rather to conquer *Hungary*, than oppose the invasion of the *Turks* : they declared loudly that the imperial troops, by entering their country, violated their privileges ; and that the emperor, by taking possession of the places of strength, wanted only to drive the *Protestants* out of *Hungary*, as he formerly had expelled them from *Bohemia*.

THESE discourses, which were not without foundation, made an impression upon the people. They assembled in a tumultuous manner, and requested of the *palatine* and *archbishop* of *Strigonia*, to represent to the emperor, that he must recal his troops, as the articles which he had sworn to observe at his coronation, prohibited him from bringing *Germans* into their country. These two lords promised to speak to the emperor, though they expected but little redress, as he could not draw off his troops without exposing the frontier to the invasion of the *Turks*. The *Hungarians* observing no effect from their promises, absolutely refused to give winter-quarters and provisions to the troops. *Leopold* being informed of this, sent for the *archbishop* and the count of *Nadasti*, and several other lords, to *Vienna* ; having discoursed with them, he made them promise to allow winter-quarters for his army in *Upper Hungary*.

The Germans are obliged to leave Upper Hungary,

A. D.
1662.

and are attacked by the peasants on their march.

NADASTI, upon his return, assembled the deputies of the thirteen counties, and drew from them a promise of lodging the *Germans*; upon which *Montecuculli* marched directly with his army for *Cassovia*, where, after some difficulty, he was admitted: but the palatine *Wesselini* seeing his measures broke, assembled the states at *Cassovia*, and renewing in their minds their antient suspicions of the emperor's conduct, prevailed upon them to deny provisions and winter-quarters to the Imperialists, although *Montecuculli*, who was there, represented to them, that by so doing they would expose their country a prey to the *Turks*; but he being able to obtain nothing, and seeing his army diminish daily by sickness, was obliged to winter in *Lower Hungary*.

THE emperor being informed of this disposition of the diet of *Cassovia*, sent the count *Rhotal*, and the chancellor of the kingdom, to prevail with it to grant winter-quarters to his army: but the deputies persisted in their denial, and represented, that what was demanded of them was of dangerous consequence, and might be used as a precedent to complete the ruin of their liberties. They wrote to the emperor, intreating him to recal the *Germans*, who oppressed them, and asking leave to defend their frontiers themselves, according to their laws and privileges: but finding no effect from this letter, and the *Germans* still continuing to oppress them, they at last proceeded to oppose them by force. The peasants, headed by some lords, attacked them on their march, killed many of them, and exposed their bloody cloaths to the wind, that all might know the vengeance they had taken.

ABOUT the middle of this year there was an appearance of peace with the *Turks*; upon which the emperor agreed with the states of *Hungary*, that nine thousand *Germans* should depart their kingdom, the rest should be subsisted by his imperial majesty, and such regulations settled for their marches and quarters, as should not be distressing to the kingdom. Nevertheless, the disturbances did not cease; for the Imperialists still continuing to plunder and pillage upon their march, were for this denied access to the *Hungarian* towns; and when they attempted it by force, they were repulsed. The *Germans*, in despair to see themselves thus treated, exercised in their turn the utmost violences against the *Hungarians*, which consequently greatly irritated them against the emperor.

A. D.
1663.

THE negotiations of peace not succeeding, the grand vizier had orders to enter *Hungary* with a powerful army. The emperor upon this demanded money and troops from the princes of the empire; who first petitioned for a general diet to be called, to regulate what each ought to send. The diet ac-

cordingly

Accordingly assembled at *Ratisbon* on the twentieth of *January*, and deliberated upon the means of defending the empire from the designs of the *Turks*, of putting the treaties of *Westphalia* in execution, and of regulating what could not be finished at the last diet. The division among the deputies prevented their coming to any resolution about the succours to be given to the emperor, till they were surprised with the news of *Newhausen's* being taken by the *Turks*, which happened on the twenty-fifth of *September*. Then they determined to assist *Hungary* with men and money, and the electors of *Mentz*, *Saxony*, *Brandenburg*, and *Bavaria*, sent troops to the emperor; but their march was so slow, that they gave the *Turks* time to take up their winter-quarters in *Upper Hungary*.

THE emperor likewise wrote to the *Hungarians* to raise forces, and make other preparations for war. But they, either not thinking the danger so pressing, or being less afraid of the *Turks* than the *Germans*, acquainted *Leopold*, that they had resolved to assemble the *arriere ban*, and intreated his imperial majesty not to send any army till their troops were raised: but if he wanted to put garrisons in the towns, they consented to it, provided they were brought by water, and subsisted from the provisions which were in the magazines.

MEAN while the *Turks* were advancing with great speed, *The Turks* and directing their march towards *Friuli*. *Edward* count of *advance Aversperg* had taken the field with some *German* and *Croatian* *towards* *regiments* to defend the frontier; and hearing that the *Turks* *Friuli*; were coming down from the mountains of *Furevestein*, called a council of war, in which it was resolved to guard the passage of *Sluin*, and send count *Aversperg* to *Roclanox*, to prevent the infidels from advancing any farther. The count of *Serini*, who was next in command, took possession of a little eminence covered with oaks, at the bottom of the mountain *Furevestein*, and waited there for the coming down of the *Turks*. On the sixth of *October*, at break of day, a thousand *but are re-* *janissaries* and four hundred *spahis* came down into the val- *pulsed by* *ley*, who were attacked by the *Croatians* with such vigour, *count Se-* that very few escaped, most of them being either killed or *rini*. taken prisoners. The *Turks*, struck with this resolution of the *Croatians*, and judging that they were much stronger than indeed they were, fled with precipitation, leaving their baggage behind them².

THE emperor, being informed soon after that the grand vizier was preparing to march against *Newhausen*, called an assembly of the states at *Presburg*, to press for the *arriere ban*,

¹ LONDORP. t. ix. p. 976.

² BARRE, t. x. p. 21.

and put that place in a condition to maintain a siege; for though the twenty-fourth of *August* had been appointed for their general rendezvous at *Vahberg*, when the imperial officer came there, he did not find a man. This extraordinary conduct had surprised the court of *Vienna*, and therefore count *Rothal* was sent into *Hungary* with full powers to treat with the states; who, being assembled in a diet at *Cassovia*, at last granted him what he demanded.

A. D.
1664.
Leopold
obtains
assistance
from fo-
reign
powers.

NEVERTHELESS *Leopold* was still distrustful of them; and being likewise dissatisfied with the lords of the *Germanic* body, he applied himself to foreign princes for assistance against the *Turks*. The pope allowed him to raise the sixth penny upon the goods of ecclesiastics in *Austria* and *Bohemia*^a; the king of *France* sent him two thousand horse and four thousand foot, which were joined by a great number of volunteers; eight hundred horse and six hundred foot were obtained from the king of *Sweden*, upon condition of allowing liberty of conscience to the Protestants of *Hungary*, and granting to the *Swedes* the investiture of the dutchy of *Bremen*, and of *Pomerania*.

THE count of *Serini* began the campaign by burning the bridge of *Essak*, which was in the possession of the *Turks*. Soon after he took the city of the *Five Churches*, and many other places situated betwixt the *Drave* and the *Danube*. The count *de Souches*, who commanded a separate body, gained great advantages over the *Turks*. He made himself master of *Newtria*; and marching afterwards to besiege *Newbausel*, he met with four thousand *Turks*, whom he defeated. He pursued them to the banks of the *Gran*, where they, receiving reinforcements, again opposed him; but, being vigorously attacked, they were intirely routed, and their artillery and baggage taken. Immediately after he marched to *Leventz*, which he attacked with such fury, that the garrison, being struck with a panic, surrendered at discretion.

THE basha of *Buda*, having assembled the troops of *Moldavia* and *Walachia*, thought of recovering the place before the breaches were repaired. In effect, he besieged it; but the count *de Souches*, passing the *Gran* with his little army, encamped within a league of the besiegers; and both sides drawing up in order of battle, the Imperialists attacked the *Turks* and *Tartars* with such vigour, that they soon put them to flight. The troops of *Moldavia* and *Walachia* went home, and their retreat passed for a revolt. The count *de Souches*, pursuing his victory, took possession of the city of *Barcem*; and, after that, led his troops to *Camora* for refreshment.

^a RICAUT Hist. des Em. Turcs. t. iii.

MEAN while the grand vizier, having made himself master of *Serinſwar*, in ſight of the *Auſtrians*, who neither durſt aſſiſt ^{the grand vizier is} the place nor offer battle, animated by this ſucceſs, paſſed the *Muer*, and formed the deſign of marching to *Vienna*. *Montecuculli*, who obſerved the *Ottoman* army, undertook to ſtop ^{entirely de-} him near *St. Godard*, upon the *Raab*. The *Turkiſh* general, ^{ſeated near} having found a ford, transported a part of his troops with deſign to offer battle: but he committed a great error in deſerring till next day to transport the reſt; for there fell ſuch a heavy rain all night, that the *Raab* overflowed its banks. *Montecuculli*, reſolving to prevent the re-union of the *Turks*, drew up his army in order of battle, to attack thoſe who had paſſed to his ſide of the river; and the *Turks*, ſtill endeavouring to paſs the river over a ſmall wooden bridge, were repulſed by five hundred *French* volunteers (G). This memorable action began on the third of *Auguſt*, at nine in the morning, and laſted till four in the afternoon. The victory was long doubtful; but at laſt the *Turks* were intirely defeated, with the loſs of twenty-two thouſand men, and ſeventeen pieces of cannon ^b.

THIS defeat appeared ſo conſiderable to the grand vizier, ^{The Turks} that he ſent next day to offer a negotiation of peace, which ^{immedi-} was concluded at *Temefſwar* the tenth of *Auguſt*. The *Hun-* ^{ately con-} *garians*, and *Abaffi* the vaivode of *Transylvania*, aſtoniſhed at ^{clude a} this precipitation, complained, that, inſtead of conſulting their peace-interests, they had treated without them, and at their expence, they being ſtill abandoned to the *Turks*, and expoſed to the incurſions of the garrifon of *Newhauſel*; that the emperor might have obtained much more advantageous conditions from the infidels, conſidering the terror in which they were; and that *Newhauſel* ought certainly to have been delivered up, or its fortifications razed. The miniſters of the emperor endeavoured to excuſe themſelves, by affirming, that they were obliged to have more regard to the ſad ſtate to which the empire was reduced, than to the uncertain conſequences of a victory. But the truth was, that *Leopold* conſented to it the more willingly, as he wanted to accompliſh his

^b HEISS, t. iii. p. 233.

(G) *Heiſs* relates, that the *quis* of *Baden*, and would have action began on the twenty-entirely defeated him, if the eighth of *July*; and though that count *de Coligni* had not come day the *Turks* were repulſed to his aſſiſtance with the *French*, with great loſs, yet on the mor-who routed the infidels, and row they renewed the attack, obliged them to retire with pre-forced the quarter of the mar-cipitation.

marriage with the infant of Spain, to prevent the design of the *French* upon that crown.

THE murmurs of the *Hungarians* were not appeased by this answer; but proceeded so far as to threaten a revolt, if there was no regard paid to their remonstrances. The malcontents hearing that his imperial majesty's resident with the grand vizier was carrying the treaty to *Vienna*, to be ratified by the emperor, attacked him on the road, took his horse and money from him, and with difficulty restored to him the dispatches he was carrying to their sovereign. The emperor no sooner heard of this violence, but he sent for the principal lords of *Hungary* to *Vienna*; and prince *Lobskowitz*, president of the imperial council, told them, that the *Turks*, seeing their measures broke, had of themselves proposed a peace; in which it was agreed, that *Transylvania* should enjoy its liberty, though formerly claimed as a province by the infidels; that the counties of *Zathmar* and *Zambolick* were likewise ceded to the emperor; the bounds of *Hungary* extended to the *Tibis*, a rapid and deep river, and consequently a good frontier against the *Turks*; that his imperial majesty had reserved the power of building forts to restrain the garrisons of *Waradin* and *Newbausel*; and as he had resolved to recall all the *German* regiments from *Hungary*, provided they would put garrisons in their place, the lords of that kingdom ought not to make any difficulty of signing the treaty in the name of the states.

A. D.
1665.

THE *Hungarians* appeared at first satisfied with the reasons of prince *Lobskowitz*: nevertheless they told him, that all the officers of war, even to a general, who should serve beyond the *Danube*, must only be natives of *Hungary*; and they were not obliged to support *German* garrisons, repair the old, or build new fortifications.

THE emperor, being able to obtain no more from the *Hungarians*, promised to exempt them from the lodging and subsistence of foreign troops; to leave them the command of all the towns beyond the *Danube*; and a liberty of putting garrisons of their own chusing into those of the mountains; with a power likewise of bringing hussars and heyduques into the neighbourhood of *Newbausel*, till the fort which was proposed should be built. The lords, satisfied with these conditions, ratified the treaty, brought back the royal crown to *Presburg*, from whence they had taken it the year before, and returned quietly to their possessions.

AFTER the ratification of the treaty, the lords expected that the emperor would withdraw the *German* troops from *Hungary*; but he having ceded to *Michael Abaffi*, vaivode of *Tran-*

Transylvania, the places depending upon that province, the garrisons coming from thence were transferred to *Tokai*, *Zathmar*, *Kalo*, and *Oned*. The *Hungarians* hoped that, at least, *Neutria* and *Lewentz* would be put into their hands; but, after they had earnestly demanded them several times, they were refused, and *German* garrisons put into both these places.

THESE absolute proceedings of the emperor, and manifest reaches of the liberty and privileges of the nation, re-united all the *Hungarians* against the house of *Austria*. They refused to pay the ordinary taxes, and universally complained of the government. The palatine and principal lords of the kingdom, far from opposing these commotions, even encouraged the discontents of the people, taking umbrage at *Leopold's* pretending to govern by himself, and not admitting them to any part in the administration. The Hungarians revolt.

THE emperor, to quell the revolt in its beginning, sent fresh troops into *Lower Hungary*, which only contributed to irritate their minds; they imagining that he wanted to destroy the lords that were most considerable for their wealth and authority with the people, and to leave only in the kingdom peasants, manufacturers, and artificers. In this persuasion, they resolved to seize upon the person of the emperor; and solicited him to come to the diet, that was to assemble at *Presburg* on the twenty-eighth of *September*. But he, whether informed of the plot, or his council not thinking it safe for him to trust himself in the hands of the *Hungarian* lords, pretended a great many reasons for not coming.

ABOUT this time *Leopold* married *Margaret-Theresa*, infant of *Spain*. The rejoicings of this solemnity were scarcely over, when he was alarmed with the news of the great preparations of *Lewis* the fourteenth of *France*, to take possession of the *Low Countries*, in right of his wife, as sole heir to the late king of *Spain* by his first marriage, pretending that the females of the first bed inherit to the prejudice of the males of the second. *Lewis* the fourteenth, before he declared war, had secured the alliance or neutrality of several princes of *Germany*, and had likewise engaged the *English* and *Dutch* to conclude a peace, to prevent the first from joining *Spain*, and to put the last in a condition to assist him. After the conclusion of this peace, he made a treaty with *Sweden*, which engaged to keep twelve thousand men in the territory of *Bremen*, to act on the side of the empire, in case *Leopold* should join *Spain*, and declare war against *France*. A. D. 1666.
Leopold marries Margaret-Theresa, infant of Spain.

HAVING concerted these measures he took the field, and entering the *Low Countries* immediately seized *Charleroy*, *Binch*,

A. D.
1667.
Lewis the
fourteenth
attacks
Spanish
Flanders
and
Franche-
comté.

Binch, Aeth, Tournay, Douay, Aloft, and Lifle; and at the same time defeated the *Spanish* army which came to the assistance of this last place: afterwards he proposed to carry the war into *Franche-comté*. The king of *Spain*, alarmed at these proceedings, and hoping to engage the states of the empire to espouse his quarrel, represented to the diet at *Ratisbon*, that this province being one of the circles of the empire, the *Germanic* body was interested in its preservation; and that *France* could not attack it without declaring war against the empire^e: but the deputies, whether secretly in the interest of *France*, or employed in affairs that seemed to them of more importance, neglected this representation.

THE great concern of the diet then was to compose a new imperial capitulation, to remain constant and invariable, which the emperors should be obliged to sign at their election. This matter had been formerly treated of in some diets by the electors, at their own separate meetings; but being complained of by the princes and cities, it was again canvassed at this general diet, where they were all present, and a project for a perpetual capitulation was agreed upon; but this scheme, tho' approved in a general diet, has never yet received the necessary sanction to render it a law of the empire. The deputies had likewise under consideration, the differences betwixt the electors of *Mentz* and *Cologne*, and the duke of *Lorrain* on one part, and the count palatine on the other; but determining nothing, the parties complaining proceeded to right themselves by arms.

The elector
of Mentz
declares
war
against the
palatine.

A GREAT number of the villages of the *Palatinate* having been rendered desolate by the long wars, the count granted lands and privileges to all strangers who should come and settle in them^f, and by a right called *Wildfangiat*, appropriated them as his subjects. The electors of *Mentz* and *Cologne*, the duke of *Lorrain*, and the cities of *Spire* and *Worms*, seeing the number of their citizens diminish, disputed this right with him; and the diet having decided nothing, the archbishop of *Mentz* declared war against the count palatine, and began with the siege of *Ladenburg*, which he easily carried. Afterwards he took *Odernheim*, *Hek*, and some other small places; so that the palatine, too weak to make opposition, proposed an accommodation, which was broke off by the duke of *Lorrain*, who sent the prince of *Lillebonne* with some forces, engaging the archbishop to continue the war.

^e Theatr. Europ. t. x. p. 681. WAYNER Hist. Leopold, p. 210.

^f Diar. Europ. t. xii.

THIS prince, who had commanded in *Flanders*, was very earnest to bring the matter to a decisive action ; but the Palatine army, not able to act offensively, had intrenched itself partly behind an inaccessible marsh, and partly under the cannon of *Frankendal*. But the prince, after many skirmishes, drawing them to a general engagement by an ambuscade, routed them entirely. The elector-palatine, alarmed at this defeat, proposed an accommodation, and a truce was agreed to for four months ; during which the deputies of the parties should assemble at *Oppenheim* to negotiate a peace : but he not waiting this decision, and impatient to attack the duke of *Lorrain*, broke the truce, and entered the county of *Falkenstein*. On the first news of these hostilities, the duke ordered a body of troops, who were in winter-quarters in the bishopric of *Spire*, to make reprisals upon the lands of the palatine. They accordingly made an incursion, and carried off six hundred horses and a great many cattle. The palatine having made several unsuccessful attempts upon *Kislœ*, and seeing his states threatened with approaching ruin, resolved again to enter into an accommodation. A suspension of arms was agreed to, and the prisoners on both sides were restored. These two articles were the preliminaries to a treaty afterwards concluded at *Heilbron*, on the seventh of *February*, by which the right of *Wildfangiat* was confirmed to the elector-palatine.

DURING this dispute between the electors, *Lewis* the fourteenth had caused his troops to march off towards *Franche-comté*, under the command of the prince of *Condé*. This general took *Besançon* on the seventh of *February*, while the marshal of *Luxemburg* made himself master of *Salins*. *Dole* likewise surrendered to the *French* on the fourteenth, *Gray* on *Franche-comté* the nineteenth, and, in less than a month, all *Franche-comté* was reduced under the power of *Lewis* the fourteenth. The *Hollanders*, concerned at the progress of the *French*, offered themselves, in conjunction with the *English* and *Swedes*, as mediators to procure a peace ; accordingly their plenipotentiaries assembled at *Aix-la-Chapelle*, where the terms proposed by the *French* king were rejected by the *Spaniards*. Then he caused an hundred thousand men to march towards the frontiers, with intention to attack *Brussels*, *Ostend*, and *Luxemburg* ; and by this appearance of a second invasion, which threatened the conquest of the whole *Low Countries*, compelled the *Spaniards* to accept of his terms. The peace was signed at *Aix-la-Chapelle* on the second of *May* ; and by it *Courtray*, *Ber-*

1668.

A. D.

Lewis the

fourteenth

seizes

comté.

comté.

comté.

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W. WAYNER Hist. Leopold. l. iii. p. 217. Diar. Europ. in Append. t. xvii.

gues, Furnes, and all the country since called *French Flanders*, was ceded to *Lewis* the fourteenth, on condition that he should restore *Franche comté*.

The *Hungarians* being still dissatisfied with the emperor's conduct, laboured to shake off the yoke, or lessen their dependence; therefore the deputies of *Upper Hungary* refused to come to the diet, which was convoked at *Presburg* for the coronation of the empress, unless the demands which they made at the last diet were granted to them. They complained likewise, that the office of palatine, vacant by the death of *Wesselini*, was neglected to be filled up by the emperor; and the Protestants also refused to come to the diet until their churches should be restored. *Leopold*, in order to suppress these complaints, promised to the deputies to grant their demands, and ordered *Ragotski* to restore to the Protestants their churches and the revenues belonging to them; in consequence of which condescension, many of the deputies came to the diet the sixteenth of *April*.

NEVERTHELESS a number of malcontents, uneasy at seeing a *German* garrison in *Tokai*, assembled at *Zemblin*, and sent deputies to the emperor, requiring it should be dismissed. They represented to *Leopold*, that the places of the kingdom, which ought to be garrisoned by the militia of the country only, were filled with strangers, though directly contrary to their privileges; and that the Protestants received all manner of bad treatment from the Catholics. The emperor endeavoured to satisfy them; but his reasons having no effect, they assembled at the castle of *Kivar*, upon the frontiers of *Transylvania*, and a league was proposed betwixt the *Hungarian* Protestants, and the *Transylvanians*, to drive the *Germans* out of the kingdom, demolish *Zathmar*, and arm themselves for the defence of the reformed religion: but the difficulties which occurred, put a stop to their resolutions, and they separated without having come to any conclusion.

The elector
palatine
renews
hostilities
against the
duke of
Lorraine;

MEAN while the elector-palatine being dissatisfied with the peace concluded at *Heilbron*, in the beginning of the former year, again had recourse to arms, upon account of the right of *Wildfangiat*, and commenced hostilities by entering the county of *Fulkenstein* and *Honec*^h. Having passed the *Rhine* with his army, he marched against *Landstoul* and *Homburgh*, places ceded to the duke of *Lorraine* by the peace of *Munster*, which he made himself master of without any resistance, and afterwards took the castle of *Honec*. The duke, surprised at these hostilities, marched against him at the head of his troops, and

^h BARRE, t. x. p. 35.

the armies engaging near *Heidelberg*, after an obstinate dispute, the palatine at last was defeated, and the emperor, who needed the assistance of *Germany* to calm the troubles of *Hungary*, writing to the parties to negotiate a peace, the elector answered, that he was very well disposed to an accommodation. The duke, not minding the solicitations of the emperor, and offended at the fickleness of the palatine, ordered new levies, and proposed to raise eighteen thousand men; but the king of *France* taking umbrage at that great armament, and representing to him, that he must disband his troops, and conform to the general peace, which allowed him only one company of guards, and another of light horse, the duke replied, that he was ready to agree to these terms, provided his subjects were protected from the hostilities of his enemies; in consequence of this representation a truce was agreed upon for six weeks, which ended in a treaty of peace.

A. D.

1669.

but by the mediation of the French, a peace is concluded between them.

DURING the negotiation of this peace, the duke formed a scheme of association with the archbishop of *Cologne*, the bishops of *Strasburg* and *Hildesheim*, and some other princes of *Germany*, which was concluded at *Nancy*. Each member was taxed a certain sum, and a number of horse and foot. The city of *Frankfort* was appointed for the place of the council of the union, in which each party had a deliberative voice; but if any one furnished a double contingent, he was to have a double voice; and in case of an attack made upon any of the confederates, the rest obliged themselves to arm in his defence.

ABOUT this time also the count of *Nassau* demanded from the diet at *Ratisbon*, the restitution of the county of *Saaverdin*, then in possession of the duke of *Lorrain*. He founded his demand upon the treaty of *Westphalia*; but *Risaucourt*, the duke's envoy, represented, that his master, for want of a safe conduct, not being able to appear at the congress at *Munster*, it was not just to oblige him to the execution of an article made to his prejudice in his absence; that the county of *Saaverdin* had been adjudged to his highness after a process of an hundred years; and if the diet hearkened to the demands of the count of *Nassau*, he hoped they would likewise attend to the treaty, by which the emperor had obliged himself to make no peace, till that prince, his ally, was re-established in his dutchies and pretensions. The diet, influenced by these reasons, obliged his highness only to restore to the count of *Nassau*, some villages depending upon the county of *Saaverdin*, till the affair should be judged to the bottom by arbitrators appointed for that purpose. After this decision of the diet, *Risaucourt* went to *Vienna*, and concluded an alliance betwixt the duke

The count of Nassau demands restitution of the county of Saaverdin.

duke and the emperor, who made no difficulty of admitting him to the alliance of the house of *Austria*, and forthwith appointed him general of the *Austrian* horse, which were immediately to march into *Hungary*.

Counts
Tattem-
bach and
Serini en-
ter into an
association,
and solicit
the assis-
tance of
the Turks,

THE malcontents of that kingdom had assembled at *Zathmar*, and resolved to raise a company of an hundred troopers, whose officers should be Protestants. At the same time, the count of *Strafolte* having received an order from *Vienna* to repair the fortifications of *Tokay*, the gentlemen absolutely refused to contribute to the fortifications, and made loud complaints of the violation of their privileges, by putting foreign garrisons into their towns. While the emperor was taking measures to stifle these discontents, the count of *Tattembach*, at a conference with the count of *Serini*, shewed him a paper written by the hand of *Nadaſti*, concerning the preservation of their privileges, and the manner of driving the *Germans* out of *Hungary*. Next day they subscribed to this, and engaged never to forsake each other; but as they could not execute their design without the assistance of the *Turks*, they resolved to send deputies to *Constantinople*; and, that the emperor's resident might not discover their negotiations, they employed *Transylvanians*, who, being under the protection of the *Porte*, would not be suspected.

A. D.
1670.

UPON the first overture made to the grand vizier, he promised to support the malcontents, if they would become tributaries to the *Porte*: but, rather than assent to that hard condition, they chose to continue faithful to the emperor; and he having sent regiments into *Hungary*, to prevent the irruptions of the *Turks* and *Transylvanians*, they were ready to sacrifice their lives in defence of their country, and his just rights: but far from meeting acceptance with the emperor, his mind seemed rather irritated against them. The *Hungarians* then despairing of having their privileges restored, again renewed their negotiations with the *Porte*: they intreated the grand vizier to send an hundred thousand men into *Hungary*; and offered, on their part, to enter the hereditary countries of *Austria* with a powerful army, and to ravage the frontier provinces of *Germany* with fire and sword, to prevent the subsistence of any troops that might come to the assistance of the emperor: they consented also that the *Turks* should keep the places which they had conquered, leaving the rest of the kingdom at liberty, and satisfy themselves with an annual tribute.

THE sultan being then at war with the *Persians*, was not much disposed to break with the emperor: he therefore refused to engage with the *Hungarians*, unless the places of strength were put in his possession as a security, and even made

no difficulty of revealing indirectly the secret negotiations with the malcontents. The emperor having notice of this *which is* from his resident at the *Porte*, was afterwards fully informed *discovered* of the plot, by means of the count of *Tattembach's* servant, *to the em-* who having been imprisoned by his master upon a suspicion of *peror by* robbery, and thinking to be revenged and regain his liberty, *Tattem-* sent some papers relating to the conspiracy, written by *bach's* *servant.* *Tattem-* *bach's* own hand, to *Vienna*. *Leopold*, upon this discovery, sent orders to the chancellor of *Gratz*, diligently to observe the conduct of *Tattembach*.

AT the beginning of *Lent* count *Serini* took the field, to the surprize of all those who were ignorant of the conspiracy. *Tattembach*, to avoid suspicion of being concerned with him, offered to the chancellor to endeavour to discover his intentions, and soon after came to *Gratz*, to take his place at the council; but was immediately arrested, and an officer sent to his castle to seize his papers; upon which he confessed the engagements he had with count *Serini*, a copy of which information was sent to the emperor. While the count *Serini* was to act in *Croatia*, and keep up the spirit of the *Walachians*, who had already joined him with eight thousand men, *Ragotski* had promised to seize *Montasch* in *Upper Hungary*, where his father's treasures lay; and coming to *Tokay*, where he treacherously surprized the governor and some of his chief officers, he endeavoured to make himself master of the town; but being repulsed, he marched to *Montasch*, where the gates were shut against him by his mother, and the cannon pointed to answer his demands.

THE emperor, finding that the malcontents were growing *The empe-* powerful, resolved to reduce them by force, and ordered the *ror asks* march of some troops into *Hungary*; and, that his conduct *assistance* might be approved by the states of the empire, sent a copy of *from the* some of the conspirator's letters to the diet at *Ratisbon*, and *diet of the* demanded the assistance of the states against the rebels and *empire.* *Turks*. The diet promised an assistance of twenty-six thousand men; but not being able to agree upon the number that each member should furnish, they concluded nothing that year. Besides the troops that were sent into *Hungary*, major-general *Spankau* was sent with six thousand men and eight pieces of cannon against count *Serini* in *Croatia*, who was then greatly embarrassed, the *Walachians* having deserted from him for want of pay, and he having failed in his enterprize against *Copnanitz*, which he had promised to deliver to the *Turks*. The malcontents of *Upper Hungary* not rising as he expected, and the imperial army advancing to besiege him, he was persuaded to implore the mercy of the emperor: but while

a monk mediated a reconciliation, *Spankau* besieged *Sabaturn* with the imperial army; and, denying any knowledge of a treaty, pressed the town so vigorously, that count *Serini*, despairing of defending it, endeavoured to escape with his brother-in-law, count *Frangipani*; but they were both taken, and carried prisoners to *Vienna*.

WHILE *Spankau* was reducing *Croatia*^l, *Ragotski* had besieged *Tokai* and *Zathmar* in *Upper Hungary*, and had seized all the passes, to prevent the imperial army from coming to relieve them; but receiving a letter from count *Serini*, by a messenger of the emperor, asking the liberty of the governor and officers of *Tokai*, and exhorting him to submit to his sovereign as he had done; at the same time he judging it was impossible to continue the war without ruining himself, and glad to have propositions made to him by the emperor; immediately laid down his arms, and set his prisoners at liberty, praying their assistance to procure his pardon; which at length, by the mediation of his mother, was granted to him, together with the possession of all his former estates.

THE emperor, having now no more to fear from the rebels, summoned to *Vienna* the chiefs of the nobility of *Upper Hungary*; and at the same time declared, that those who refused to appear should be judged guilty of treason, and proceeded against by military execution. Soon after *Parisferrus*, the secretary of the association, being taken at *Cassovia*, there were found in his chamber five boxes full of letters and papers relating to the conspiracy, by which it was discovered that *Nadasti* was also one of the conspirators. He, being seized, confessed himself guilty; and only requested of the emperor to spare his children, who had not been concerned in the crime.

By means of these letters *Leopold* being informed of every thing relating to the plot, appointed judges to try the rebels *Serini*, *Nadasti*, *Frangipani*, and *Tattembach*, were condemned to be degraded from their nobility, and to have their heads and right hands cut off: all their goods were confiscated, and their children obliged to change their names and coats of arms^k.

Serini,
Nadasti,
Frangipani, and
Tattembach are
condemned
and executed.

To put a final end to these troubles, all the nobility and the deputies of the counties of *Upper* and *Lower Hungary*, were summoned to a diet at *Presburg*, which opened on the first of *January*; but the deputies of *Upper Hungary* refusing to come, unless safe conducts were granted to them, the

^l BARRÉ, t. x. p. 54.
and t. xxiii. p. 650.

^k Diar. Europ. t. xxii. p. 289,

sembly was prorogued till the third of *February*, when it was soon understood, that the *Hungarians* had no desire to contribute to the subsistence of the troops; and for that reason they delayed coming to a conclusion of any affair¹. The emperor, being informed of this immediately, made several regiments that were in *Bohemia*, *Stiria*, *Moravia*, and *Austria*, march into *Hungary*, which the malcontents perceiving, they had recourse to his clemency, and endeavoured by their submissions to surpass his most faithful subjects; however, they demanded to be freed from the payment of money to the *German* soldiers, and proposed to the emperor to assign their subsistence out of the confiscated estates; but he refused, and told them, that by their revolt they had lost their privileges, and had no other part to chuse but that of submission; and, far from granting what they desired, he obliged them to maintain thirty thousand men, to pay their usual taxes, and to punish the seditious.

WHILE the emperor was employed in settling the affairs of *Hungary*, *Lewis* the fourteenth was preparing to invade the *Dutch*, having taken umbrage at the triple alliance, formed between them, the *English*, and *Swedes*, to preserve the tranquility of *Europe*, and chiefly designed to restrain his ambitious views. Having succeeded at the courts of *England* and *Sweden*, in dissolving the triple alliance, and securing them to his interest, he likewise made a treaty with the elector of *Cologne*, the bishop of *Munster*, and several other princes of *Germany*, and also prevailed upon the emperor to observe a neutrality, provided he made no attempt upon the territories of the empire; but he could obtain nothing of the elector of *Brandenburg*, but an ambassador sent to *France* to dissuade him from making war against the *Dutch*; on the contrary, that elector made an alliance with the states-general^m, and engaged to furnish them with twenty thousand men, one half of whom were to be payed by the states, who, having foreseen the designs of the *French* king, were taking all possible precautions to oppose him; and by their ambassador at *Madrid*, had engaged the court of *Spain* to furnish them with money, and six thousand men from *Ostend*, besides the recruits they were raising in the territories of several princes of *Germany*, and six thousand *Swiss*, brought by the count *de Dohna*. Other succours were promised them, and considerable levies were expected from the prince of *Anhalt*, and the command of all their forces was given to prince *Waldeck*, and lieutenant-general *Wurts*; but the great preparations of *Lewis* the fourteenth,

A. D.
1671.*A diet is
called at
Presburg.*¹ *BARRÉ*, t. x. p. 60.^m *Mem. de Brandenburg*, p. 130.

A. D.
1672.

and the public calamity that threatened, so terrified the people of *Holland*, that they not only declared *William* prince of *Orange* captain-general and admiral of the republic, but, in a tumultuous manner, altered their present form of government, and elected him stadtholder and governor-general of their armies by sea and land. That prince was then but nineteen years of age, and became afterwards the most indefatigable enemy of the ambitious schemes of *Lewis* the fourteenth.

The Eng-
lish attack
the Dutch
fleet, and
the French
king in-
vades
Holland.

THE *English* began the first hostilities, by attacking the *Dutch* fleet returning from *Smyrna*; and, in the beginning of *March*, the *French* king marched with one hundred and twenty thousand men towards the *Rhine*, the elector of *Cologne* having opened to him all the passes into his country. At the same time the bishop of *Munster* entered with all his forces into the northern provinces of the republic: the *French* immediately took *Orsoy*, *Burich*, *Wesel* and *Rhinberg*, and passing the *Rhine* at *Tolhouse*, they took *Arnheim*, the fort of *Skenck*; *Utrecht*, *Doesburg*, *Zutphen*, *Nimeguen*, *Naerden*, the fort of *Crevecœur*, the isle and city of *Bornel* and *Bodegraven*; having, in a few months, passed three rivers, conquered the three provinces of *Gueldres*, *Utrecht*, and *Overyssel*, and taken forty towns. The troops of the bishop of *Munster* and the elector of *Cologne* being joined, had taken *Grool*, *Borkelo*, *Lochen*, *Brewort*, and were set down before *Deventer*, which was obliged to surrender the twenty-second of *June*, after having made a most vigorous defence. The bishop of *Munster* afterwards took *Courvorde*, and on the twenty-seventh of *July* opened the trenches before *Groningen*, but was obliged to raise the siege with loss; and the *Hollanders* recovering *Courvorde*, drove the troops of *Munster* from all the places which they had possessed in the province of *Groningen*.

Leopold
resolves to
assist the
States-gene-
ral.

THESE rapid conquests of the *French* caused the emperor and several princes of *Germany* to declare for *Holland*; and in the month of *August* *Leopold* wrote to all the members of the empire, to unite themselves for the common safety of the *Germanic* body, and to recall their troops which were in the service of *France* and *England*; and altho' the elector of *Bavaria*, and the *French* ambassador, by their intrigues at *Vienna*, endeavoured to prevent any assistance being sent to the *Hollanders*, yet *Leopold* made a treaty with them, and engaged to furnish thirty thousand men to join the forces of the elector of *Brandenburg*; and the treaty being published, was followed with a manifesto, wherein the emperor declared, that as guarantee of the treaties of *Westphalia* which the *French* had broke, he proposed to hinder them from entering into the empire, and to stop their progress, which was now dreaded by all *Europe*.

ON

A. D.
1673.

ON the thirty-first of *January* the elector of *Brandenburg*, at the head of twenty-six thousand men, and thirty pieces of cannon, and the duke of *Bournonville*, the imperial general, left *Lipstadt*, and marched towards *Loest*ⁿ, where they learned that *Turenne* had left *Holland*, and was coming to meet them at the head of thirty thousand *French*. The only fruits of this diversion were, the evacuating of *Groningen* by the bishop of *Munster*, and the siege of *Maastricht* raised by the *French*; for though the elector of *Brandenburg* would have hazarded a battle, yet the imperial general, who had secret orders only to act defensively, would not give his consent. The elector not being powerful enough to act against the *French* by himself, was obliged to retire into the county of *Ravensberg*, while the Imperialists went towards *Lippe*; and the viscount *Turenne* following after him, and forcing the passes where he had left detachments, he was forced to quit *Westphalia*, and to retire into the bishopric of *Hildesheim*, while the *French* took possession of the dutchies of *Cleves* and *Marck*, and the city *Wesel* upon the *Rhine*. The bad success of this campaign making the *Hollanders* murmur against him, his friends represented to him that he ought to make use of that conjuncture to be reconciled to *Lewis* the fourteenth. The states likewise having omitted to pay the subsidies which they had promised, and all the provinces which the elector possessed in *Westphalia* being lost, he was disposed to make an accommodation with *France*; and a peace was concluded at *Wofen*, by which all his provinces were restored to him, except the cities of *Retz* and *Wesel*, which the *French* kept till the peace should be concluded with *Holland*: the elector promised not to give any more assistance to the *Hollanders*, reserving to himself nevertheless the liberty, to defend the empire in case it was attacked^o.

The elector
of Bran-
denburg
makes
peace with
the
French.

THE *French* having put garrisons into too many places, which considerably weakened their army, and having neglected to possess themselves of *Amsterdam*, the soul of the republic; likewise *Montecuculli*, the imperial general, marching to join the prince of *Orange*, and prince *Maurice*, governor of *Friseland*, having gained several advantages over the bishop of *Munster*, *Lewis* the fourteenth saw that he could not long preserve his conquests; therefore accepted of the mediation of *Sweden* to negotiate a peace with the United Provinces. The place appointed for the congress was the city of *Cologne*; and the kings of *France* and *England*, and the states-general, sent their plenipotentiaries thither before the opening of the cam-

^a BARRÉ, t. x. p. 74. Mem. de Brand. ubi supra.
de Brand. p. 135.

• Mem.

Lewis the
fourteenth
takes Ma-
estricht,
while the
prince of
Orange
retakes
Naerden
and Bonn.

The
French
evacuate
the pro-
vinces of
Holland.

A. D.
1674.

paign. As a suspension of arms was not agreed upon, the prince of *Conde* arrived at *Utrecht* in the month of *June*, and formed a design of making himself master of *Muyden*; but being repulsed by the *Hollanders*, he endeavoured to let off the waters that overflowed the country, by opening the dykes towards the sea; but was obliged to desist from his attempt; for as the tide rose, he only let in more, which distressed his own army. The king of *France* succeeded better before *Maestricht*, which he besieged with an army of forty thousand men; and, though it was defended with the utmost bravery by the governor *Farjau*, obliged it to surrender on the thirteenth of *June*.

THE prince of *Orange*, not having forces sufficient to oppose the *French* army, employed himself in retaking the towns which the *French* had seized; and began with the siege of *Naerden*, which, after a week's defence, surrendered on the thirteenth of *September*. Afterwards marching his army into *Brabant*, he had a conference with the governor of *Spanish Flanders*, who promised to join him immediately with eight thousand men; and *Montecuculli* being then at *Coblentz*, the three armies marched in conjunction to besiege *Bonn*, which surrendered after nine days siege, as did *Kerpen* and *Durn* upon the first attack *P*. These successes of the allies obliged the *French* to evacuate the three provinces of *Holland*, after having exacted heavy contributions, and secured the artillery and hostages at *Maestricht* and *Graves*. Nevertheless, trusting to the advantages of the next campaign, they sought all means to retard the negotiations of peace, which was not now so impatiently desired by the allies, especially as they had conceived suspicions of the mediation of the *Swedes*, who, they believed, were too favourable to *France*; therefore the plenipotentiaries at *Cologne* spent their time more in ceremonies and entertainments than in business: and *William* count of *Furstemberg*, plenipotentiary for the elector of *Cologne*, having been seized and carried prisoner to *Bonn* by order of the emperor, gave occasion to *Lewis* the fourteenth to recal his ambassadors, and carry the war into the empire; although the emperor declared, that the reason why count *Furstemberg* was taken prisoner was, that, being a vassal of the empire and of the duke of *Austria*, he could not take upon himself the office of plenipotentiary against the interests of his master; that, besides, he was colonel of a regiment in the service of *France*, and had not obeyed the letters of revocation of the court of *Vienna*.

THE duke of Noailles having entered *Franche-compté*, *Leo-* A new
hold made a league with the *Dutch* and *Spaniards*: the elector alliance
of *Brandenburg* also promised to join the imperial army with against the
six thousand men; and the elector Palatine, the dukes of French,
Brunswick, and the landgrave of *Hesse*, acceded to the al- who take
liance¹, which obliged the elector of *Cologne* and the bishop of Besançon.
Munster to abandon *France*; but the elector of *Bavaria* and
the duke of *Hanover* remained neuter. *Lewis* the fourteenth
coming to the camp, began the campaign with the siege of
Besançon, which surrendered in the end of *May*, the garrison
being made prisoners of war. The *French* afterwards took
Dole, *Salins*, the castles of *Joux* and *St. Anne*. Mean while,
the *German* troops desiring to enter *Alsace*, were prevented;
the *French* having seized *Germerheim*, and the city of *Straf-*
burg having denied them the use of their bridge; therefore
they retired with their troops between *Heidelberg* and *Philips-*
burg, where the duke of *Bournonville* was to join them with
the imperial army: but the viscount *Turenne*, to prevent that
junction, took the route of *Epingem*, and in five days came
within sight of the *Germans*, who were encamped upon a
rising-ground near *Sintzheim*, a small town of the *Palatinate*,
under the command of the count *Caprara* and the duke of
Lorraine. The two armies engaging, the *Germans* were de- Turenne
feated, and obliged to retire to *Heidelberg*²; from whence defeats the
marching to *Worms*, they were joined by the duke of *Bour-* allies near
nonville; and their army now consisting of forty thousand men, Sintz-
they encamped upon the *Neckar*, to prevent the *French* from heim, and
passing that river: but the viscount *Turenne* advanced with his forces them
army, and sent his cavalry to find out a ford, resolving to at- to retire to
tack their intrenchments; upon which the imperial generals, Frankfort.
declining an engagement, sent off their baggage, and in the
beginning of the night decamped, and marched to *Frankfort*.
The viscount *Turenne*, being now master of the *Palatinate*,
not only allowed his army to live at discretion, but ravaged
the whole country with fire and sword, destroying their
woods, and setting fire to their houses and corn-fields. These
calamities of the elector-palatine awakened the other princes
of *Germany*; and in less than a month the dukes of *Brunswick*,
the elector of *Cologne*, and the new bishop of *Munster*, sent
troops to join the imperial army, which was encamped be-
tween *Mentz* and *Frankfort*. These forces, when united,
being greatly superior to the army of the viscount *Turenne*, he
was obliged to repass the *Rhine*, and encamp at *Landau*;

¹ BARRE, t. x. p. 84.
WAYNER, l. v. p. 350.

² Diar. Europ. t. xxix. p. 101.

Turenne
again de-
feats the
allies, who
retire un-
der the
cannon of
Strasburg.

whilst the Imperialists passed over the bridge of *Mentz*, and, marching along the *Rhine*, encamped between *Spire* and *Philipsburg*, where, in a council of war, it was resolved to pass the *Rhine*, and take winter-quarters in *Upper Alsace*. Accordingly they passed over the bridge of *Strasburg*, the emperor's resident having influenced the city to allow them, and encamping upon the river *Ill*, they waited for the elector of *Brandenburg*, who was coming to join them with a reinforcement of twenty thousand men. The viscount *Turenne*, though inferior in number, yet profiting of the advantage of the mutual jealousies among the allied generals, resolved to attack them before they were joined by the elector; and marching from *Wantzenau*, he advanced on the fourth of *October*, at break of day, in order of battle, where the duke of *Bourmontville*, having placed a body of infantry with some cannon in a little wood, waited for him. The two armies looked at one another for more than an hour without any action; but *Turenne*, fearing to be flanked from the wood, ordered it to be attacked; and, after a vigorous resistance, he made himself master of it, and took ten pieces of cannon. During the dispute in the wood, the allies fell upon the center of the enemy's line, and, notwithstanding their heavy fire, broke through to the body of reserve; but being repulsed by some squadrons of horse, and the foot rallying and renewing their fire, they were intirely routed; and the night coming on, they retired beyond the *Ill*, leaving three thousand dead on the field; and having encamped under the cannon of *Strasburg*, waited for the arrival of the elector of *Brandenburg*, who, having been hindered by the difficulty some princes made of letting him pass through their territories, did not join them till eleven days after. This strong reinforcement obliged *Turenne* to quit his post, and intrench himself behind the lines of *Marleim*; but the Imperialists passing the *Brusch*, he encamped at *Wilsen*, to cover *Haguenau* and *Saverne*. The elector of *Brandenburg* not being able to prevail upon the imperial general to hazard a battle, the two armies lay eight or ten days within a league of one another, without any hostilities; and the *Germans*, not having any magazines, were soon distressed for want of provisions, and obliged to return to *Blaisheim*, from whence they separated into winter-quarters in the cities of *Upper Alsace*.

WHILE *Turenne* protected the frontiers of *France* towards the *Rhine*, the prince of *Conde* attacked the prince of *Orange*

* *Diar. European*, t. xx. p. 229. *Histoire d'Alsace*, l. xpi. p. 238.

at *Senef*; and the action continued till night, when the victory remained doubtful.

WHILE the war was continued by both parties with such earnestness, pope *Clement* the tenth did not cease to exhort the emperor and king of *Spain* to renounce the alliance of the Protestants, and be reconciled to *France*. He likewise pressed the most Christian king to turn his views towards peace, which now seemed also to be desired by the allied princes of *Germany*^u. But the emperor, *Spain*, and *Holland*, seemed to be far from entering into a negotiation: nevertheless, the states-general made some proposals of peace, which were rejected by the *French* as too high demands; and the allies, thinking their affairs in a prosperous way, would not submit to any alteration in the plan of accommodation.

THE viscount *Turenne*, having received a reinforcement of ten thousand men from *Flanders*, advanced to *Remiremont*, and fell upon the quarters of the Imperialists, took a regiment of dragoons prisoners^w, and defeated six thousand horse near *Mulhausen*, taking the generals *Caprara* and *Tunewald*, with several other officers, the duke of *Bournonville* retiring in haste to *Colmar*, the quarters of the troops of the elector. *Turenne*, still advancing, attacked the allies, who were posted betwixt the rivers of *Turkeim* and *Colmar*. The Imperialists, giving way, were supported by the elector of *Brandenburg*; and night drawing on, the *French* retired, and stood under arms, expecting to renew the engagement next day; but the allies decamped at eight in the evening, and repassed the *Rhine* at *Strasburg*, the Imperialists taking up their winter-quarters near *Offenburg*, and the elector of *Brandenburg* in *Franconia*.

Turenne
surprises
the quar-
ters of the
Imperial-
ists, and de-
feats 6000
men near
Mulhau-
sen.
A. D.
1675.

THAT the elector might be called from assisting the Imperialists on the *Rhine*, the *French* had prevailed with the *Swedes* to invade the *Marches* of *Brandenburg*, though two years before they had made a defensive alliance with that elector^x. The *Swedes* at first observed an exact discipline, committing no great hostilities for three or four months; their general declaring, that he would retire with his army whenever the elector should make his peace with *France*: but provisions beginning to fail, they used violence; and not only pillaged the country, but raised contributions upon several towns. The elector, who was then in *Franconia*, ordered the prince of *Anbalt*, governor of *Pomerania*, to make no opposition^y; but to shut the gates of the cities, and remain in

^u BARRE, t. x. p. 104.

Mem. de Branden. p. 142.

^w Mem. de Brandenburg, p. 139.

^y Mem. de Branden.

Berlin till he should arrive. At the same he complained to the diet of *Ratisbon*; and on the ninth of *March* presented a memorial, in answer to one that the king of *Sweden* had sent to the diet in the month of *December*: he concluded with desiring, that, since the king of *Sweden* had used hostilities against one of the most faithful members of the empire, the diet would be pleased to declare him an enemy, and proceed against him according to the laws of the *Germanic* body. Though this memorial and several others were supported by the emperor, yet it was not before the middle of *July* that *Sweden* was declared an enemy of the empire; the elector having left *Franconia*, and arrived at *Magdeburg*, a month before. During his absence, the *Swedes* had over-run all *Pomerania*, and taken a great many towns; but, from the moment of his arrival, affairs so suddenly changed their appearance, that in less than twelve days all the country was re-taken, and the *Swedes* repulsed with considerable loss. As the *Swedes* met with no opposition, they had divided their army into several bodies, that their conquests might be the more extensive; but, as there were no posts then established in *Germany*, they had no information of the elector's long march, till they were surprised by him at *Rathenau*; upon which that part of their army that was at *Brandenburg* marched towards *Therbellin*, where they were to be joined by general *Wrangel*, with some other of their troops: but the elector not waiting for his infantry, but pursuing them with five thousand six hundred horse, and twelve pieces of cannon, immediately attacked them; and killing three thousand of their men, the remains of their army retired into *Therbellin*, and broke down the bridge after them; but not thinking themselves safe there, they retreated with precipitation into the dutchy of *Mecklenburg*:

The elector
defeats the
Swedes at
Therbellin.

MONTECUCULLI having got a reinforcement of some old regiments early in the spring, had advanced towards *Strasburg*, with a design to enter into *Alsace*; but *Turenne*, to cut off the communication between *Strasburg* and the imperial army, resolved to pass the *Rhine*, and succeeded in his enterprize before the Imperialists had any knowledge of his purpose. Having taken *Wilstadt*, he extended his army along the *Rhine*, to prevent the Imperialists from passing it; while *Montecuculli*, having thrown succours into *Offenbourg*, lay with his army at *Reuchen*. The viscount *Turenne*, after a sharp dispute, having posted himself at *Acheren*, obliged the Imperialists to retire to *Bihl*, leaving one hundred men in the castle and church-yard of *Salsbach*, with orders to defend them to the last extremity; but the *French*, advancing, drew up

up their cannon against the castle, which *Montecuculli* observing, marched up with his army, with the design of an engagement, and about one in the afternoon brought his cannon to play upon the *French*. *Turenne*, finding that his batteries were too low to have any effect, and those of the Imperialists bore upon his camp, went with some officers to view a rising-ground, where a battery might be raised to dismount that of the enemy; and while he was talking to the officers, he received a ball upon his breast, and fell dead upon his horse's neck.

AFTER the death of the viscount *Turenne*, the *French*, in a council of war, resolved to decamp and repass the *Rhine* at *Altenheim*, where they had their bridges; and marching off on the twenty-ninth of *July*, in the evening, they were attacked by *Montecuculli*, in passing the *Cheutre*; and after an action of ten hours, in which they lost many men, and a great part of their baggage, they were obliged to retire with precipitation to *Altenheim*, where passing the *Rhine*, they intrenched themselves on the other side.

THE emperor, to free *Montecuculli* from a part of his enemies, desired the princes of *Lunenburg*, and the duke of *Lorrain*, to march their troops towards the *Lower Rhine*, and make a diversion by besieging the city of *Triers*. The marshal *Crequi*, being informed of their intention, immediately marched to *Metz*; and having received a reinforcement from the army of the prince of *Conde*, he encamped on the *Saverne*, with a design of marching to the assistance of the besieged. The allies, not thinking it proper to wait for him, quitted their lines, and marched to attack him. The marquis of *Grana* began the engagement against the left wing of the *French*, and drove them from a rising-ground sword in hand. The cavalry of *Zell*, in the left wing of the allies, at first gave ground; but the duke of *Zell* rallying them, brought them back, and attacking the *French* in flank, their cavalry fled and left the foot to be cut in pieces by the conquerors, who falling in sword in hand entirely routed them. The *French* lost their cannon, mules, carts, and baggage, and almost all their generals were either killed, wounded, or taken prisoners. The allies returned to their lines; and having received a reinforcement, continued the siege of *Triers*, which surrendered on the twentieth day; and the dukes of *Brunswick* and *Lunenburg*, having taken possession of the town, left the army and went to secure their own territories, fearing that the duke of *Hanover* should declare in favour of the *Swedes*, against the elector of *Brandenburg*². The duke of *Lorrain* dying soon after the

*The allies
besiege
Triers,
and defeat
the French
army.*

² BARRE, t. x. p. 126.

battle,

battle, his nephew succeeded him, and led the troops of *Lorraine* into *Alsace* to join the imperial army.

A. D.
1676.
*The elector
of Bran-
denburg
invades
Swedish
Pomera-
nia, while
the Impe-
rialists con-
quer Bre-
men and
Verden.*

THE elector of *Brandenburg*, being assisted by the Imperialists, and having prevailed with *Denmark* and *Holland* to declare war against *Sweden*, attacked their provinces in his turn; and entering *Pomerania*, took *Wolgast* and the island of *Wallin*; while the *Danes* made themselves masters of *Damgarten* and *Wismar*; and the bishop of *Munster*, at the head of seven thousand troops, invaded the dutchies of *Bremen* and *Verden*, taking all the small fortresses of the country. Afterwards, the duke of *Zell* taking the command, and a reinforcement of three thousand *Danes* arriving, the allies besieged *Staden*, which after a long blockade was obliged to surrender, and completed the conquest of *Bremen*, which immediately became the subject of dispute to the conquerors, the bishop of *Munster* pretending it ought to be ceded to him as a reward for his services to the allies, was supported by the emperor, who desired to see the Catholic religion prevail in that dutchy: on the other side the king of *Denmark*, the elector of *Brandenburg*, and the dukes of *Lunenburg*, proposed to divide that country among themselves, to the exclusion of the bishop of *Munster*^a, who had always disturbed the Protestants in the exercise of their religion; but at length a congress being formed at *Bremen* by commissaries from the emperor, a treaty was concluded, which settled the division.

*The
French
take Loc-
keren,
Conde,
and several
other
places.*

THE losses of *Sweden* did not greatly affect the king of *France*, as his arms were superior in the *Low Countries*; the marechal *d'Humieres* having taken *Lokeren*, and several other places in the country of *Vaes*, the marechal *Crequi* having taken *Conde* by an assault, and made the garrison prisoners of war, the citadels of *Liege* and *Hui* being destroyed, and the dutchies of *Cleves* and *Fuliers* ravaged. The prince of *Orange*, to repair these losses, sat down before *Maestricht*, but was obliged to raise the siege the twenty-seventh of *August*, upon the approach of marechal *Schomberg*, while the marechal *d'Humieres* took *Aire*, and the duke of *Orleans* made himself master of *Bouchain*.

THE *French* were not so happy upon the *Rhine*; for *Montecuculli* having obtained leave of the emperor to retire to *Vienna* upon account of his infirmities, the command of the imperial army was given to the duke of *Lorraine*, one of the greatest generals that the house of *Austria* ever had. He having passed the *Rhine* in the beginning of *May*, immediately formed the design of besieging *Philipsburg*, and took the fort of that city on this side the river in four days, and afterwards marched

^a PUFFENDORF Introd. t. vii. p. 38. BARRE, t. x. p. 128.
with

with his army into *Upper Alsace*, against the duke of *Luxemburg*, who was encamped near *Scelestat*. The two armies were French within view of one another on the fourth of *June*, near the little *are defeat-* river *Rouhr*, which separated them. The duke of *Lorraine* *ed in Al-* marching towards *Saverne*, the duke of *Luxemburg*, to cover *face by the* that town, marched in haste by *Zibersteig*, leaving dragoons *duke of* and infantry in the passes, to prevent the Imperialists from in- *Lorraine*, terrupting his march; but the *Germans* soon forced the *French* horse, and pursuing their army, came up with it as the last squadron was passing the *Sorre*^b. The *French* army having passed the river, and drawn up within pistol-shot of the bank, were attacked by the Imperialists with such fury, that they were quickly put into disorder, and would have been entirely routed, had not the *English* infantry supported the charge of the *Austrians*, till the duke of *Luxemburg* had rallied the *French*, who continuing their march, encamped under the counterscarp of *Saverne*. The duke of *Lorraine* followed them, and raising three batteries upon a rising-ground, cannonaded them for four days; but the elector-palatine making great complaints of the garrison of *Philipsburg*, the emperor sent an express order to the duke to besiege that city, notwithstanding he wrote to *Vienna*, that he would oblige the *French* army to surrender at discretion in fifteen days: marching his army towards *Strasburg*, he there embarked his infantry and heavy cannon, and advanced with the rest towards *Philipsburg*. The trenches were opened on the twenty-sixth of *June*, and, after the siege was well advanced, an unexpected event put all into disorder; for the *Rhine* suddenly overflowing, washed down the tents, filled the trenches, and ruined the batteries, so that the besiegers had all to begin anew. The duke of *Luxemburg* likewise, at the head of forty-five thousand men, made several attempts to assist the town, but not succeeding he endeavoured to draw off the duke of *Lorraine*, by marching to besiege *Friburg*. Having spent much time in building a *who after-* bridge over the *Rhine*, the duke followed him with his cavalry, *wards* with the intention of engaging him; *Luxemburg*, surprised *takes Phi-* at his approach, retired under the cannon of *Brisack*, repassed *lipsburg.* the *Rhine*, and marched towards *Scelestat*. The duke of *Lorraine* returning to *Philipsburg*, summoned the governor to surrender, who at last capitulated on the tenth of *September*, the garrison having leave to march out with drums beating and matches lighted. After the reduction of *Philipsburg*, the duke of *Lorraine* wanted to force the duke of *Luxemburg*, either to

^b Hist. de Lorraine, l. xxxix. t. iii. p. 811. BARRE, t. x. p. 135.

repass the *Rhine* or consent to a battle; for this purpose he advanced upon him, and drove him under the walls of *Brisack*, where his situation was so advantageous that he could not be attacked; therefore the duke of *Lorrain* marching towards *Rbinsfeld*, caused them to lay over a bridge of boats, as tho' he had a mind to repass the river at that place. The duke of *Luxemburg* apprehending this, repassed the *Rhine* to observe him on the other side, and possessed the passes to hinder the Imperialists from entering into the county of *Burgundy*: but the season being far advanced, the imperial troops went into winter-quarters in *Saabia* and *Franconia*; and the *French* army having sent some of their forces into *Lorrain*, and others into *Burgundy*, remained in *Alsace*.

THE duke of *Lorrain* having heard at *Florainville* of the raising of the siege of *Charleroi*, marched with his army towards *Alsace*, with a design to join the duke of *Saxe Eisenac*, who, with twelve thousand men, opposed the *French* troops commanded by the baron de *Montclar*, and had even shut them up in a place where they must have perished for want of provisions; had not the marechal de *Crequi* relieved them at the time when he was observing the march of the duke of *Lorrain*

The baron de Montclar pursues the duke of Saxe-Eisenac, and obliges him to surrender.

upon the *Moselle*. The baron likewise having received a reinforcement of men, now obliged the duke of *Saxe* to repass the *Rhine* at *Brisack*, and retire in his turn to *Strasburg*; and following him at the head of ten thousand horse, forced him into an island of the *Rhine*, between the bridge and the city. The prince of *Saxe* waiting for the arrival of the duke of *Lorrain* endeavoured to subsist in that place as well as he could, with the assistance of the citizens of *Strasburg*, who had declared for the emperor^d: but at length, they dreading the menaces of the marshal *Crequi*, ceased to send him provisions, and only acted as mediators betwixt the two generals, making a kind of accommodation, by which the duke of *Saxe* obtained the liberty of marching out with all his forces, and retiring into *Germany*, upon condition that neither he nor his troops should carry arms against *France* during the rest of the campaign.

WHILE the duke of *Lorrain* was marching to the relief of the prince of *Saxe*, he heard of his accommodation; but continuing his route, he passed the *Rhine* over the bridge of *Strasburg*, and following the *French* army, found it encamped near *Nechersberg*. Sending major-general *Schultz*, with a large detachment of cavalry to observe the disposition of their army, there followed an engagement betwixt thirty-six

^d BARRE, t. x. p. 141.

squadrons of the *French* and the detachment; in which it would have wholly been cut to pieces, had not the duke of *Lorrain* come in person to their assistance, and forced the *French* to return to their camp. Soon after the duke received orders from the court of *Vienna* to put his troops into winter-quarters, which he was obliged to submit to; although he represented, that it was to be feared that the marechal *Crequi*, who was still in arms, would form some enterprize against *Friburg*, as soon as the imperial army should be dispersed into quarters. The imperial camp was no sooner broke up than *Friburg* was invested by the *French*; which when the duke of *Lorrain* heard of, he dispatched a messenger to the governor of the place, assuring him of immediate assistance; and drawing out the garrisons from the neighbouring places, he marched to his relief; but the town surrendered before he arrived, not without suspicion that the governor, major-general *Schultz*, had been gained by the *French*. Notwithstanding the advanced season, marechal *Crequi* marched against *Wal-kirck*, which he razed, with some castles in the neighbourhood. Afterwards he repassed the *Rhine*, and went into winter-quarters. The duke of *Lorrain* marching to *Worms*, and putting garrisons into all the places near *Friburg*, went to *Vienna* to conclude his marriage with the princess *Eleonore*, sister of *Leopold*.

A. D.
1677.Friburg
surrendersto the
French,

THE *Swedes*, who prevailed against the king of *Denmark*, had not the same success in *Pomerania* against the elector, who, having made himself master of the greatest part of *Pomerania*, now besieged *Stetin*, the capital. After a blockade of five months, he ordered the trenches to be opened the sixth of June^e. The siege was maintained by the soldiers and citizens with the utmost vigour till the end of *December*, when, at last, the *Swedes* having failed in their attempts to relieve the place, the garrison, who were now reduced to three hundred men, were obliged to capitulate on the twenty-fifth of *December* for want of ammunition; and on the first of *January* marched out, drums beating, colours flying, with their arms and baggage, and were conducted to *Livonia*, the *Germans* only being detained, agreeable to the emperor's letters of avocation^f.

A. D.
1678.

In *Pomerania*, after the taking of *Stetin*, the *Swedes* possessed nothing but the cities of *Stralsund* and *Gripswald*, which were likewise soon obliged to submit to the conqueror. The elector of *Brandenburg* having assembled several small vessels,

^e Mem. de Branden. p. 154.
PUFFENDORF Introd. l. vii. p. 47.

^f BARRE, t. x. p. 144.

The elector takes Putbus, Stralsund, and Gripf-wald.

under the command of admiral *Trump*, and having got a reinforcement of four thousand men, embarked his troops, and made a descent upon the island of *Rugen*: having defeated the *Swedes*, and taken *Fehrschantz* and the port of *Putbus*, he passed over to *Stralsund*, where the count of *Konigsmarck* commanded, with one thousand six hundred horse and six hundred foot. Three thousand of the citizens had likewise taken up arms, and, with a resolution of vigorously defending the town, had themselves set fire to the suburbs; but the elector landing his artillery, so furiously bombarded the town, that in a short time one half of it was in flames. The citizens, affrighted, immediately raised a flag of truce, without the knowledge of the governor; upon which the elector ceased firing, and sent a trumpet into the town to know if they would capitulate; but the count of *Konigsmarck*, pointing the cannon of the ramparts upon the town, threatened to hang those that dared to mention a capitulation. The besiegers renewing their bombardment, and the bombs having set fire to seven places of the town, and burnt the magazine, the flag of truce was again raised, with the permission of *Konigsmarck*, and two deputies sent to the camp of the elector, who submitted to the terms of capitulation he prescribed. After *Stralsund* had surrendered, the elector ordered the baron of *Dorflin* to besiege *Gripfswald*, which was likewise bombarded, and the garrison obliged to surrender at discretion, before the *Swedes* could come to their assistance. By the reduction of this place, the elector completed the conquest of *Pomerania*.

THE duke of *Lorrain* having begun the campaign in *Alsace* in the month of *May*, encamped near *Offemburg*, at the head of an army of forty thousand men, with a design to besiege *Friburg*; but he disposed his army, as though he had an intention of passing the *Rhine* at *Strasburg*, and marching into *Upper Alsace*. The motions of the duke obliged the *marechal de Crequi* to reinforce the garrison of *Friburg*, and encamped near *Colmar*, with a view to assist *Alsace*, or in case of need to enter into *Brisgaw*; but hearing that the prince of *Baden* was clearing the roads leading to *Friburg*, and preparing magazines for a siege, he passed the *Rhine*, and encamped not far from *Brisack*. The duke of *Lorrain* seeing all his measures broke, posted himself between *Brisack* and the *French* army, with an intention of bringing the enemy to an engagement; but the *marechal Crequi* leaving his camp, went and fortified himself within half a league of *Friburg*, but the duke cutting off supplies from him, he was obliged to march into *Alsace*; and that the Imperialists might be prevented from following

owing him, he demanded of the city of *Strasburg* to have the fort, which commanded the bridge on the side of *Germany*, to be put into his hands, alledging, that it was to hinder them from breaking the neutrality. The magistrates having refused to deliver the fort, he ordered it to be attacked, and, on the seventeenth of *July* carried it, having killed or taken prisoners all those that defended it : afterwards razing the fort, and burning part of the bridge towards *Germany*, he entered *Alsace*, and continued in the neighbourhood of *Strasburg*. The duke of *Lorrain* fearing that he would undertake the siege of that city, immediately sent in boats one thousand foot, and four hundred horse, who were received into the town. *Crequi* regarding that action as a breach of the neutrality, ordered the two forts betwixt *Strasburg* and the *Rhine*, on the side of *Alsace*, to be attacked, while the duke of *Lorrain* passed that river near *Philipsburg*, and having made himself master of *Landau*, pillaged it, and afterwards defeated some detachments of *French* troops.

THE cause of the little success of the Imperialists this year upon the *Rhine* was chiefly owing to the neglect of the court of *Vienna*, in not furnishing the duke of *Lorrain* with money and magazines, for the subsistence of his troops, and undertaking the siege of *Friburg* ; besides, the princes of *Germany* disgusted with the war, did not serve with the same ardour as they had done in the beginning ; and the *Hollanders*, who wanted a peace, made such a weak resistance in the *Low Countries*, that the *French* were at liberty to send great detachments from thence to strengthen their army in *Germany* ; and the king of *Denmark*, and the elector of *Brandenburg*, wholly employed with their conquests in *Sweden*, thought of nothing but augmenting them ; the emperor also, more attentive to the troubles of *Hungary*, than the war in *Alsace*, thought chiefly of reducing the malcontents of that kingdom.

LEOPOLD, considering the government of *Hungary*, and Leopold determining to suppress the office of palatine, because it put *suppresses* too much power into the hands of one person, adjudged it *the office of* more proper to govern that kingdom by a viceroy, who, hold- *palatine of* ing all his authority from him, and subject to be recalled at *Hungary*, pleasure, would be always submissive to his orders. Accord- *and ap-* ingly, five years before, he had established at *Presburg* a so- *points a* vereign court, under the direction of prince *John Gaspar* *viceroy for* *Ampringhen*, grand master of the *Teutonic* order, and prince *that king-* of the empire. As this prince was a native of *Hungary*, it *dom.* was thought that he would not be suspected by the nobility of that kingdom ; but the change of government, far from appeasing the troubles, only augmented the number of mal-
con-

contents; and the proceedings of the sovereign court determined them at last to take arms, in defence of their privileges. They surpris'd some places, and had several engagements, in which they were sometimes superior, and at other times defeated, which obliged the emperor to send a reinforcement of ten thousand men to general *Spankau*, who commanded in that kingdom.

The malcontents threaten to throw off the yoke of Austria, and chuse a king of their own nation.

BUT this year the number of malcontents increased so much, that the imperial court was fully resolv'd either to quiet them intirely, or to ruin them. The use of three churches in *Upper Hungary* was offer'd to be restored to them; but this offer provok'd them the more, and they talk'd of throwing off the yoke of *Austria*, and chusing a king of their own nation. Some *Hungarian* troops likewise having taken up their quarters in the territory of *Waradin*, the emperor's general complain'd of it to the bashaw of that city, as an infraction of the peace. He answer'd, that he could not refuse lodging to those people, whom the sultan did not look upon as enemies; that he had received them as *Hungarians*, and not as rebels and traitors, they living peaceably, and paying for the provisions which they bought.

LEOPOLD, judging by this haughty answer that the *Turk* favour'd the malcontents, sent *Hoffman*, secretary of war, to *Constantinople*, to complain to the grand vizier of the assistance which the bashaws of the frontiers gave to the rebels of *Hungary*. The vizier answer'd, that the invincible sultan, his master, was ready to renew the peace with the emperor, and refuse assistance to the *Hungarians*^a, provided the emperor, in acknowledgment of that benefit, would pay an annual tribute to his highness, and grant him some claims which he had upon the frontiers. During this negotiation at *Constantinople*, the states of *Hungary* had assembled at *Oedemberg*; it was there resolv'd to consent to the restitution of all the churches to the Protestants, and to abate in several other points, that the malcontents might be drawn off from their engagements with the *Turks*. Mean while, the *Hungarian* lords whom the emperor had ordered to *Vienna*, represented to him that the change which had been made in the government, terrified the nation, and that they could not be quieted but by re-establishing in some measure their former privileges; that they would be contented with the re-establishment of the office of palatine of the kingdom, the convocation of a general diet, and the restoring of the churches to the Protestants. The imperial ministers consented to the re-establishment of the palatine;

They are supported by the Turks.

^a BARRE, t. x. p. 147.

but they limited his power in such a manner, that he would entirely have depended upon the emperor; they wanted, that the diet should never be assembled but by the command of his imperial majesty; lastly, they eluded the demand of restoring the churches, so that the deputies understood the ministers only designed to amuse the *Hungarians*, by pretending to enter into an accommodation.

ABAFFI, *vaivode* of *Transylvania*, having defeated a competitor by the assistance of the malcontents, in return sent them the greatest part of his troops, commanded by count *Emerick Tekeli*, son of *Stephen Tekeli*, who had been one of the richest lords in *Upper Hungary*. As he professed the *Lutheran* religion, and had a great estate, he became so criminal in the eyes of the ministers of *Vienna*, that they persuaded the emperor to order him to be besieged in his own castle. He dying during the siege, his son *Emerick*, then fifteen years of age, seeing the garrison about to surrender, saved himself in the night with some of his friends, and afterwards fled to *Poland*, believing the king might procure his pardon with the emperor; but being soon undeceived, he retired into *Transylvania*, and so distinguished himself by his merit, and the wisdom of his conduct, that *Abaffi* made him his prime minister, and gave him the command of the troops which he sent to the assistance of the malcontents¹. Soon after his arrival count *Wesselin*, their general, dying, they gave him the command of their armies, in consequence of which, and of the great success of his arms, he afterwards took the title of, *Prince and Protector of the Kingdom*.

TEKELI, at the head of an army of twelve thousand men, *Tekeli* entered *Upper Hungary*, and marched directly for *Mongatz*, ^{publishes a manifesto, declaring his intention of protecting the rights of} whither he was conducted by his affection for the daughter of count *Serini*, widow of *Francis Ragotski*. Her mother-in-law, a strict Catholic, had hitherto opposed the marriage, and sent some troops to fall upon the quarters of *Tekeli*; which being entirely defeated, and a son of count *Serini* taken prisoner, by his means the alliance was concluded, and the *Hungary*. marriage soon after celebrated. Mean while the imperial army, being too weak to venture an engagement with the malcontents, retired under the cannon of *Eperies*. Then *Tekeli* published a manifesto, declaring his design of re-establishing the kingdom of *Hungary* in its antient rights, exhorting all honest *Hungarians* to join him, and threatening to treat those as enemies who should oppose his designs, or even be indifferent in the present conjunction. By this declaration he soon aug-

¹ BARRÉ, t. x. p. 154.

He defeats the imperial general in several engagements. mented his army to twenty thousand men, with which he marched in the month of *August* towards *Eperies*, which he carried in three days, and by the end of *September* saw himself master of all the places in the neighbourhood of the mountains of *Krapach*. Afterwards he took *Rasemburg*, and detached two thousand *Tartars*, who passed the *Wag* in fight of all the Imperialists, ravaged *Moravia*, and penetrated into *Austria* on this side the *Danube*. The season being advanced, it was resolved in a council of war to put the troops into winter-quarters, and wait for the succours that were sent from *Transylvania*. *Tekeli* marching towards *Stein*, and hearing that count *Leslie*, who commanded the Imperialists, was at *Zatbmar*, he resolved to attack him; and having routed his army, he pursued them over the mountains, putting all to the sword whom he found. About this time likewise, one named *Father Joseph*, who had turned Protestant, put himself at the head of six thousand men, and calling himself *Jeshua*, and the Deliverer of the persecuted Hungarian Protestants, entered into the hereditary countries of the house of *Austria*, where he spread so great a terror, that the inhabitants abandoned their houses, and fled for safety to *Vienna*. The cities in the mountains also declaring for the malcontents, *Tekeli* went and besieged *Altsol*, which he took by storm, and afterwards made himself master of *Neusol*, *Cbennitz*, *Bolsenau*, and *Lipora*.

The bishop of Strigonia negotiates a reconciliation between the emperor and malcontents. The court of *Vienna*, alarmed at all these conquests which the imperial army could not prevent, charged the bishop of *Strigonia*, primate of *Hungary*, to negotiate an accommodation. This prince declaring himself mediator of the differences, *Tekeli*, and the other chiefs of the malcontents, laid before him their demands: they required, that a general amnesty, without any exception, should be granted for all that was past; that the Protestants should be allowed the free use of their religion, and the churches should be restored to the *Lutherans* as well as *Calvinists*; that the confiscated estates should again be restored to those who were dispossessed of them; that the diet should be allowed to elect a palatine of their nation, who should enjoy all the antient prerogatives, rights, and authorities, annexed to that dignity. Though the emperor had no intention to grant these demands, yet as he heard that they threatened to deliver all the cities in the mountains to the *Turks*, and had offered to the bashaws on the frontiers, to oblige them to take an oath of fidelity to the Grand Signior, he answered, that he would make known his intentions to the *Hungarians* that remained faithful, who might inform the malcontents.

DURING

DURING this negotiation, the imperial general, having Tekeli received some troops that he expected, resolved to attack the malcontents; and having first taken possession of the passes in the mountains, to prevent the *Turks* from joining them, he marched against Tekeli and Baham, whom he found near Alt-*agrees upon* sol, in order of battle. Towards the end of the engagement, the Imperialists receiving a reinforcement obliged the malcontents to retreat under the cannon of Alt-*a truce with the imperial general.* sol, having passed the mountains in good order, notwithstanding twenty squadrons of the enemy undertook to cut off their retreat. Next day Tekeli, having received a reinforcement of one thousand men, returned to the plain, and encamped under Carpsen. The city of Bustroc having broke the neutrality, and fired upon his army, he attacked it so vigorously, that in a few hours he made himself master of it, and caused the heads of the principal citizens to be struck off, as a punishment for their infidelity. After this expedition he agreed upon a truce for some months with the imperial general.

SUCH was the situation of the affairs of Hungary, while the powers of Europe were negotiating a peace at Nimeguen. In the month of April the French king had declared the conditions upon which he would conclude a peace with the empire. He demanded Franche-comté to be annexed to France for ever, likewise a part of Spanish Flanders, and the city of Fri-*France and the allies conclude a peace at Nimeguen.* burg in the Brisgaw, upon condition of leaving Philipsburg and all its dependencies to the emperor^k. He obliged himself also to restore Lorrain to prince Charles, but under such conditions as were never accepted of by that duke. The states-general being very desirous of peace, and, by the favourable offers of the French, being inclined to desert the allies, the emperor was at last obliged to consent to the demands of the plenipotentiaries of France: the treaty of peace was signed on the fifth of February, and afterwards ratified by the emperor^l.

A. D.

1679.

The king of
France
and the
allies con-
clude a
peace at
Nime-
guen.

^k HEISS, l. iii. p. 240. Mem. de Brand. p. 157. BARRE, t. x. p. 159. ^l HEISS, l. iii. p. 240. PUFFENDORF Introd. l. vii. p. 53.

C H A P. XXII.

Containing the Wars between the Empire and France to the Peace of Ryswick.

DURING the negotiations of peace at *Nimeguen*, *Van Gale* the bishop of *Munster* died, at the age of seventy-one, after having reigned twenty-eight years. His death was the occasion of new disputes among the allies in the North, who, neglecting his successor, thought only of seizing his part of the dutchy of *Bremen*; the elector of *Brandenburg* complaining to the court of *Vienna* of the invasion of the duke of *Lunenburg*; who thought he justified himself by saying, he only prevented the king of *Denmark*. The emperor, displeased with the conduct of the duke of *Lunenburg*, obliged him to restore to the successor of *Van Gale* what he had taken from him: but he did not long enjoy the new conquests; for soon after, making peace with *France* and *Sweden*, he was obliged to restore to the last all that his predecessor had possessed in the dutchies of *Bremen* and *Verden*. The emperor likewise concluding a peace with that crown, it was agreed, that the pacification of *Westphalia* should be the rule and foundation of the treaty; and that all acts, decrees, and commissions, declaring *Sweden* an enemy of the empire, and depriving it of the advantages of the peace of *Munster*, should be null and void^m.

The Swedes invade Prussia, but are repulsed by the elector.

THE elector of *Brandenburg* and the king of *Denmark* seeing themselves thus abandoned by their allies, protested against these particular treaties. The elector hearing the sixteen thousand *Swedes*, under the command of general *Horn* had invaded *Prussia*, burnt the suburbs of *Memel*, made themselves masters of *Tilsse* and *Insterburg*, and over-run the greater part of the country, leaving *Berlin* on the tenth of *January* and putting himself at the head of nine thousand men, he passed the *Vistula* on the fifteenth. The *Swedes*, confounded at his approach, hastily retired; and *Gortz*, the elector's general, pursuing them, harrassed them in their march, which disorder ruined almost the half of their army. The elector advancing to the gulph of *Frisch*, drew his infantry over the ice in sledges; and arriving at *Labiauw* on the gulph of *Cou*

^m PUFFENDORF ubi supra.

land, he sent five thousand horse to interrupt the march of the *Suedes*; and using sledges likewise upon the gulph of *Courland*, he arrived within three miles of *Tilsa*, the *Swedish* quarters, on the nineteenth of *January*. He learned the same day that his horse had defeated two regiments of the enemy; and that, upon the news of his arrival, the *Suedes* had abandoned *Tilsa*, and retired towards *Courland*. *Gortz*, pursuing them towards *Guadjuc*, fell in with their rear, and intirely routed them, returning to the elector with much booty, and a great number of prisoners. The remains of the *Swedish* army that returned to *Livonia* scarce amounted to three thousand^a.

THESE successes were of no advantage to the elector; for the time of the cessation of arms, which was prolonged to the first of *May*, being expired, *Lewis* the fourteenth, rejecting all propositions made by the ministers of the elector for a particular accommodation, insisted upon the intire re-establishment of the *Suedes*; and ordered general *Calno*, with the troops that were in the countries of *Cleves* and *Fuliers*, to pass the *Rhine*, and enter the principality of *Minden*. The general of the elector, not being in a condition to oppose them, had a conference with the marquis *de Croissy*, and procured the cessation to be again prolonged to the nineteenth of the month. Mean while, his ambassador at the *French* court, still hoping to negotiate a particular treaty, delayed signing the peace till the day after the cessation expired^o; so that the marshal *Crequi* had advanced to the gates of *Minden*, and beat general *Spain*, who, at the head of three thousand men and some cannon, opposed his passing the *Weser*, before the news of the peace had reached his camp. The treaty of *Westphalia* served as a foundation for this peace of *St. Germain*; only, to avoid future differences about limits, the king of *Sweden* ceded to the elector some lands beyond the *Oder*, and the property of all the customs of the ports in *Further Pomerania*. The elector, on his side, promised to restore to *Sweden* all the provinces that he had conquered, and not to assist the king of *Denmark*, upon condition that *France* evacuated his provinces of *Westphalia*, and payed him three hundred thousand ducats, to indemnify him for the damages committed by *Crequi*'s army in his territories^p. The king of *Denmark* soon followed the example of the elector, and on the twelfth of *September* concluded a peace with *France* and *Sweden* at *Fontainebleau*; by which he consented that the crown of *Sweden* should be re-

A peace is concluded between the kings of France and Sweden, and the elector of Brandenburg.

^a Mem. de Branden. p. 160, 161, and 162. ^o PUF-
FENDORF Introd. l. vii. p. 55. ^p LONDORP. t. xiii. c.
xxvi. xxxvi. xxxvii. &c. Mem. de Brand. p. 166.

The king
of Den-
mark like-
wise con-
cludes a
peace with
France
and Swe-
den at
Fontaine-
bleau.

A. D.
1680.

established in all that it possessed before the war, and in all the provinces and cities that it had acquired by the three treaties of *Roschild*, *Copenhagen*, and *Westphalia*.

THE general peace being concluded, *Lewis* the fourteenth still continued his conquests, by establishing at *Brisack* and *Mentz* chambers of re-union, who, by examining antient charters and records, adjudged to him cities and lordships, of which he took possession, under pretence that they were originally fiefs and dependencies of countries ceded to him by the peace. On the twenty-second of *March* the sovereign council of *Alsace* declared^a, that the cities and villages of *Upper Alsace*, of the prefecture of *Haguenau*, of *Mundat*, and the chapter and provost of *Weissemburg*, ought to acknowledge the king of *France* as their sovereign. This declaration alarmed the possessors, who believed that the king of *France* wanted likewise to deprive them of the profitable dominion of their fiefs; but he declaring, that he did not pretend to deprive them of the propriety and advantage of their possessions, then the bailiffs of the *Rhingrave*, of the elector of *Triers* as bishop of *Spire*, of the count of *Hanau*, of *Oderburn*, of the bailiage of *Grevenstein*, of the barons of *Falkenstein*, and of the prince of *Berkenfeldt*, took the oath of fidelity to the king of *France*, promising to yield obedience to his orders, and to acknowledge the sovereign court of *Brisack* as their judge in the last resort.

THE sovereignty of the bishoprics of *Metz*, *Toul*, and *Verdun*, having been ceded to *France* by the treaty of *Munster*, *Lewis* the fourteenth, by a decree of the twenty-fourth of *July*, ordered all the mediate vassals of these bishoprics to deliver in their titles and papers, justifying their rights and pretensions. This decree was followed by another, dated the seventeenth of *September*, giving power to the commissaries to judge of all difficulties that should occur upon account of these inquiries^b. The archives of the churches and abbeys of the dutchy of *Lorraine* having been examined, it was found that formerly many bishops, to oblige their relations, had favoured them with grants of their bishoprics, which were in their gift. These prelates had, indeed, received others in exchange; but the council of *Metz* thought it probable, that the value received was not so considerable: and, besides, they pretended that the dependence of the fief was unalienable; and though the faith and homage of the possessors had been

^a STRUV. per. x. sect. xi. p. 3098. PUFFENDORF, l. xviii.

^b GRYPH. de Scriptor. Sæculi XVII. p. 152. Recueil des Arrêts de la Chambre Royal de Metz, pour la Re-union.

transferred to others for several centuries, yet no prescription could justify a false right, and that the immoveable possessions of bishoprics were unalienable in their nature; therefore France had a right to claim all that had been withdrawn and usurped.

THE sovereignty of France over all the fiefs of *Alsace* still met with more difficulties. The king of Sweden, as duke of *Deux-ponts*, and the elector-palatine, as count of *Veldentz*, refused to pay homage to Lewis the fourteenth. The court of France, being informed of this refusal, ordered the sovereign council of *Alsace* to judge of the affair. They decreed the dutchy of *Deux-ponts* and the county of *Veldentz* to be reunited to the crown of France, if, within a limited time, the two princes, possessors of them, did not pay homage to Lewis the fourteenth. As this decree likewise regarded the ten cities of the prefecture of *Alsace*, they, in conjunction with the king of Sweden, the counts of *Veldentz*, *Nassau*, &c. complained of this proceeding to the diet of *Ratisbon*. The empire, exhausted by a long war, contented itself with writing to the king of France, and to Charles the second of England, who had been mediator of the congress at *Nimeguen*. In their letter to Lewis the fourteenth they affirmed, that, by the treaty of *Munster*, only the landgraviate of *Upper* and *Lower Alsace* was granted to him; and that the ten cities of the prefecture were not comprehended in that cession; but, to put an end to the differences, they prayed his majesty to determine these claims by the arbitrators that had been formerly agreed upon.

THE king of France replied, that what he claimed was only in consequence of the rights ceded to him by the treaties of *Munster* and *Nimeguen*; but, rather than trouble the peace of his neighbours, he would consent to a revival of what his courts had decreed. The states of the empire, having received this answer, prayed *Leopold* to communicate to them the negotiations of his ambassadors at *Nimeguen*, and those of count *Mansfeld*, his minister at the court of France. They were sent to the diet to be examined, which afterwards agreed with France to appoint a congress at *Frankfort* to terminate the difference about the sovereignty of *Alsace*. The ministers of the Germanic body being personally obliged to *Leopold*, he prevailed on them to prolong the negotiations, that he might have leisure to provide for war. The king of France, to strengthen the frontiers of *Alsace*, cut off the Germans from passing the *Rhine* betwixt *Brisack* and *Basil*; and to awe the *Swiss*, who had promised not to grant the Imperialists a passage through their territories, ordered the village of *Huninguen*,

A. D.
1681.

guen, within half a league of *Basil*, to be fortified with five regular bastions, and all necessary outworks.

Lewis the
fourteenth
surprises
under pre-
tence of its
being part
of Alsace,
ceded to
him by the
treaty of
Munster.

LEWIS the fourteenth, not contented with fortifying *Huninguen*, resolved likewise, under pretence of taking possession of *Alsace*, to seize upon *Strasburg*, which makes a part of that province. The *French* court thought that the exception in the treaty of *Munster*, regarding the *immediateness* and liberty of these cities, ought not to be any obstacle to the design their king had formed; therefore the *marquis de Louvois* ordered troops to enter *Lorraine*, *Franche-comté*, and *Alsace*, under pretence of employing them at working upon the fortifications in these provinces¹. But soon after they all assembled within a few leagues of *Strasburg*; and *baron d'Asfeld*, taking possession of the ground betwixt the *Rhine* and the city, and the redoubt which covered the bridge, told the magistrates, that the *French* only took possession of these posts to prevent the *Imperialists*, who had a design of seizing them; but that the city had nothing to fear, since the king would take it under his protection. The twenty-eighth of September the *baron de Montclar*, at the head of an army, spoke a different language: he summoned the town to surrender; adding, that, if they made any resistance, they would be treated as enemies. While the magistrates and people, alarmed at this proposition, were deliberating what course to take, the *marquis de Louvois* arrived at *Illkirch*, and told their deputies, that the king his master being informed that they had desired the *Germanic* body to send a garrison into their town, he wanted to prevent them, and therefore required the city to be put into his possession; not that he desired to destroy their privileges, but rather to load them with his favours: that they might draw up articles of capitulation according to their desire, which would be granted them, if they were compatible with the sovereignty granted to *France* by the treaty of *Munster*. The magistrates and people, seeing themselves without resource, drew up articles of capitulation; by which the inhabitants were confirmed in their privileges; the Protestants were allowed the free exercise of their religion, and the possession of all their ecclesiastic property, and the churches which they then used, excepting the cathedral, which was given to the Catholics: but it was regulated, that the cannon, military stores, and arms in the public magazines, should be put into the hands of the *French*. These articles being signed by *Louvois* on the thirteenth of September, he took possession of the city.

¹ *Histoire d'Alsace*, l. xxiii. p. 264.

THE same day that *Strasburg* surrendered to *Lewis* the fourteenth, *Casal*, the capital of *Montferrat*, received a *French* garrison, by an agreement with the duke of *Mantua*, its lawful sovereign. This city being a fief holding of the empire, *Leopold* suspected that the king of *France* wanted to dismember it, and ordered his ambassador in *France* to make complaints to *Lewis* the fourteenth, concerning the surprising of *Strasburg*, and the possessing of *Casal* by the *French*. As he received only evasive answers, he resolved to prepare for war with *France*; but as his own forces were mostly employed against the malcontents in *Hungary*, he prevailed upon many of the princes of the empire to declare war against *Lewis* the fourteenth. On the tenth of *June* he concluded a treaty with the plenipotentiaries of the circles of *Franconia*, and the *Upper Rhine*, to which the princes of *Lunenburg*, the landgrave of *Hesse-Cassel*, and the electors of *Saxony* and *Bavaria*, acceded^u. The countries upon the *Rhine* were proposed to be the scene of action, where the allies were to assemble three armies, having the promise of assistance from the *Spaniards* and the states of *Holland*.

A. D.
1682.

Leopold prepares for war with France.

THE minister of the elector of *Brandenburg* opposed these proceedings, and declared that the emperor could not, in virtue of a treaty made with some states of *Germany*, engage the whole empire in a war, without the consent of the *Germanic* body. He had likewise private reasons for his opposition, being piqued at a defensive league of ten years, which the emperor had concluded with *Sweden* on the twelfth of *October*; therefore, to disappoint the emperor's designs against the *French*, he entered into an alliance with the king of *Denmark* and the bishop of *Munster*, to preserve the peace of the empire, and mutually assist each other against any violences contrary to the constitutions of the empire, and the treaties of peace.

The elector of Brandenburg opposes his designs.

A. D.
1683.

MEAN while the count *de Cressy* pressed the diet of *Ratisbon* to come to a determination, with regard to the sovereignty of the king of *France* over *Alsace*^w. The diet assembling on the twenty-second of *January*, it was resolved to examine the treaties upon which his most Christian majesty founded his right to the sovereignty of *Alsace*. After two months debating on that subject, the emperor being threatened with an invasion from the *Turks*, proposed to the count *de Cressy* to conclude a truce with *France* for thirty years, which *Lewis* the fourteenth consented to, and accordingly, on the thirty-first of *August*, a truce was agreed to by them without either regulating the articles or time.

^u Vita Leopoldi, p. 536.
Imperiales d'Alsace, in 12mo.

^w Inform. Hist. sur les villes

WHILE

The Hun-
garian
malcontents
break the
truce, and
count Te-
keli sur-
prises
Zathmar.

WHILE the negotiations were carrying on at *Frankfort* and *Ratisbon*, the *Hungarian* malcontents had broke the truce concluded at *Oedemburg*. Count *Tekeli* being joined with four thousand *Turks*, surprised the castle of *Zathmar*; and put the garrison to the sword; afterwards, marching to *Cassovia*, he made himself master of it, the fourth day after he had opened the trenches^x; *Eperies* submitted to a body of janissaries, commanded by the bashaw of *Buda*, who likewise took *Leutch*, the forts of *Zipt* and *Zendre*, and entered the county of *Scepus*. While the *Turks* were besieging *Tokai* and *Filek*; *Tekeli* went and ravaged *Silesia*. The grand vizier, to reward the services he did to the *Porte*, caused him to be declared king of *Upper Hungary*, and sent him a vest, a sabre, and standard, with the patent of the Grand Signior.

THE sultan, in the midst of his conquests, made proposals of peace, which were rejected by the emperor; since he could not agree to them without opening a passage for the *Turks* into the dominions of *Austria*. *Leopold* hearing of the great preparations made by the *Turks* on the frontiers of *Hungary*; and not doubting but they were designed against *Germany*, made a league offensive and defensive against the *Turks* with *John Sobieski* king of *Poland*, who engaged to march in person to the assistance of *Vienna* in case it were besieged^y. He likewise addressed the princes of the empire, who engaged to furnish him with a certain number of auxiliary forces, and prince *Charles* of *Lorrain* was ordered immediately to join the imperial troops at *Presburg*. That prince leaving his government of *Tirol*, arrived at *Vienna* on the eighth of *April*, and setting out from thence on the twenty-ninth of the same month, he arrived at *Kitsee*, where the imperial troops were encamped.

IMMEDIATELY he besieged *Newhausel*, and pushing the town vigorously, he had already made himself master of the suburbs, when being informed that the *Turks* were on their march, and threatened to enter *Stiria*, he raised the siege, and retired towards *Comorra*, to watch the designs of the enemy. Soon after being informed that they intended to march towards *Albe-Royale*, or *Weissenburg*, he quitted his camp at *Comorra*, and passing the *Raab*, entered the island *Schut*, having sent four regiments to reinforce a body of *Hungarians* at *Neutra*, under the command of the palatine, and ordering general *Schulitz* to march to *Schinta*, in order to cover the frontiers of *Moravia*.

^x RINCK *Leop. des grossen Roemisch*, &c. p. 817. BARRE, t. x. p. 178. ^y *Recueil de Traités*, t. iv. p. 500.

THE grand vizier arriving at *Belgrade*, marched from thence to *Weissenburg*, at the head of fifty thousand janissaries, thirty thousand spahis, and two hundred thousand men, drawn from different garrisons, with artillery and baggage proportioned to such a multitude²; and encamping betwixt *Weissenburg* and the mountains of *Raab*, detached a great number of *Tartars* to ravage the country, from whence the imperial army was to draw its subsistence. Afterwards advancing to the mountains of *Raab* to take possession of them, he was repulsed with considerable loss, and was likewise opposed in attempting to pass the river of that name. In the mean time Tekeli count *Tekeli* arriving at his camp, published a manifesto, ^{publishes a} declaring, that the sultan would take under his protection all ^{manifesto} those who should embrace the party of the malcontents; and ^{in favour} that he would maintain them in their privileges, liberties, ^{of the} goods, laws, and religion, but that no quarter would be given ^{sultan.} to those who refused to submit.

THIS manifesto had so great an effect, that the cities of *Bapa*, *Fot*, and *Vesprim*, immediately opened their gates to the malcontents; which example the emperor fearing that *Neutra* would likewise follow, he ordered count *de Schultz*, the governor, to withdraw the heavy cannon, arms, and ammunition, and to abandon the city. The same orders having been given to the governors of the towns in the mountains, the cities and counties of *Hungary* declared to the commissaries of the emperor, that they should be obliged to open their gates to count *Tekeli*, as they did not think that they ought, upon the bare hopes of assistance, to expose themselves to fire and sword.

THE grand vizier having passed the *Raab* over the bridge of *Kirmeded*, which was abandoned by the Imperialists, entered the country, and put all to fire and sword: having afterwards passed the *Rabwitz*, he continued every where the same devastation. Prince *Charles*, having only twenty-four thousand men, was not in a condition to resist so great an army; and fearing that they would cut off his retreat to *Vienna*, and the hereditary countries, he retired towards *Berant* to cover the river *Leithe*, and watch the motions of the *Tartars*, who ravaged the country between the *Raab* and that river. The in-^{The duke of} fids advancing, attacked the guards commanded by the Lorrain count *de Taaff*, supported by the regiment of *Montecuculli* and ^{retires} several squadrons, and had defeated them when the duke of ^{with his} Lorrain arrived, who rallied them, and bringing up several ^{army under} the cannon ^{of Vienna}

² Annales de l'Empire, t. ii. p. 864. BARRE, t. x. p. 181. of Vienna

regiments to their assistance, repulsed the enemy, and afterwards retired with his army under the cannon of *Vienna*.

MEAN while all was in the utmost consternation in that city. The emperor, with all his court, had abandoned it on the seventh of *July*, and retired to *Lintz*^a. Great numbers of the citizens followed the court, and the roads were crowded with fugitives, and carriages loaded with furniture and valuable effects. The first advice of the flight of the regiments had made such an impression, that they believed all was lost; but the presence of the duke of *Lorrain* had, in some measure, removed their fears. As the defence of the city was of very great importance, they, with all dispatch, repaired the fortifications; and count *Staremberg*, who commanded the garrison of eight thousand men, foreseeing that the siege would be long, appointed the different quarters of the city to different general officers, and named subalterns to give an account of all that passed; the citizens likewise, the tradesmen, and the masters of the university, with the students, formed themselves into companies to assist in defending the town.

The grand vizier besieges Vienna.

AFTER the retreat of the duke of *Lorrain*, the grand vizier leaving the bashaw of *Buda* to besiege the city of *Raab*, marched to *Vienna*, and on the thirteenth of *July* appeared before the city. On the sixteenth the trenches were opened, and soon after the city was wholly invested. The duke of *Lorrain*, being thus cut off from all communication with the

The duke of Lorrain recovers Presburg, and defeats Tekeli.

garrison, marched against count *Tekeli*, who was, on the other side of the *Danube*, and with twenty thousand *Hungarians*, and eight thousand *Turks*, besieged the castle of *Presburg*. After having come within sight of the camp of the rebels, he sent two hundred men to reinforce the garrison of the castle; and having obliged the malcontents to abandon the town, he afterwards defeated them entirely^b, and burnt the wood and materials which they had provided for building a bridge over the *Danube*, in order to have a communication with the army of the grand vizier. *Tekeli* afterwards marching into *Moravia*, and summoning that province to pay contribution, the duke obliged him to desist, by threatening to order the emperor's garrisons in *Upper Hungary* to make reprisals upon the houses and lands of those of his party: then marching to the neighbourhood of *Vienna*, he defeated the *Hungarians* in several skirmishes, and prevented them from joining the *Turks* under the grand vizier.

^a Annales de l'Empire, t. ii. p. 866. BARRE, t. x. p. 185.

^b VAYNER Vita Leopoldi, p. 399.

MEAN while the siege of *Vienna* was carried on with great John Sobieski, king of Poland, having joined the auxiliary troops of the circles, and passed the *Danube* over the bridge at *Krems*, on the eighth of *September*, gained the heights of the mountain of *Calenberg* with his army, and by lighting fires informed the besieged that assistance was arrived. The grand vizier having neglected to dispute the passage of the *Danube*, and allowed the imperial and *Polish* armies to gain the top of the mountain, continued the siege, hoping that the city would capitulate, before the allies could force him to an engagement, and only sent a body of ten thousand men to observe their motions, and harass their march. On the eleventh of *September* the allies holding a council of war, regulated the order of battle. The *Poles* had the right, and the duke of *Lorraine* the left; the elector of *Saxony* drew up his troops on the right of the duke of *Lorraine*, and the elector of *Bavaria* was posted on the right of the *Saxons*; while the king of *Poland* posted himself in the center of the army, which consisted of about sixty-four thousand men*. In this order they marched down the mountain. The *Turks* observing them, extended themselves from the *Danube* to the bottom of the mountain, and possessed themselves of the hedges, intrenchments, and hollow ways, from whence they could harass them in their descent. Towards the evening the king of *Poland* arriving at the plain at the foot of *Camaldoli*, ordered count *Leske* to post his troops at the opening of a wood which extended to *Vienna*, and to raise a battery to secure the pass. Next day about five in the morning, the *Turks* sending some troops to attack those who were working at the battery, the count *de Fontaine* opposed them for some time, till the duke of *Grey* coming up to his assistance with some regiments, the infidels were repulsed, and forced to abandon their posts. The grand vizier at last coming out of his camp with thirty thousand horse, the king of *Poland* hastened his march, and about noon joined the right wing of the Imperialists, and attacking the *Turks* vigorously, they retreated from mountain to mountain, while the duke of *Lorraine* on the left advanced to their camp, which he attacked. Soon after the king of *Poland* having received a reinforcement, vigorously charged the body of horse commanded by the grand vizier, and having broke through it, put them into confusion. The infidels

Defeats the grand vizier, and forces his camp.

* *Annales de l'Empire*, t. ii. p. 870. *Anecdotes de Pologne*, p. 149.

finding

The
Turks fly
with pre-
cipitation.

finding themselves so pressed by the king of *Poland*, and seeing their camp in danger, were struck with a panic, and fled with precipitation, leaving a decisive victory to the Christians, with the loss of only two hundred men; they themselves having scarcely lost a thousand: so great was their terror, that they left behind them the great standard of *Mahomet*, their tents, the greatest part of their baggage, their provisions, the warlike stores, and their artillery, which amounted to one hundred and eighty pieces of cannon and mortars; and their retreat was so precipitate, that on the morrow after the action, the first of their troops had already passed the *Raah*.

WHILE the duke of *Lorraine* was giving the necessary orders to act against the *Turks*, the emperor arrived at *Vienna* on the fourteenth in the evening; and next day went to the camp of the king of *Poland* to see that prince, and testify the obligations which he had to him, for leaving his own kingdom, and coming to deliver *Vienna*, and save the empire. Although the grateful acknowledgments ought to have been above formalities, yet there were some difficulties about the ceremonials, which were at last overlooked, and the salutation was given on both sides at the same time.

The
Turks de-
feat the
king of
Poland at
Barcan.

THE king of *Poland* and the duke of *Lorraine*, being able only to prevail with some of the princes of the empire to continue with the army, advanced towards *Comorra* by the island of *Schut*; and the king, being informed that the *Turks* had retired to *Barcan*, formed the design of attacking that place before the imperial troops were all assembled. The *Turks*, having passed the *Danube* over the bridge of *Strigonia*, had put a strong garrison into *Barcan*, and had ordered several platoons of soldiers into all the gardens in the neighbourhood. The king, having no information of these dispositions, had marched within half a league of *Barcan*, when the *Turks*, beginning to come out of the gardens, attacked his vanguard; and though few at first, yet being insensibly joined by other squadrons and battalions, the king was drawn into an engagement, without having time to draw up in order of battle. At first he opposed them with his horse in one line; but the number of the infidels still increasing, and by their motions threatening to flank his right and left, the *Poles* were put into disorder, and obliged to fly. At the same time the duke of *Lorraine*, who had heard of the engagement, coming up to their assistance, the *Turks* retired, not thinking it safe to pursue.

Two days after the defeat of the *Poles*, the *Turks* appeared in order of battle in the plain of *Barcan*. The Christian army,

army, which still consisted of sixty thousand men, *Germans* and *Poles*, was so disposed, that the soldiers of both nations were intermixed by equal numbers; the king of *Poland* commanding the right wing, the great general of the crown the left, and the duke of *Lorraine* the center. The infidels began the charge upon the left wing of the allies with incredible fury; but being sustained with firmness, they lost a great many men, and the vizier of *Silistria* and bashaw of *Caramania* were taken prisoners. The *Turks* still continuing the engagement with the same ardour, the king of *Poland*, on the right, making a motion to flank their army, they gave ground by degrees, and at last fled towards *Barcan*; whither the Christians pursued them, and killed a great number in the marshes. After this victory the allies took *Barcan* by storm; and in a council of war resolved to besiege *Strigonia*, though the officers of the *Polish* army made some difficulty of agreeing to it, desiring to return home, and alledging, that the war was now carried on more with a design to deprive the *Hungarians* of their liberties, and subject them to the absolute will of the emperor, than to make conquests upon the *Turks*. But *Sobieski* assuring them, that the siege of *Strigonia* would not be of long continuance, it was at last undertaken on the twenty-second of *October*, and the *Turks* capitulated four days after. Thus all *Hungary*, on both sides of the *Danube*, was again reduced under the power of the emperor, as far as *Strigonia*, or *Gran*, which place had been in the possession of the *Turks* for more than one hundred and fifty years ^d.

AFTER the reduction of *Strigonia*, the elector of *Bavaria* and the marquis of *Baden-Dourlach* marched home with their troops; and the king of *Poland* having proposed an accommodation with the *Hungarian* malcontents, the duke of *Lorraine* and their deputies assembled in his tent. The vice-chancellor of *Hungary*, after having shewn the solid advantages that would attend a peace, demanded the confirmation of their privileges, and liberty of conscience; the restitution of their confiscated estates, and the assembling of a free diet; a suspension of arms during the negotiation of peace; and the sovereignty of some counties for *Tekeli*, which had been offered to him the year before. The duke of *Lorraine* answering, that he had no power to conclude any article, but that every thing might be expected from the clemency of the emperor, the king of *Poland* immediately perceived that *Leopold* did not desire an accommodation, wherefore he resolved to

The duke of
Lorraine
and the
king of
Poland de-
feat the
Turks,
and take
Barcan,
and Stri-
gonia.

^d Annales de l'Empire, t. ii. p. 872. BARRE, t. x. p. 201. HEISS, l. iii. p. 245.

withdraw with his troops to his own kingdom. Notwithstanding the duke of *Lorrain* pressed him to take winter-quarters in *Upper Hungary*, he parted from him, after reciprocal marks of the highest esteem; and, taking the route of *Lubonia*, arrived at *Cassovia* on the twenty-fourth of *December*.

A. D.
1684.

LEOPOLD, seeing the siege of *Vienna* raised, and the great success of his arms in *Hungary*, had hitherto prevented the diet of *Ratisbon* from agreeing about the articles and time of duration of the truce with *France*; and had even transferred the negotiations to the *Hague*, under pretence of an universal peace*. The electoral college, offended at this removal, acquainted the emperor, that they accepted of the propositions made by *France*, and took no part in the congress assembled at the *Hague*. They wrote in the same terms to the king of *England* and the states-general; and forbade their ministers at the *Hague* to enter into any negotiation, the *Germanic* body having given them no power.

Lewis the
fourteenth
seizes upon
Luxem-
burg and
Triers.

WHILE the electors complained of the arbitrary proceedings of the emperor, who wanted to regulate the affairs of the *Germanic* body without their consent, the marshal *de Crequi* attacked *Luxemburg*, and made himself master of it, after twenty days open trenches. He likewise took possession of *Triers*, which he dismantled. *Lewis* the fourteenth, after the peace of *Nimeguen*, had demanded *Luxemburg* from the *Spaniards*, in exchange for *Alost*, which he pretended belonged to him, as he had conquered it in the preceding war. Although the peace bore, that he was to restore to the *Spaniards* all that he had conquered from them, and the town had really returned under their power; yet he pretended that he had only left the keeping of it to the *Spaniards*, and therefore absolutely requiring either that city of *Luxemburg*, had ordered the last place to be invested; but the affair being referred to the mediation of the king of *England*, the blockade was afterwards raised. That mediation producing no effect, *Lewis* the fourteenth had recourse to arms; which obliged the states general and the emperor to agree to the truce. Accordingly they agreed, that for twenty years *France* should be left in peaceable possession of *Strasburg*, the fort of *Kell*, and other posts on the *Rhine* between that fort and the city; and that in all these places his most Christian majesty should freely exercise the rights of sovereignty. *Lewis* the fourteenth promised to restore to the *Germanic* body, all the cities and lordships which he had seized, excepting *Strasburg*, and the forts

The Dutch
and Ger-
manic body
conclude a
truce with
France.

* PUFFENDORF, l. xviii. sect. 103. LONDORP, t. xii.

thereon

thereon depending, without waiting for the decision of the chambers of *Metz*, *Brisack*, and *Befançon*; but he would not agree that his sovereignty over *Alsace* should be the same that the emperor had formerly exercised, but only granted to the proprietary lords the revenues of their fiefs, and refused them the advantages belonging to the sovereignty. The Protestants were allowed the liberty of their religion, and the enjoyment of the possessions belonging to the churches.

THE greatest part of the *Hungarian* lords being struck with terror at the success of the duke of *Lorrain's* arms, were prevailed upon by him to return to their obedience to the emperor, and again to take the oath of fidelity to him. Afterwards the duke, being informed that the Grand Signior had made extraordinary preparations during the winter, to repair all his losses; that he had caused *Kara-Mustapha*, his grand vizier, to be strangled; and given the command of his army in *Hungary* to *Kara-Ibrahim*, whom he had raised to the same dignity, he left *Lintz* on the nineteenth of *May*, and assembling his army at *Karanitz*, marched to besiege *Wissegrade*, which capitulated after four days open trenches. The duke having likewise taken *Vatz*, and defeated the grand vizier's army, passed the *Danube*, and on the fourteenth of *July* encamped before *Buda*. His artillery having made a breach on the nineteenth, he gained the lower town by assault, where he fortified himself; but the vizier marching to the relief of the place, he resolved, if possible, to bring him to a general engagement, before he attacked the upper town, and ordered fourteen thousand men to march out of the camp in the evening without noise. On the twenty-second he came within sight of the enemy, who were drawn up in order of battle on the declivity of a hill, and attacking them, drove them from their ground. Afterwards, ordering a body of *Hungarians* to take possession of a rising-ground, and to fall upon the right of the *Turks*, they were forced to retreat, having endeavoured in vain to affright the imperial horses, by three hundred camels, mounted by men who held several standards of various colours. The duke of *Lorrain*, having disordered the camels by his artillery, commanded all his horse to attack the enemy in their retreat; which great motion obliged them to fly with precipitation to their camp, with the loss of a great number of men^f. Two days after, the siege of *Buda* was again resumed, but the Imperialists were obliged to raise it, upon account of the sickness of the duke of *Lorrain*, who being seized with a violent fever, committed the care of the

The duke of
Lorrain
takes Wif-
segrade
and Vatz,
and be-
sieves
Buda.

^f WAYNER, L. X.

army to the elector of *Bavaria*, and the generals *Staremburg* and *Caprara*. Afterwards strong garrisons being put into several places, the rest of the army was sent into winter-quarters in *Silesia*, *Moravia*, and *Bohemia*.

A. D.
1685.
Leopold
gets assistance
from the princes
of the
empire
against the
Turks.

LEOPOLD, being informed of the great preparations that were making at *Constantinople*, and that the *Turks* designed to take the field early in the spring, prepared for a proportionable defence, and resolved, if possible, to prevent the infidels: he had recourse to the states of the empire, who engaged, by different treaties, to furnish him with thirty-five thousand men: the pope likewise promised to open the treasures of the church, to contribute to the support of an army that was to fight against infidels. The operations of the campaign were left to the conduct of the duke of *Lorrain*; only it was resolved to give nine or ten thousand men to count *Schultz*, to cover *Moravia*, and oppose the malcontents on that side; and that count *Leslie*, with such another body of *Croatians*, should act upon the *Drave*.

The elector
palatine
dying, his
succession is
disputed.

THE elector-palatine dying on the sixth of *February*, without issue, the succession to his estates was the subject of new disputes betwixt the empire and the king of *France*. The elector having an only sister married to the duke of *Orleans*, she pretended to succeed to all his allodial possessions, and the greatest part of his moveables^s, in virtue of the will of her father; in which claim she was supported by *Lewis* the fourteenth. The duke of *Neuburg*, who was called by the will of the last elector, took possession of the allodial estates of the *Palatinate*, as of a male-fief, holding immediately of the empire. The king of *France*, though he allowed the duke of *Neuburg* to be the chief of the palatine branch, and nearest heir to the deceased elector, yet he insisted, that the allodial estates having been left to the dutchess of *Orleans*, by the will of her father, could not be comprehended under that article of the *Golden Bull*, which declares the estates of electors unalienable from those who possessed the titles; and was preparing to make good the claim of the dutchess of *Orleans* by arms, when the pope offering his mediation, the affair was left to be decided by his arbitration. The duke of *Neuburg* had likewise another competitor for the whole of the succession. *Lewis-Leopold*, count-palatine of *Weldentz*, being nearer by one degree in the collateral line to the deceased elector, pretended that this proximity gave him a preference to the branch of *Neuburg*: but the duke being supported by the

^s THUCELIUS Aët Publ. t. iii. p. 189. DUMONT, t. vii. part i. p. 131.

emperor, who had married his daughter some years before, and being called by the decision of the states of the empire, was put in possession of the electorate, the palatine of *Weld-nentz* only having a liberty to protest against his investiture^b.

DURING these discussions the duke of *Lorrain*, at the head of the imperial army in *Hungary*, had resolved to besiege *New-hausel*¹. On the seventh of *July* he arrived before the town, and draining off the water that surrounded the place, on the night of the twelfth he opened the trenches : mean while the *Turks* advanced with an army of sixty thousand men, and having surprised the lower town of *Wissegrade*, which they plundered and burnt, they laid siege to *Gran* or *Strigonia*, which they pressed with great vigour. The duke of *Lorrain* being informed when the *Turks* were preparing to give the assault, marched against them at the head of thirty thousand men, leaving twenty thousand under the command of *Caprara*, to continue the siege of *Newhausel*. The *Turks*, upon the news of his approach, left the siege of *Gran*, and drew up on a small rising-ground, with a marsh before them, and the *Danube* on their right. The duke having put some troops into *Gran*, feigned a precipitate retreat, with the intention of drawing the *Turks* from the marsh, and obliging them to an action. He succeeded in his design ; and drawing them to an engagement, after several attacks he defeated them entirely, forcing two thousand into the marsh, and pursuing the rest so vigorously, that they abandoned their camp, in which was found plenty of provisions, with twenty-four pieces of cannon. The Imperialists returning to *Newhausel*, three days after, took it by storm, sparing neither age, sex, nor condition. In the town, besides one hundred pieces of cannon, there were provisions and ammunition for several months^k. The duke of *Lorrain* hearing that the vizier was at *Buda*, resolved to besiege *Novigrade*, hoping thereby to draw him over the *Danube*, to hazard a new engagement. Before the arrival of the Imperialists, the *Turks* had evacuated *Novigrade* and *Wissegrade*; and soon after the vizier sent an aga to the duke, desiring a suspension of arms, in order to negotiate a peace. The duke of *Lorrain* sending the vizier's letter to the emperor, refused a suspension of arms ; and marching with his army towards *Vatz*, found that the infidels, after having withdrawn the garrison, had blown up the fortifications, and that the vizier had passed

The duke of Lorrain takes New-hausel, and defeats the grand vizier's army.

Novigrade and Wissegrade surrender to the Imperialists

^b PUFFEND. l. xix. sect. xiii. xiv. PSEFFINGER ad vitr. l. i. t. xiv. ⁱ Theat. Europ. t. xii. ^k LEBEN. EUGEN. p. 155.

the *Danube*, over the bridge of *Pest*, on purpose to avoid an engagement.

The Hun-
garian
malcontents
submit to
the emperor

THE retreat of the infidels, and other circumstances favourable to the Imperialists, determined the duke to employ the rest of the campaign in reducing the rebels of *Upper Hungary*, who seemed now despairing of the success of their arms, as every day some of them were coming into his camp, asking pardon. A detachment of ten thousand men, sent to join the body commanded by general *Schultz*, were employed in reducing the places which the rebels held in *Upper Hungary*, and the main body of the army, encamped in places convenient for provisions, with a design of observing the *Turks*. General *Schultz* having taken possession of *Eperies*, afterwards joined *Caprara*, and marched to *Cassovia*, which he besieged. Mean while the emperor, offering an amnesty to all those who should lay down their arms, many of the *Hungarians* accepted of it, and left the army of *Tekeli*. This desertion deprived him of the power of executing any enterprize; and the *Turks*, by suspecting that he had a private intelligence with the king of the *Turks*, *Poland*, and the house of *Austria*, the bashaw of *Waradin* ordered him to be taken prisoner, and put in irons, which entirely changed the face of the rebels affairs. *Petherasi*, who had been lieutenant to *Tekeli*, having obtained his pardon from the emperor, influenced a great number of the malcontents to submit to their prince. By offering rewards to some, and intimidating others with the power and resentment of the house of *Austria*, and by representing to all, that their obstinacy only exposed the kingdom to a general desolation¹, he prevailed on the cities of *Tokai*, *Cassovia*, and *Filek*, with their territories, to return to their obedience to the emperor. The rebels in the other places submitted at the first appearance of the count *Caprara*, and the *Turks* surrendered without resistance, upon being conducted to *Buda*.

Tekeli is
made a
prisoner by
the Turks,
Poland, and
the house of
Austria, the
bashaw of
Waradin or-
dered him to
be taken pris-
oner, and put
in irons.

A. D.
1686.
The elector
of Bavaria
takes Albe-
Royal,
and the
duke of
Lorraine
besieges
Buda.

THE duke of *Lorraine* having strongly represented to the emperor, that the taking of *Buda* would contribute to the security of his conquests, it was resolved in a council of war to besiege that city, after having taken *Erla* and *Albe-Royale*. The army soon after assembling in *Hungary*, was commanded by the elector of *Bavaria*, as the duke of *Lorraine* had fallen sick at *Oedemburg*. The elector began with investing *Albe-Royale*, which soon surrendered; and on the twelfth of *June* the army marched along both sides of the *Danube* for *Buda*, without waiting for the troops of *Brandenburg* and *Suabia*².

¹ Anecdotes de Pologne, t. ii. p. 46, 47.
Hist. Bell. inter Imper. & Turcas. ad An. 1686.

² HAPPEL.

The duke of *Lorrain* returning to the army, which was then at *Pest*, immediately detached two thousand men to invest *Buda*. On the twentieth at night count *Staremberg* began the attack at the lower town, some field-pieces being advanced to defend the workmen : after a month spent in advancing their attacks, and possessing the batteries, the allies at last attacked the body of the place, and having made a large breach, the duke of *Lorrain*, and the elector of *Bavaria*, agreed to give a general assault, having disposed all the necessary preparations in the most secret manner. But notwithstanding their precaution, the enemy having notice of their design, reinforced their second and third retrenchments with janissaries, and prepared for a vigorous defence. The signal for the assault in three places being given at six in the evening, in an instant the grenadiers and heyduques, who marched first, removed the gabions that were laid in the breach, and being supported by fusileers, and others with pikes and halberds, advanced to take possession of the palisadoes. The *Turks*, on their side, made a continual fire upon the Imperialists; and charging them with grenades, stones, and bombs, they at last appeared in a body upon the breach, and, sword in hand, repulsed the foremost of the enemy, and obliged them to retire. The duke of *Lorrain* observing this, and advancing to the foot of the breach to encourage his men, they, with new ardour, regained the ground they had lost, and made themselves masters of the palisadoes. Immediately the *Turks* springing a mine, the Imperialists were almost all either buried or wounded. New troops instantly succeeding, mounted the breach and took possession of the palisadoes; but the *Turks* springing several other mines through the whole extent of the breach, these gulphs of fire destroyed the Imperialists, and encouraged the besieged, so that the women and children ran to the breach with stones and grenades, to have part in the defence.

THE generals of the allies, encouraging their men, replaced the dead and wounded with fresh troops, who, notwithstanding the great fire of the enemy, began to force their retrenchments; and having made themselves masters of the whole extent of the breach, they made a lodgment upon the ruins. The attacks made by the troops of *Brandenburg* and *Bavaria* were not attended with so much slaughter, though no less vigorous. The loss of the *Turks* in the whole attack amounted to fifteen hundred janissaries; and that of the allies to above three thousand soldiers, and two hundred officers, killed and wounded^a. The duke, being informed that the

^a BARRE, t. x. p. 222.

Buda taken by assault.

grand vizier was marching at the head of forty thousand men to the relief of the besieged, resolved to increase the fire of his batteries, that the place might be forced to surrender before the arrival of the vizier's army, as his forces were not sufficient to venture an engagement, having only ten thousand foot fit for service. Mean while, three thousand of the enemy's horse appearing on the neighbouring hills, the duke determined to put all upon the issue of a general assault. On the first of *September*, all things being prepared for the attack, towards the evening the troops marched into the trenches; and the generals taking their posts, with a prohibition to the officers or soldiers to quit their ranks, next day, about five in the evening, the signal was given for the assault by six pieces of cannon. Immediately the Imperialists, marching to the different breaches, began the attack: though repulsed with the utmost resolution by the janissaries sword in hand, and exposed to the fire from the windows of the neighbouring houses, yet they formed themselves upon the right of the retrenchment which the *Turks* had been obliged to quit; and, charging the besieged, drove them to an entrenchment behind the breach, where, not having time to draw up, or oppose their chevaux de frise, they saved themselves by flight, some into the houses, and others over the wall of the covered-way, hoping to save themselves towards *Pest*. These last were taken by the *Bavarians*; while the Imperialists, who had entered the town, made a dreadful slaughter, men, women, and children, being all put to the sword.

The Turkish army retires, and repasses the Drave, while the duke of Lorraine takes Segedin and the Five Churches.

BUDA being taken, after ten weeks siege, it was resolved to march with the army towards the bridge of *Esseck*, to cut off the retreat of the *Turkish* army, which though superior in number, and within sight of the town before the attack, yet did not dare to give any disturbance to the allies. But the vizier retiring precipitately, the duke did not march till the sixth of *September*; and on the nineteenth encamped near *Tolma*, within three leagues of the enemy, with design to bring them to an action: but they, to shun an engagement, repassing the *Drave*, and retiring between *Esseck* and *Walko-mar*, the duke undertook at the same time the sieges of the *Five Churches* and *Segedin*, which last soon surrendered; but the *Five Churches* held out till the end of *October*. The Imperialists afterwards took *Siclos*, *Darda*, and *Kaproncza*, without any opposition; being masters of the whole country, on both sides of the *Danube*, as far as the *Drave*.

THE allies having separated into winter-quarters, the *Turks* retired towards *Servia*; from whence the grand vizier wrote to *Vienna* to make propositions of peace. *Leopold*, having

con-

consulted with the duke of *Lorrain*, answered, that he would consent to a peace, if the sultan would engage to pay six millions of gold for the expences of the war; if he would restore all the places which the *Porte* still possessed in *Hungary*, and give full satisfaction to *Poland* and the republic of *Venice*. These propositions being rejected, *Leopold* promised to moderate them, provided the *Turks* gave proofs of sincerely desiring peace, he himself desiring nothing so much as to finish a war which had dispeopled the cities of *Hungary*, *Austria*, and *Moravia*, desolated the provinces, and exhausted his treasures^o. Besides, having consented with great reluctance to the truce with *France*, he sought an occasion to break it, in order to recover *Alsace*, which *Lewis* the fourteenth had united to his crown; and the duke of *Neuburg* still retaining the allodial possessions of the late elector-palatine, likewise desired a war, to protect himself, under a general alliance, from the arms of *France*. Therefore *Leopold*, having privately concluded a treaty with the elector of *Brandenburg*, who engaged to send seven thousand men to the assistance of the elector-palatine, in case he should be attacked, afterwards prevailed upon several states of the empire to conclude a league of alliance, on the ninth of *July*, at *Augsburg*: The purpose of this alliance was to preserve the liberty of the *Germanic* body, as well in general as particular; to guarantee the treaties of *Westphalia* and *Nimeguen*; and to confirm the truce of twenty years concluded with *France* two years before. The king of *Sweden* and the elector of *Bavaria* entered into the league: likewise the whole ducal house of *Saxony* consented to what the emperor desired, and the elector-palatine was the chief promoter of the alliance. The emperor engaged to furnish sixteen thousand men; the king of *Spain*, for the circle of *Burgundy*, six thousand; the duke of *Bavaria* eight thousand, and two thousand for the circle of *Bavaria*; the circle of *Franconia* four thousand; the *Upper Rhine* an equal number; and the house of *Saxony* two thousand^p. The contingent of the king of *Sweden* was not determined. For the support of the troops magazines were formed, and a common chest was resolved to be established at *Frankfort*: and to be assured that the troops of the league were in good condition, and fit for service, it was concluded that the army should encamp every year, for a month or six weeks, in a place appointed by the emperor.

MEAN while, the king of *France* fortified *Huningen*; and likewise caused a bridge to be built there over the *Rhine*, and

A league concluded at Augsburg between the emperor and several states of the empire.

^o Vie du comte de Tekeli, p. 209.
Brand. l. xxix.

^p PUFFENDORF rer.

a fort to be raised for its defence. These two works gave great offence to all *Germany*; and, complaints being made to the diet, the emperor wrote to his ambassador in *France* to represent to the court, that this innovation was contrary to the truce. It was answered, that the bridge of *Huningen* had only been repaired, and the fort was only added with a design to cover it; and that the measures his most Christian majesty had taken for the defence of his states were but just, as the treaty of *Augsburg* put it past doubt that the *Germanic* body designed to make war upon him, whenever the emperor should conclude a peace with the *Turks*.

A. D.

1687.

The duke
of Lorraine
attacks the
fort of the
bridge of
Esseck,

THE proposals of peace made by the grand vizier were designed only to amuse the emperor; for the *Porte* still hoping to repair the losses of the former campaigns by arms, the warlike preparations were carried on by the *Turks*, during the winter, with such diligence and assiduity, that their army was sooner ready, and much more numerous, than that of the emperor, who could not raise above sixty-six thousand men, fourteen thousand of which were designed for garrisons of the cities, and twenty thousand to act separately under the command of the elector of *Bavaria*: the rest were to be commanded by the duke of *Lorraine*, who arriving at *Strigonia*, on the second of *June*, found only sixteen thousand men. Soon after, having assembled all his troops, on the twenty-fifth of the same month he began the operations of the campaign, by attacking the fort which covered the bridge of *Esseck*. Having taken it by assault, on the first of *July* he marched towards *Ottwar*, to secure the passage over the *Drave*. On the fifteenth, having joined the elector of *Bavaria*, who was encamped on the other side near *Valpo*, the two generals, after a great many marches and counter-marches, on the twenty-seventh came in sight of the *Ottoman* army, which had passed the *Drave*, and encamped at *Darda*. The grand vizier, having fortified his camp, declined coming to an engagement, and only watched the motions of the Imperialists, sending out his *Tartars* to interrupt their foragers, and skirmish with the advanced guards. The duke of *Lorraine*, seeing it impossible to attack the grand vizier's camp, resolved to march forwards, in order to engage the *Turks* to follow him; and on the twelfth of *August*, having passed some defiles, he put his troops in order of battle, and led them into the plain of *Sicler*. He had no sooner marched than he discovered large bodies of the enemy through the openings of the woods; but not thinking it proper to attack them, as they only intended a skirmish, he continued his march; which the grand vizier observing, sent out a great detachment of *Tartars* to fall upon the baggage

gave of the elector of *Bavaria*. The duke of *Lorraine* immediately sending some regiments to the assistance of the elector, the *Tartars* were repulsed; but the whole *Turkish* army advancing, and with their artillery beginning to attack the electoral troops, the duke marched with all his forces against the enemy, who were posted in several lines between two woods, extending their front about a quarter of a league. The Imperialists advancing very near to the enemy, and after receiving their first fire, immediately attacked them with such fury, that they routed the janissaries who guarded some redoubts, and pursued them to their camp. At the same time *Turks* the elector of *Bavaria* forcing their retrenchments, and attacking the quarters of the grand vizier¹, the disorder became so general, that the whole army, flying to *Esseck*, left their camp in possession of the victors. The grand vizier, afterwards reviewing his army, found he had lost twenty thousand men, some having deserted, the rest being killed or drowned. The duke of *Lorraine*, seeing that the grand vizier could give him no more disturbance, passed the *Danube* near *Mohatz*, and marched towards *Transylvania*, to take up his winter-quarters in that province, in consequence of a treaty concluded between the emperor and the vaivode on the twenty-eighth of *June*; by which it was stipulated, that the emperor should not make any alterations in the province; that the troops should evacuate the towns next spring; and no inquiry should be made after those who had favoured the revolt of the *Hungarians*: which treaty, far from being punctually executed by the emperor, was only used by him as a means to get possession of the strong places of that principality².

THE cause of the *Hungarian* malcontents being now entirely ruined, *Leopold* resolved to cause the archduke *Joseph*, his son, a boy of nine years of age, to be declared king of *Hungary*. Having called an assembly of the states at *Presburg*, he went thither with all his court on the thirtieth of *October*, and proposed to the diet to confirm the hereditary succession of the kingdom of *Hungary* in the house of *Austria*. The states consented to elect the archduke *Joseph*; but demanded to be left to enjoy their antient liberty, without proposing a hereditary succession³: and likewise presented a paper, requiring their grievances to be examined and redressed, before the coronation of the archduke *Joseph*. The emperor

¹ HAPPELIUS Hist. Bell. inter. Imper. & Turcas ad An. 1687, t. vii.

² Annales de l'Empire, t. ii. p. 876. HEISS, l. iii. p. 256.

³ WERBENTZ Opus Tripart. Juris Hung. t. ii. p. 42. art. 31.

replied,

replied, that though he could freely dispose of a kingdom, which he had reconquered from the infidels, at the expence of much blood and treasure, nevertheless he desired to preserve their antient laws, as far as they were agreeable to the royal dignity; and that though the succession belonged to him already by so many different titles, yet it was proper to confirm a-new, by a solemn convention; the hereditary succession of the crown to the princes of the house of *Austria*; and in the coronation-oath to repeal the clause of king *Andrew* the second, in the year 1222, by which every private gentleman had a right to take up arms against his sovereign, if he attempted to violate the liberties of the nation, which only served the malcontents with a pretext to revolt. The states, being obliged to comply with the emperor's demand, confirmed the succession of the crown to the male descendants of the house of *Austria* in *Germany*; and, after their extinction, to the males of the *Spanish* branch; having obtained only, that the king should reside in *Hungary*, or in a neighbouring province: and, that in case of the extinction of the two male branches, the states should be at liberty to elect a sovereign of another house. The clause of the oath of king *Andrew* the second was likewise revoked, upon condition that the new conquests in *Hungary* should be incorporated into the kingdom: and, as a redress of their grievances, it was resolved to suppress the criminal chamber of *Eperies*, which had been established in the beginning of the year for the trial of the rebels, and had still continued, condemning great numbers without distinction, who were executed with barbarity. It was likewise agreed, that the quartering and payment of the national and *German* troops should be directed by *Hungarian* and *German* commissaries; and that a chamber of finances, composed of persons of both nations, should be established at *Buda*.

The arch-
duke Jo-
seph is
crowned
king of
Hungary.

A. D.
1688.

THE emperor having given his consent to these articles, the archduke *Joseph* was crowned on the ninth of *December* with pomp and magnificence, all things succeeding to *Leopold's* desires, even beyond his hopes; for, besides this happy change of government in *Hungary*, the *Turks*, by reason of their intestine divisions, retiring before the king of *Poland*, were bombarded by him in *Caminiak*: and the *Venetians*, having beat their fleet, had made themselves masters of *Patras*, *Lepanto*, *Casteltornese*, and *Misitra*, antiently *Lacedemon*. *Agria* also, in *Upper Hungary*, having surrendered, there only remained *Moncatch*, which was defended by the counts of *Te-*

Ali. That princess being in want of provisions and ammunition, and seeing all *Hungary* subdued, was prevailed upon to *res* Tekeli submit to *Leopold*, who promised to preserve to her all her *surrenders* estates, and the same rank she formerly held in the kingdom, Mont- and to cause her children to be educated at *Vienna*, according catch, and to their rank and birth. The capitulation being signed on the *is con-* seventeenth of *January*, the princess was conducted to *Vienna* ducted to with her children, and shut up in the convent of the *Ursu-* *Vienna.* lines with her daughter, her son being sent to be educated under the jesuits at *Prague* ^u.

ALL *Hungary* being now reduced, the emperor directed his arms against the *Turks*, who, having dethroned their sovereign, *Mahomet* the fourth, and put his brother *Soliman* in his place ^v, were making great preparations for the ensuing campaign. The duke of *Lorrain* being seized with a dangerous sickness, and the elector of *Bavaria* refusing to take the command of the troops, the Imperialists acted in separate bodies, count *Weterani* taking *Cremstat* on the twentieth of *May*; *Illock*, *Peterwaradin*, and *Titel*, surrendering to prince *Lewis* of *Baden*; and the city *Bradt*, in *Bosnia*, being surprised by count *Hofkirkin*. At length the elector of *Bavaria*, having the promise of a separate body to act by itself, in case the duke of *Lorrain* should recover his health, was prevailed upon to take the command; and on the twenty-eighth of *July* arrived at the army, which was encamped near *Peterwaradin*.

THAT prince, eager to signalize himself by some enter- *The elector* prize, resolved upon the siege of *Belgrade*, and ordered a *of Bavaria* bridge to be laid over the *Save*. The bridge being completed *takes the* on the eighth of *August*, on the sixteenth they marched in or- *command* der of battle to force the *Turks*, who were intrenched near *Belgrade* ^x; but were agreeably surprised to find the camp *of the* abandoned, and abounding in provisions and forage. The *army.* elector having viewed and examined the city, and the heavy artillery being arrived from *Buda*, it was resolved to attack the upper town, because, the houses of the suburbs being less damaged by the fire, the soldiers might approach within three hundred paces of the counterscarp under shelter. The Imperialists laboured with such diligence, that on the twenty-sixth of *August* all their artillery was ready to do execution; and using thirty pieces of heavy cannon, and five mortars, they ruined several quarters of the town, notwithstanding the great fire of the besieged, which only animated their courage.

^u BARRE, t. x. p. 240. LEBEN. EUGENII, p. 239. Theat. Europ. t. xii. p. 833, &c. ^v PRICAUT Hist. de Turc. a l' An. 1688. ^x BIRKEN, p. 981, 982.

Belgrade
taken by
assault.

THE duke of *Lorrain* having now recovered his health; and the elector not testifying any repugnance to the division of the command, but rather declaring his impatience to see him, he left *Vienna*, and arrived at the camp. Afterwards visiting the trenches with the elector, who demanded his advice upon the measures to be taken for the future operations, he complimented his highness upon the progress of the siege, and gave his opinion of the manner of passing the ditch, and giving the assault. On the fifth of *September* the mines being ready were sprung; and immediately after the Imperialists gave the assault, but were at first repulsed; returning a second time to the charge, they forced all that was before them; and having entered the town made a dreadful slaughter, without distinction of age, sex, or condition. The bashaw who commanded the castle, despairing of assistance, immediately surrendered upon condition of life and safety for himself and the garrison. Some days after the news arrived at the camp of a victory gained by prince *Lewis* of *Baden* over the *Turks*, near *Teroen* in *Bosnia*.

The king
of France
commences
hostilities
against the
empire.

THE Imperialists were prevented from making any further progress in *Hungary* this campaign, the elector of *Bavaria* being obliged to leave the camp to manage the affairs of his own states; and the duke of *Lorrain*, not being able to bear the fatigues of the campaign, by reason of his bad health; besides, the king of *France*, in breach of the truce, having begun hostilities on the *Rhine*, the attention of the emperor was chiefly engaged to put a stop to the progress of his arms.

THE reasons pretended by *Lewis* the fourteenth, for his invading the empire, were to procure the public repose; to support the pretensions of the dutchess of *Orleans* to the succession of the late elector-palatine, altho' she had renounced all right to these bailiages by her contract of marriage; and lastly, to assert the right of *William Egon* of *Furstenberg*, to the archbishopric and electorate of *Cologne*. This electorate having become vacant on the third of *January*, by the death of the late elector, *France*, by its intrigues, procured the majority of the votes of the chapter, in favour of the prince of *Furstenberg*; but neither of the candidates having the qualifications requisite for an election, they could only succeed by a postulation, in which case two-thirds of the votes were necessary, besides the confirmation of the pope, and the investiture of the emperor. The pope preferring prince *Clement* of *Bavaria*, gave him a dispensation for his want of qualifications for an election, which being obtained, his postulation

became a legal election, tho' he had the minority of votes, because the other candidate had not fully two-thirds².

THE king of *France* having presented a manifesto to the *States-general*, and the diet of *Ratisbon*, declaring that he would look upon the enemies of the cardinal of *Furstemberg* as his own, soon after ordered the *marquis de Boufflers* to march with some troops towards *Cologne*. The *marquis* having passed the *Rhine* on the twentieth of *September*, took *Keiser-Lauter*, afterwards *Oppenheim*, with several other towns; and on the sixth of *October* invested *Philipsburg*, which surrendered to the dauphin after some days of open trenches. *Lewis* the fourteenth then published a manifesto, offering to restore *Philipsburg* and *Friburg*, after having dismantled them, provided the cardinal *Furstemberg* was put in possession of the electorate of *Cologne*, the truce changed into a perpetual peace, and all the places which he had re-united to his crown by the treaties of *Munster* and *Nimeguen*, granted to him by a good treaty. The emperor refusing to consent to convert the truce into a peace, upon the conditions proposed by the king of *France*, because that would be to yield for ever the sixth part of the empire, which *France* had taken possession of, the *French* immediately entered the *Palatinate*, put a garrison in *Mentz*, took *Manheim*, *Frankendal*, and made themselves masters of *Triers*, *Spire*, and *Worms*.

A. D.
1689.

THESE rapid conquests of the *French* alarming all *Germany*, the electors of *Saxony* and *Brandenburg*, the duke of *Hanover*, and the landgrave of *Hesse*, assembled at *Magdeburg*, where they resolved to declare war against *France*. The prince of *Orange*, who was now king of *Great Britain*, determined likewise upon a war with *France*, for invading the empire, in breach of the treaties guarantied by *England*, and giving assistance to the *Papists* of *Ireland*, that refused to submit to the government then established. The preparations of the allies were interrupted by the dispute between the king of *Denmark* and the duke of *Holstein-Gottorp*, with regard to the sovereignty of some territories, which was at last determined by a treaty concluded at *Altena*, on the thirtieth of *June*.

SOME troops of the elector of *Saxony*, of the landgrave of *Hesse*, and the duke of *Hanover*, had marched towards *Frankfort*; the emperor sent six regiments of horse, and four or five of foot, towards the *Rhine*. The elector of *Brandenburg* repaired to *Wesel*, where his best troops were assembled; the bishop of *Munster* promised to throw eight hundred men into *Cologne*; and the *marquis* of *Brandenburg* to send two

thousand.
France.

² BARRE, L. X. p. 248.

thousand.

England,
Holland,
Spain,
Denmark,
and Swe-
den accede
to it.

thousand. The states of *Holland* caused seven or eight thousand men to march into the country of *Juliers*, and sent others to take possession of the places in the electorate of *Mentz*, which the *French* had not yet conquered. At the same time eight regiments of *Hanoverians* advanced towards *Triers*, to cover *Coblentz*, and the country round. The emperor besides having engaged these princes, with *England* and the states of *Holland*, had likewise prevailed with *Spain*, *Denmark*, and *Sweden*, to enter into the alliance*. The diet of *Ratisbon*, after having in a decree mentioned, that *Lewis* the fourteenth, in breach of the treaties of *Munster* and *Nimeguen*, had seized upon many places belonging to the empire; that he had raised forts, and built bridges over the *Rhine*, cut down woods, and appropriated to himself entire countries, under pretence of re-uniting them to his crown; on the fourth of *March* declared him an enemy to the empire, and sent their declaration to the emperor at *Vienna*.

THE duke of *Lorraine* immediately leaving *Inspruck*, and arriving at *Vienna* on the first of *April*, consulted with the emperor upon the operations of the campaign. The command of the troops in *Hungary* being given to prince *Lewis* of *Baden*, it was resolved to assemble three armies on the *Rhine*, namely, thirty thousand men on the *Lower Rhine*, commanded by the elector of *Brandenburg*; thirty thousand men likewise on the *Upper Rhine*, to assemble at *Heilbron*, under the command of the elector of *Bavaria*; all the rest of the troops of the empire were to form the third body of forty thousand men, to assemble near *Frankfort*, and to be commanded by the duke of *Lorraine*.

THE duke afterwards arriving at *Frankfort*, was surprised to find that many of the troops were but still on their march; that the magazines were but poorly furnished with provisions and warlike stores; and that there were no boats at *Coblentz* in order to build a bridge: the heavy cannon likewise were not yet arrived from *Hungary* and *Bohemia*, being detained by the overflowings of the rivers. The *French*, more vigilant and better served, had taken all possible precautions to prevent the Imperialists from passing the *Rhine*; and having added several new works to the fortifications of *Mentz*, had left a garrison in that place, consisting of twelve thousand men, among whom were two thousand officers.

THE *French* having assembled several small camps upon the *Moselle*, with a design of attacking *Coblentz*, the duke of *Lorraine* reinforced the garrison of that place with several re-

* BARRE, t. x. p. 258.

giments ; and some days after, the electors of *Saxony* and *Bavaria*, and the landgrave of *Hesse*, arriving at the camp, it was resolved in a council of war to besiege *Mentz*, as the armies then, by their situation, were so encamped as to be easily united. The ceremonial of rank among the princes of the allied army being regulated, and some officers of artillery being arrived from the camp of the elector of *Brandenburg*, who had taken *Kaiserwerth* and *Nuis* ^b, the duke of *Lorraine* decamped from *Meyen*, and passing the *Nave*, encamped at *Binghen*. A few days after the elector of *Saxony*, and the landgrave of *Hesse*, advancing with their troops, and taking possession of the posts in the neighbourhood of *Mentz*, on the sixteenth of *July* the town was invested.

Six days after the trenches were opened in three different places ; the elector of *Saxony*, the landgrave of *Hesse*, and the duke of *Lorraine*, dividing the attacks. The *Saxons* and *Austrians* laboured at the trenches for several days, without being much disturbed by the *French* ; but on the thirtieth the marquis *d'Uxelles*, who commanded the garrison, ordered five hundred men to make a sally, who at first put the besiegers into disorder, but were at last, after an obstinate engagement, repulsed. On the tenth of *August* the besieged making another sally, killed upwards of two hundred soldiers, with several officers ; and six days after, two thousand of the best troops of the garrison sallied out at mid-day, and falling upon the *Saxons*, in a moment cleared the trenches ; but the duke of *Lorraine* coming up with a reinforcement, the *French* were repulsed with the loss of twelve hundred men. On the eighteenth the besieged, having made two successful sallies within two hours of one another, they came out a third time with three thousand men, drums beating and colours flying. The allies being fatigued with the two former sallies, and not expecting this third, the *French* fell upon five hundred men, whom they put to the sword, nailed two pieces of cannon, ruined the works of the allies, and posted the grand guards of the cavalry at the place where the trenches had been first opened. But the duke of *Lorraine* and the other generals, having rallied their men, repulsed the *French*, killing a great number of them, and regained their former posts. On the twenty-fifth the besiegers, having sprung a mine near the covert-way, made a lodgment in that place. The elector of *Bavaria* having made two lodgments upon the glacis, it was resolved to attack the counterscarp ; and having gained the pallisadoes of the covert-way, they finished two good lodgments ^{surrenders to the Imperialists after a siege of seven weeks.}

^b Mem. de Brand. p. 195. HEISS, l. iii. p. 262.

ments within three or four paces of the two points of the counterescarp, with the loss of two thousand men, killed and wounded. Afterwards sending for a reinforcement of foot from the elector of *Brandenburg*, they extended their lodgements along the covert-way; but the besieged did not wait till they were finished, demanding to capitulate on the eighth of *September*; and on the eleventh they marched out of the town with the honours of war, and six pieces of cannon, and four mortars.

The elector
of Bran-
denburg
takes Bonn

THE princes having quitted the neighbourhood of *Mentz*, the duke of *Lorrain* repaired to the camp of the elector of *Brandenburg*, who had invested *Bonn* for some time, and was now carrying on the attacks with vigour. On the fifteenth of *October* the town capitulated, and the garrison marched out with all the honours of war. The duke of *Lorrain* proposed afterwards to besiege *Traerbach*; but the allies declining any new action that campaign, the camp broke up, and the troops retired into winter-quarters.

IN *Hungary* the arms of *Leopold*, under the conduct of the prince of *Baden*, were likewise successful. In the month of *July* he had advanced to the river *Morava*, to observe the *Turkish* army; and finding it consisted of fifty thousand men, he returned towards *Passarowitz*, in order to reinforce his army, which only consisted of about thirty thousand men, and to furnish himself with provisions from the magazines at *Semendria*. The *Turks* finding that he retreated, marched after him, and sent out a large detachment of cavalry to intercept his convoys. This detachment being defeated on the twentieth of *August*, the next day the prince marched his army against the *Turks*, who were drawn up in order of battle be-

The prince
of Baden
defeats the
Turks in
Hungary,
and takes
Nissa and
Vidin.

yond a wood. The Imperialists having passed the wood, by the favour of a thick fog, were attacked by the *Turks*, who had not observed them till they were forming their lines. After the engagement had continued an hour with doubtful success, the cavalry of the Imperialists falling upon the flanks of the infidels, broke them, and pushed the whole army as far as their camp. The prince of *Baden*, posting himself within half a league of the enemy, after a short repose, ordered the camp to be attacked, which the *Turks* immediately abandoned, leaving one hundred pieces of cannon, with their baggage, warlike stores, and provisions. On the twenty-third of *September* the prince defeated the *Turkish* army a second time near *Vidin*, and likewise forced their camp. Next day he entered *Nissa*, without any resistance; and having defeated the *Turks* a third time, made himself master of *Vidin*; where leaving a garrison, he passed the *Danube*, and marched into *Walachia*:
leaving

leaving six regiments there, under pretence of protecting the hospodar from the incursions of the *Tartars*, and ordering the rest to march into quarters in *Transylvania*, he himself repaired to *Augsburg*, to be present at the electoral diet.

THE electors being arrived, the emperor proposed to their consideration two points; the first concerned the security of the empire against the designs of *Lewis* the fourteenth; the second, regarded the election of a king of the *Romans*, which he pressed with great warmth, as necessary to disappoint the expectations of the *French*, and proposed his son *Joseph*, king of *Hungary*, to be elected, with the proviso, that if the emperor should die before the designed successor had attained his eighteenth year, the vicars of the empire should govern in his name until he arrived at that age. After some objections to this discourse, as tending to render the imperial crown hereditary in the house of *Austria*, *Joseph* was at last elected on the twenty-fourth of *January*, and crowned two days after. The electors then renewed the league of *Augsburg*^c, and left the determination of the succession to the duchy of *Saxe-Lowemburg*, till the princes pretenders had produced their manifestoes.

A. D.
1690.
The arch-
duke Jo-
seph is
elected king
of the Ro-
mans.

THE *Germanic* body was now in a condition to march with all its forces against *France*; and on the sixteenth of *March* a general assembly being held at the *Hague*, at which the envoys of the confederate princes were present, it was resolved to send two armies upon the *Rhine*; the first consisted of the troops of the emperor, the elector of *Saxony*, the house of *Lunenbourg*, and some other princes; of the king of *Sweden*, for the fiefs which he possessed in the country of *Bremen*; and lastly, of the elector of *Bavaria*, who commanded the whole army in chief, in the room of the duke of *Lorrain*, who died on the eighteenth of *April*, in the forty-eighth year of his age, much regretted by the whole empire, but particularly by the house of *Austria*. This army was to act upon the *Rhine*, near *Philipsburg*; while the second, composed of the troops of *Neuburg*, *Munster*, and the elector of *Brandenburg*, who commanded them in person, was to encamp in the neighbourhood of *Cologne*.

THE troops which *France* opposed to these being very considerable, and commanded by the dauphin, great exploits were expected from two such fine armies. Nevertheless, as the strength was nearly equal on both sides, each army wanted to preserve the advantage of its post, and only watched the motions of the other, without venturing to hazard a battle.

^c Gazette de France, a 1^{re} An. 1690.

Thus the whole campaign passing over without any action, the French repassed the *Rhine*, and took winter-quarters in *Alsace* and *Franche-comté*, while the Germans retired, disappointed in their design of retaking *Philipsburg*, and invading France.

The Grand
Seignior
declares
Tekeli
vaivode of
Transyl-
vania,
who de-
feats the
Imperial-
ists under
the com-
mand of
Heisler.

THE *Turks* at *Constantinople*, exasperated at the bad success of their arms in *Hungary*, and the neighbouring provinces, had, in a mutinous manner, demanded the head of the grand vizier, and of the caimacam, for mal-administration of affairs. The new vizier being of an active disposition, and skilful in the art of war, made great preparations for the ensuing campaign; and the vaivode of *Transylvania* being lately dead, he prevailed with the Grand Seignior to declare *Tekeli* his successor, while the emperor supported the eldest son of the late *Abassi*. Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* being arrived at the army in *Hungary*, ordered general *Heisler*, with four thousand men, and some of the militia of the country, to make himself master of the passes, to prevent the irruption of *Tekeli*, who appeared upon the frontiers of *Transylvania*; but *Tekeli*, at the head of fifteen or sixteen thousand men, marched over almost inaccessible mountains, attacked the body of troops commanded by *Heisler*, cut them in pieces, and made the general prisoner.

Nissa and
Vidin sur-
render to
the *Turks*,
who like-
wise take
Belgrade
by storm.

This victory obliged the prince of *Baden* to pass the *Danube* at *Semendria*, to support the *Transylvanians* of the imperial party; and in his absence the *Turks* made themselves masters of *Nissa* and *Vidin*, which last surrendered on the twenty-first of *September*. The grand vizier likewise being informed, that the breaches of *Belgrade* were not yet repaired, marched against that city, after having forced the palank at *Semendria*, and put the garrison to the sword. On the second of *October* the trenches were opened before the town, which, though weakly fortified, having only palisadoes in the old breaches, yet was taken by an accident sooner than was expected. On the sixth day of the siege, a bomb falling into the magazine of powder, it blew up with a dreadful noise, overturning a great many houses in the neighbourhood, and setting fire to others. The *Turks*, taking advantage of the disorder, attacked the palisadoes with such vigour, that they carried the place, and put all to the sword whom they found. Eight hundred soldiers and officers who escaped, fled to *Essek*, to endeavour to preserve that post, and were immediately besieged by a body of *Turks* from the grand vizier's army; but the Imperialists marching to the assistance of the town, the detachment of *Turks* retired with precipitation, leaving their cannon and part of their baggage.

THE prince of *Baden* having received a reinforcement, which rendered his army superior, advanced against *Tekeli*, with a design of drawing him to an action ; but that count chose rather to retire to the frontiers of *Moldavia* than hazard an engagement, and *Augustus* of *Hanover*, at the head of one thousand horse, harrassing him on his march, he attacked the *Germans*, killed the prince of *Hanover*, and cut in pieces the greatest number of the men, the rest saving themselves by flight. The grand vizier, instead of joining *Tekeli*, in order to oppose the prince of *Baden*, and make himself master of *Transylvania*, contented himself with taking *Lippa*, and putting provisions into *Giula*, *Temeswaer*, and *Waradin*. The rigour of the season not permitting *Tekeli* to improve his late advantage, he retired into winter-quarters in *Walachia* ; and the Imperialists being cantoned in *Transylvania* and *Hungary*, the prince of *Baden* repaired to *Vinna*.

THE duke of *Savoy*, who had hitherto observed a neutrality, had this year acceded to the grand alliance, in consideration of the emperor's allowing his claim to the kingdom of *Cyprus*, and giving him the title of royal highness ; and likewise to be freed from consenting to the imperious demands of the *French*, who desired to put a garrison into the citadels of *Turin* and *Verceil*. *Lewis* the fourteenth, suspecting that he had abandoned his friendship, sent *Catinat* to *Turin* to expostulate with the duke, while, at the same time, an army of eighteen thousand men marched from *Dauphiny* into the duke's territories. The duke openly professing his engagements, *Catinat* left *Turin*, and advancing with his army, on the eighteenth of *August* defeated the duke near *Salusses*, and soon after made himself master of *Salusses*, *Savillana*, and several other places. On the tenth of *September*, prince *Eugene* arriving with the *German* auxiliaries, the allies marched to attack *Catinat* ; but he, by a feint, declining the engagement, made himself master of *Susa*, and afterwards put his troops into winter-quarters^d.

The duke
of Savoy
accedes to
the grand
alliance.

A. D.
1691.

The emperor being informed that the *Turks* were making great preparations, ordered *Esseck* to be fortified ; and that he might oppose them with greater vigour, he left the war upon the *Rhine* to be carried on by the *Germanic* body ; and prevailed with the elector of *Bavaria*, to represent to the diet of *Ratisben* the necessity of this proceeding, who likewise offered to furnish the greatest part of the troops promised to the duke of *Savoy*, and to go and command them in person.

^d BARRE, t. x. p. 286. HEISS, l. iii. p. 264. Contin. of RAPIN, v. i. p. 162.

Catinat
takes Nice,
Villa-
franca,
&c.

THE *French* having surprised the duke of *Savoy*, before he was in a condition to resist them, determined, if possible, to force him to abandon the alliance, and leaving only sufficient forces upon the *Rhine* to protect *Alsace* and *Lorrain*, they pushed the war in *Italy* with great vigour; and *Catinat*, taking the field early in the spring, made himself master of *Nice*, *Villa-franca*, *St. Auspice*, *Montalban*, *Villana*, and *Carmagnola*, which encouraged him to besiege *Coni*, a place situated on a craggy hill, and defended by a garrison of fifteen hundred men, one half of whom were Protestant *Vaudois* and *French* refugees. These rapid conquests of the *French*, were chiefly owing to the slowness of the *Germans* and *Spaniards*, who had not yet arrived, and to the embezzling of the money allowed by the king of *England* and the states of *Holland*, for the payment of the *Vaudois* and *French* refugees: but the duke of *Schomberg*, arriving at *Turin* on the eighth of *June*, though he found affairs in a desperate situation, the court removed to *Verceil*, and *Turin* itself apprehensive of a bombardment, yet he soon gave life and spirit to the army, by sending the officers often upon parties; and having relieved *Coni*, by a convoy under the command of prince *Eugene*, he obliged the *French* to raise the siege, and retire to *Villa Nova d'Asti*. Soon after the *German* auxiliaries arriving, to the number of eighteen thousand horse and foot, under the command of the elector of *Bavaria*, and *Caraffa*, the allies, by this reinforcement, being superior to the *French*, endeavoured to bring *Catinat* to an engagement; but he, retiring under the cannon of *Salusses*, sought only to preserve the conquests which he had made^e. The allies, therefore, thought of recovering some of the places which they had lost in the beginning of the campaign; and prince *Eugene*, investing *Carmagnola* on the seventeenth of *September*, carried on the siege with so much vigour, that in eleven days the governor was forced to capitulate. After this conquest the allies going into winter-quarters, *Catinat* besieged the castle of *Montmelian*; on the seventeenth of *November* the trenches were opened before the place, and after a most vigorous siege, wherein they had to dispute as well with the rigours of the season, as with the desperate defence of the garrison, that fortress was at last, on the twenty-first of *December*, surrendered to the *French* upon honourable conditions.

Prince Eugene re-
takes Car-
magnola,
while the
French
make them-
selves mas-
ters of
Montme-
lian.

LEOPOLD, chiefly intent upon opposing the *Turks* in *Hungary*, had sent the prince of *Baden* with upwards of forty thousand men to watch the motions of the grand vizier, who,

^e BARRE, l. x. p. 287.

at the head of sixty thousand *Turks*, intended to pass the *Sava*, and besiege *Esseck*. On the tenth of *August* the prince appeared before their camp, and offered them battle; but the *Turks* would not hazard an engagement, detaching only a body of horse to harass the rear of the Imperialists. Some days after, posting themselves upon the rising-grounds near the *Danube*, with a design of cutting off provisions from the prince of *Baden*, they intercepted a convoy of two hundred waggons with provisions, cutting in pieces a regiment of dragoons who escorted it; and likewise falling upon the guards that conducted another convoy from *Esseck*, they routed them, and made themselves masters of the waggons.

THESE actions, which were the most prudent the *Turks* had done during the war, made the prince of *Baden* and the other generals perceive, that they had to do with a vizier who understood how to conduct an army; wherefore, seeing themselves absolutely destitute of provisions, they resolved to force the camp of the infidels, since otherwise they must perish with famine. On the nineteenth of *August* they marched to attack the *Turks*, whom they found strongly intrenched: nevertheless, at three in the afternoon, the Imperialists, having regulated their disposition, began the attack with great fury; and though they were repulsed several times by the *Turks* with great resolution, yet at last, with the loss of a great number of men, they forced the intrenchments towards evening, when the janissaries retreated in good order, notwithstanding the death of the grand vizier, who was killed in the action. The prince of *Baden*, marching afterwards to *Peterwaradin*, repaired the fortifications; and dividing his army into two bodies, the one, commanded by the duke *de Croy*, took the road of *Esseck*; the other, conducted by himself, passed the *Danube* in the beginning of *September*, and marched to besiege *Grand Waradin*: but the attacks having little effect, by reason of the vigorous sallies of the besieged, and the *Turks* likewise opening the sluices and laying the country under water, the prince of *Baden* left a sufficient body of troops to continue the blockade, and put the rest into winter-quarters.

LEOPOLD, having reinforced his army in *Hungary*, was more successful this year than in the former campaign. The colonel *Poland* defeated the *Tartars* near *Filek*, upon the frontiers of *Transylvania*, and took *Garentzebs*. Count *Serau* took the fortress of *Calo* by assault: and the prince of *Baden*, who had during the winter blockaded *Grand Waradin*, expected to have forced the garrison to capitulate for want of subsistence; but the aga of the janissaries, who commanded in the place, having found means from time to time to procure provisions,

A. D.
1692.

The Imperialists in
Hungary
take Filek.

and even troops, it was resolved to turn the blockade into a Great War. *radin surrenders to the prince of Baden.* siege ¹. On the second of *May* the trenches were opened before the town; and, notwithstanding many sallies of the besieged, on the fourth of *June* the breaches were large enough to give the assault. The bashaw, seeing the danger to which he was exposed, immediately demanded to capitulate; and, marching out on the seventh, the Imperialists took possession of the place. Afterwards general *Heisler* marched towards *Segedin*, and from thence took the route of *Esseck* ², where the prince of *Baden* arrived on the sixteenth of *August*. The army afterwards encamping in an advantageous post above *Peterwaradin*, threw two bridges over the *Danube* for the convenience of foraging and provisions, and watched the motions of the *Turks*. But the new grand vizier, *Haly*, continuing in his camp at *Belgrade*, the prince of *Baden* resolved to go and attack his intrenchments; yet the heavy rains that immediately followed, made him abandon that enterprize, and think only of putting his troops into winter-quarters.

The duke of Lorges defeats 4000 horse, commanded by the duke of Wirtemberg, and takes the duke prisoner.

ON the *Rhine* the allies had two small armies, that acted separately, under the command of the landgrave of *Hesse-Cassel* and the margrave of *Bareith*. But the duke of *Lorges* advancing towards the *Rhine* with thirty-six thousand *French*, and a great train of artillery, it was resolved, in a council of war, that the two armies should join, which was accordingly done: but the landgrave, marching afterwards to besiege *Eberenburg*, was informed, by an express from the margrave, that the *French* were moving towards him. He immediately sent four thousand dragoons to his assistance; and the duke of *Wirtemberg*, advancing with four thousand horse, posted himself near *Edelsheim*, with a design to amuse the *French* till the margrave's army should be reinforced. But *Lorges*, taking the advantage of a great fog, surprised the duke in his camp, and, charging so briskly that the *Germans* had not time to put themselves in a posture of defence, he took the duke, with several officers, and about four hundred soldiers prisoners, and killed about one thousand of the enemy upon the spot. The duke being sent to *Paris*, the *French* afterwards penetrated as far as *Stutgard*, the capital of *Wirtemberg*, laid the country under contribution, and obliged the landgrave to raise the siege of *Eberenburg*, and repass the *Rhine* above *Binghen*. The count of *Stirum* afterwards joining the landgrave to cover *Rhingen*, they put their troops into winter-quarters in the circles of *Franconia*, *Suabia*, and the *Rhine* ³.

¹ Europ. Hist. t. i. p. 1086. Lettres Hist. Février, 1692, p. 222. ² Theat. Europ. ad An. 1692. Diar. Europ. ad An. 1692. ³ BARRE, t. x. p. 295.

THE elector of *Bavaria*, who was now governor of the *Spanish Netherlands*, had put these provinces in a better state than formerly; yet he could not hinder the king of *France* from attempting the siege of *Namur*. *Louis* the fourteenth invested the town himself, and pursued the siege with such vigour and diligence, that in four days he made himself master of all the outworks; after which the garrison surrendered the town upon articles, and retired into the citadel. The *French*, encouraged by the presence of their sovereign, pushed the siege with the utmost activity; and resolving to carry the place at all adventures, by repeated assaults they drove the besieged from their posts^a, and on the twenty-first of *June* obliged them to surrender. All the attempts of the prince of *Orange* and the elector of *Bavaria* to relieve the place were ineffectual; the *maréchal* of *Luxemburg*, at the head of an army of seventy thousand men, having orders to cover the siege, and the great rains that fell at that time preventing the allies from passing the *Mehaigne* to attack *Luxemburg's* army. When the citadel of *Namur* surrendered, the allies lay encamped at *Melle*: from *Melle* they passed over the *Stein*, and were joined by twelve thousand *Hanoverians*. On the second of *August* the allies being informed of the disposition of *maréchal Luxemburg's* army, which possessed some posts near *Steinkirk*, they attacked the *French* infantry, before they had time to put themselves in a posture of defence. The duke of *Luxemburg*, trusting to the intelligence he had with the elector of *Bavaria's* valet-de-chambre, was surprised at this attack; but the treachery of the valet having been discovered, the allies forced him to give the *French* general false information, to conceal from him their real design^b. *Luxemburg*, galloping to the right, found the brigade de *Bourbonnois* drove from the height in great disorder, and the allies masters of their ground and artillery. After two attacks without success, he put himself at the head of the brigade of guards, and forced the prince of *Orange* to retire. The duke of *Wurtemberg* came to the assistance of the prince, and sustained the attacks of the *French* for a long while; but the dragoons of the marquis de *Boufflers* coming fresh to the engagement, the allies were obliged to retreat.

The allies attack the duke of Luxemburg, at Steinkirk, but are obliged to retreat.

In *Italy* the allies were superior to *Catinat*; for the *French*, chiefly regarding the war in *Flanders*, desired only to defend what they had gained on this side; but the duke of *Savoy*,

^a Europ. Hist. t. ii. p. 1197. Lettres Hist. Juin, 1692, p. 629, &c. JUILLET, p. 684. ^b Europ. Hist. t. ii. p. 1231. Mem. de la Guerre, t. i. p. 134.

The duke of Savoy enters France, and raises contributions in Dauphiny having disposed of several parties into the vallies, and other places, for securing the country, marched in the month of *July* at the head of twenty thousand men into *France*; and pillaging several villages in *Dauphiny*, he made himself master of the castle of *Guillestre*. Afterwards he attacked *Ambrun*, which surrendered after nine days siege. Here he found twenty pieces of cannon, and one hundred thousand livres, by seizing the pay of the *French* king's troops, and laying the city and neighbouring villages under contribution. From *Ambrun* the army marched to *Gap*, a city upon the frontiers of *Provence*, whose inhabitants opened their gates, and readily consented to pay contribution, to preserve their houses from being pillaged and burnt; a treatment which near eighty castles and villages received from the *Germans*, in retaliation of the barbarities committed by the *French* in the *Palatinate*.

BUT the duke of *Saxony* falling sick of the small-pox, a spirit of division breaking out among the generals, and winter approaching, the allies thought proper to abandon their conquests; and having burnt and plundered the country, they retired before the mountains should be shut up by the snow.

A. D.
1692.
A ninth electorate erected in the empire, in favour of the duke of Hanover.

THIS year the Protestant interest in *Germany* was strengthened, by the creation of a ninth electorate in favour of the duke of *Hanover*. That duke, who had been long in the interest of *France*, had now entered into the grand alliance; and promised great supplies against *France* and the *Turk*, if he might be made an elector of the empire. King *William* concurring to press the matter at the court of *Vienna*, the emperor agreed to it, under pretence that the number of electors ought to be unequal, to prevent the inconveniences of an election, where the votes might be equally divided^a. The duke was supported in his claim only by the electors of *Saxony* and *Brandenburg*; the other electors, both ecclesiastic and laic, and the college of the cities, opposing it with great warmth^b. Their deputies at the diet of *Ratisbon* represented, that it was with great astonishment they heard that the emperor designed to erect a new electorate, without the participation and consent of the states of the empire: nevertheless, they hoped that, regarding the antient customs and constitutions of the empire, he would suspend the investiture of this ninth electorate till the result of the deliberations of the three colleges should be known.

LEOPOLD, without having regard to these remonstrances, on the nineteenth of *December* gave the investiture of the new

^a BARRE, t. x. p. 299.
RINCK, p. 1148.

^b Mem. de Branden. p. 199.
STRUV. per. x. sect. xi. p. 4013.

electorate to *Ernest-Augustus*, with the title of elector of *Brunswick*, and great marshal of the empire. The deputies at *Ratisb. n.*, being informed of the investiture, immediately drew up a manifesto, representing to his imperial majesty the grievances of their masters, and complaining of the investiture as contrary to the Golden Bull, and several capitulations confirmed by successive emperors; therefore they declared the investiture given to the duke of *Hanover* null^c; and that they would not acknowledge him as an elector, resolving to adhere to the Golden Bull, the treaties of *Westphalia*, and other fundamental laws of the empire. This dispute continued for some time in terms of negotiation with the princes opposing the investiture, who contented themselves to renew their protestations afterwards in the conferences held at *Ryswick* for the general peace.

THE emperor, finding his cities dispeopled, and his treasures greatly exhausted, had, during the winter, made proposals of peace to the *Turks*, which were by them rejected; therefore he resolved to begin the campaign early upon the *Rhine*, and in *Hungary*: and raising the militia of *Bohemia*, *Austria*, the *Milanese*, and other hereditary countries, he pressed the princes and cities to hasten the march of their troops. But many of the states of *Germany*, dissatisfied with the war, and the new electorate which *Leopold* had erected, were not much disposed to obey; so that they acted slowly, and with little vigour, and were likewise retarded by some private disputes about the command.

A. D.
1693.

THE *French* army, being assembled at *Little Holland* near the *Rhine*, on the seventeenth of *May* passed that river near *French Philipsburg*, without opposition; and the marquis *de Chamilly*, taking *Heidelberg* with twenty thousand *French*, encamped before *Heidelberg*; while the duke *de Lorges*, at the head of thirty thousand men, crossed the mountains to oppose the prince of *Baden*, who was encamped under *Heilbron* with a very small army. The marquis *de Chamilly*, finding that the prince of *Baden* was not yet in a condition to act offensively, pressed the siege vigorously; and having gained the suburbs, and killed five hundred of the garrison, he entered the town by the fort of *the Star*, which the besieged had abandoned. The governor of the castle, seeing the *French* masters of the town, where they put all to fire and sword, offered to capitulate; and the articles being signed, the garrison marched out on the twenty-fourth of *May*, with two pieces of cannon, and all their baggage, and

^c HEROLD. part i. p. 315. THUCYDIDUS Elect. Juris Publ. c. ii. and iii.

were

were conducted to *Wimpfen*. The *French*, being masters of the castle, set fire to it, and reduced it to ashes, not sparing even the tombs of the electors and palatine princes. Soon after the duke *de Lorges* advanced towards the *Neckar*, with a design to attack the prince of *Baden*; but being twice repulsed in attempting to pass that river, he was forced to abandon his enterprize, with the loss of near one thousand men. The dauphin afterwards, arriving with a strong reinforcement, resolved to force the intrenchments of the Imperialists; but marching to the rising-grounds at *Otmarshelm*, within cannon-shot of the enemy, he perceived that their camp was inaccessible; and not being able to force them to quit their intrenchments, he repassed the river; and having put a garrison into *Stuttgart*, and sent a detachment of twelve thousand men into *Piedmont*, and another of ten thousand into *Flanders*, he returned in *August* to *Versailles*. After the departure of the dauphin, the allies obliged the *French* to evacuate the duchy of *Wurtemberg*, and then put their troops into winter-quarters.

IN *Flanders* the *French* were prevented from entering *Brabant* by the diligence of king *William*, who had encamped at *Parke* near *Louvain*; but the duke of *Luxemburg* took *Huy*, and defeated the allies at *Landen*.

THE duke of *Savoy* being recovered from his long indisposition, put himself at the head of the allies in *Italy*, and resolving to drive the *French* out of his territories, he began the campaign with the attack of *Fort St. George*, which completed the blockade of *Casal*; afterwards the army marching to *Pignerol*, bombarded the town; but while they were deliberating about the siege, *Catinat*, who had received a reinforcement of twelve thousand men from the *Rhine*, descended into the plains, and gave the duke such apprehensions for *Turin*, that he drew off from *Pignerol*, and encamped at *Marlaglia*. *Catinat* approaching, the duke, contrary to the opinion of prince *Eugene*, and the duke of *Schomberg*, resolved to hazard a battle. On the fourth of *October*, about nine in the morning, the two armies engaged, and, after a desperate dispute on both sides, the honour of the action fell to the *French*. The duke of *Schomberg* died soon after of his wounds at *Turin*: the allied army having encamped under the cannon of that place, while the *French*, after raising great contributions, repassed the mountains, and took winter-quarters in *Dauphiny*, *Provence*, and *Languedoc*.

IN *Hungary* the Imperialists did nothing considerable this year; for the duke *de Croÿ* was obliged to raise the siege of *Belgrade* after thirty-two days open trenches, the grand vizier coming

coming to the relief of the place, with an army of eighty thousand men *. The duke *de Croy* having only eighteen thousand men, quitted his camp, and intrenched himself under the cannon of *Peterwaradin*, while the grand vizier arriving at *Belgrade*, sent out his *Tartars* to pillage the country, who every day had small skirmishes with the Imperialists. Afterwards thirty thousand *Turks* marching into *Transylvania*, and the bashaw who commanded them, leaving the heavy baggage at *Giula*, with three or four thousand men, count *Hofkirken*, who defended the frontiers, put himself at the head of six regiments of dragoons, and attacking the *Turks* who guarded the baggage, killed about one thousand of them, and returning with his booty to the *Feyffe*, posted six regiments of foot, and several regiments of horse, along that river; by which disposition, the *Turks* being prevented from succeeding in their design, retreated, and afterwards put their troops into winter-quarters. The imperial camp being then very sickly, soon after broke up, and the duke *de Croy* repaired to *Vienna*, and represented to the emperor the great necessity of augmenting his troops, as the *Turks* threatened to return in the spring with greater forces.

By the persuasion of the prince of *Baden*, it was resolved A. D. to have a fleet this year upon the *Danube*; but the emperor's 1694. finances being greatly exhausted, to remedy this deficiency The em- commissions were given to private persons, who being in- peror pre- duced with particular privileges, destructive of commerce, pares a fitted out some faics; and to support the expences of the war fleet to act in *Hungary*, a new tax was raised of three crowns upon each on the Da- measure of salt. The difficulty of raising money occasioned nube. a great slowness in their proceedings, so that the army could not assemble in *Hungary* till towards the month of *August*. It was expected that the deposition of the grand vizier would have delayed the progress of the *Turks*; but his successor redoubling his efforts, had given express orders for the speedy march of the troops, the *Tartars* threatened an irruption into *Transylvania*, and the seraskier of *Belgrade*, having passed the *Danube* with an army, had invested *Titoul*.

THE court of *Vienna* was at this time greatly embarrassed for want of money to pay the troops, who demanded with great earnestness, the arrears of two or three months which were due to them. The people refusing to pay the taxes, some lords, faithful subjects of the house of *Austria*, borrowed considerable sums upon their private credit, to pay the

* Gazette de France, a l' An. 1693. Europ. Hist. t. ii. a l' An. 1693.

garrisons of *Peterwaradin*, and the neighbouring cities. The negotiations of the emperor likewise, with the princes of *Germany*, advanced very slowly; for as his coffers were exhausted, the ministers of the other courts did not express such an ardour for his service: but *George* elector of *Saxony*, dying on the seventh of *May*, *Frederic-Augustus*, his brother, who succeeded him, consented to continue the *Saxon* troops in *Hungary*, and to augment those who were to march for the *Rhine*.

The grand
vizier be-
sieges Pe-
terwara-
din with
90,000
men.

THE duke *de Croÿ* having refused the command of the army in *Hungary*, the emperor gave it to count *Caprara*, who left *Vienna* on the twenty-ninth of *July*, with the promise, that in a short time the money necessary for paying the troops, and for other expences, should be sent to him. Mean while the grand vizier, at the head of an army of ninety thousand men, passed the *Save*, and invested *Peterwaradin*. Having encamped within a league of the place, and possessed the rising-grounds upon the banks of the *Danube*, he advanced his fleet of one hundred and ten vessels within cannon-shot of the Imperialists. The *German* army, with a design of assisting the besieged, had continual skirmishes with the *Tartars*, and the cannonading was continued every day with upwards of five hundred pieces of cannon, from both the fleets, and the batteries at land. The presence of the count *Caprara's* army, having prevented the *Turks* from making great progress in the siege, the heavy rains in the end of *September* obliged them at last to abandon it, and go into winter quarters.

FRANCE having suffered greatly by two successive bad harvests, the common people were reduced to misery, and great multitudes perished for want. The extreme poverty of the kingdom obliged *Lewis* the fourteenth to try all possible methods for bringing about a general peace, or at least a separate peace with some of the confederates. In the beginning of this year he made some offers to the duke of *Savoy*, who did not hearken to them: he likewise employed the mediation of the kings of *Sweden* and *Denmark*, for a peace with the emperor and *German* princes; but the preliminary propositions appeared so unsatisfactory to the allies, that they could not be persuaded that he sincerely desired peace, or at least such a one as they desired for their common safety; therefore, as there was no prospect of a just peace, the allies made preparations for the campaign.

THE death of the bishop and prince of *Liege*, gave the *French* a fair prospect at this time, of embroiling the affairs of

the confederates on that side : but the cardinal *Bouillon*, who was supported by the *French*, being rejected by the chapter, the major part of the capitulars chose the elector of *Cologne*, and the rest the grand master of the *Teutonic* order, for their prince and bishop : both the candidates sending to the pope and the emperor to have their respective election confirmed, it was still feared that the election would not be quietly concluded ; but whilst both parties impatiently expected the decision of the see of *Rome*, the contest was determined by the death of the grand master ; so that the elector of *Cologne*, in some time after, obtained the peaceful possession of that bishopric and principality.

THE prince of *Orange*, and the elector of *Bavaria*, at the head of the confederate army in *Flanders*, were encamped at *Tillemont*, whilst the *French* army, under the command of the dauphin, were advanced as far as *Tongres*, where they were joined by the troops of marechal *Boufflers*. Both armies continuing for some time in their posts, the allies at last formed a design of passing the *Scheld* at *Pont d'Espieres*. With this view, on the twenty-fourth of *August*, they detached a body of troops, commanded by the elector of *Bavaria*, to endeavour to take possession of the bridge : but the dauphin, sensible of the danger of allowing the allies to penetrate into *French Flanders*, ordered four thousand dragoons, with each a footman mounted behind him, to march with the utmost dispatch to take possession of the bridge, and throw up some intrenchments to oppose the enemy. The elector of *Bavaria*, upon his arrival, finding the *French* strongly intrenched, did not think it prudent to pursue his enterprize.

THE prince of *Orange*, finding it impossible to attempt any thing on that side, resolved to dispossess the enemy of *Dixmuyde* and *Huy*. This last place, though well fortified, and defended by a good garrison, surrendered on the twenty-seventh of *September*, after eight days open trenches. By this conquest, which was the last expedition of the campaign, the *French* were totally expelled out of the bishopric of *Liege*. The prince of Orange takes Dixmuyde and Huy.

ON the *Rhine* the Imperialists, commanded by prince *Lewis* of *Baden*, lying encamped near *Heilbron*, the marechal *de Loges* having passed the *Rhine*, marched towards them with his army in order of battle ; but finding that the prince of *Baden*, though not yet reinforced with the *Saxons*, had resolution to meet him, he retreated towards *Wiseleck*, passed the *Neckar*, burnt the town of *Laudenburg*, and ruined the flat country. The prince of *Baden*, desirous of engaging the *French*, advanced to *Wiseleck*, an advantageous post, of which he

he took possession after a sharp rencounter with the enemy, who passed the *Rhine* three days after, and encamped between *Manheim* and *Frankendal* ⁹. Soon after the allies decamped from *Stolhom*, and laying a bridge over the *Rhine*, entered *Alsace* on the fourteenth of *September*, and destroying a great quantity of forage, and some magazines, they laid the great bailiage of *Haguenau*, and part of *Lower Alsace*, under contribution. The marechal de *Lorges*, surpris'd with this sudden expedition, marched towards *Landau*, and designing to inclose the *Germans*, he detached the marquis d'*Uxelles*, that marching behind the mountains he might attack their rear, whilst he himself attacked them with the rest of the army: but the prince of *Baden* suspecting his intention, ordered his army to repass the *Rhine*, which then beginning to swell, immediately after overflowed its banks so much, that it was impossible for the *French* to follow him.

The elector of Brandenburg cedes the circle of Schweibus, in Silesia, to the emperor.

THE elector of *Brandenburg*, being ambitious of the title of king, in order to secure the good dispositions of the emperor, whose approbation would influence the votes of the whole *Germanic* body, by a treaty this year, put an end to the differences that had, for some time, subsisted between the houses of *Brandenburg* and *Austria*, with regard to their pretensions to some fiefs in *Bohemia* and *Silesia*. The elector ceded to the emperor the circle of *Schwiebus*, and his imperial majesty granted to the electoral branch of *Brandenburg*, the title of king of *Prussia*, the reversion of the principality of *East-Friesland*, and barony of *Limburg*, a place in the aulic council for a Protestant deputy, and promised to pay the elector two hundred and fifty thousand florins. The treaty was accordingly executed on both sides the year following. ¹⁰

THE duke of *Savoy*, though he openly rejected the proposals made to him from *France*, after his defeat at *Marsaglia*, yet entering into a private negotiation he continued very inactive, and prevented the execution of the schemes formed by prince *Eugene*, general of the army of the empire. The taking of the castle of *St. George*, and the blockade of *Casal*, were the utmost of their expeditions, while marechal *Catinat* observed their motions, being encamped at *Fenestrolles*.

A. D.
1695.

THIS winter the court of *France* flattered their people with a speedy end of the war; and *Lewis* the fourteenth, accepting the mediation of the king of *Sweden*, proposed to make the treaties of *Westphalia* and *Nimeguen* the basis of the negotiation, and that the truce concluded at *Ratisbon* should be renewed

⁹ BARRE, t. X. p. 321.
de Branden. p. 204.

¹⁰ BARRE, t. X. p. 325. Mem.

into a definitive treaty, with some alterations : but some men of great consideration, being sent by the allies as far as *Maestricht*, to see what powers those sent by *France* had brought, they found them so limited, and the preliminaries so high, that the negotiation was soon at an end, or rather never began : and the allies depended upon the success of their arms, as they had made great preparations in *Flanders*.

THE prince of *Orange*, in the *Low Countries*, invested *Namur*, which he reduced after an obstinate siege, while *Villeroy* reduced *Dixmuyde* and *Dense*, and bombarded *Brussels*.

THERE was not any action this year upon the *Rhine*, both armies being so equal in strength, that they could only lie on the defensive. In the month of *May* the *French* raised some redoubts along the *Rhine*, and the *Germans* ordered the fortifications at *Heilbron* to be repaired, and a camp to be marked between the *Rhine* and the *Maine*, from whence their hussars might harass the *French* soldiers and workmen.

IN *Montferrat*, the duke of *Savoy* and prince *Eugene* had ordered six thousand Imperialists, and as many *Spaniards* and *Piedmontese* to march in the beginning of *April*, with twenty-four pieces of cannon, to attack *Casal* : but after the siege was well advanced, there fell such a quantity of snow, that the allies were obliged to go into winter-quarters again. In the month of *June* their army again taking the field, encamped before *Casal*, which capitulated a few days after the trenches were opened. It was agreed that it should be restored to the duke of *Mantua*, after all the fortifications were destroyed ; that the demolishing the out-works should be at the expence of the allies, while the king of *France* demolished the rest. A truce being agreed to during the dismantling of *Casal*, the work went on so slowly, that the whole summer was spent before it was finished.

The allies
take Casal.

IN *Hungary* the Imperialists were obliged to remain upon the defensive, the *Turkish* army being upwards of one hundred thousand men, exclusive of the *Tartars*, and commanded by the Grand Seignior in person. Besides the power of their enemy, the court of *Vienna* had to struggle with domestic difficulties ; for, notwithstanding the heavy taxes upon the people, they were still in great want of money for the necessary expences. The fleet upon the *Danube* was unserviceable for want of sailors ; and a great many officers delayed joining their regiments, till they had assurances of being payed their arrears. The reinforcements likewise of *Saxons* and *Brandenburgers* were yet upon their march, though the summer was far advanced. In the beginning of *August* the elector of *Saxony*, who was to command the *German* army in *Hungary*, repaired

*The Sultan
defeats the
Imperial-
ists under
Veterani.*

repaired to *Peterwaradin*; and being informed that the sultan had made a bridge at *Panzowa*, with a design of taking *Lippa*, and entering *Transylvania*, he left count *Herbeville* with a body of troops to cover *Peterwaradin* and *Titoul*, and marched towards *Betsch* with the rest of the army: from thence he passed the *Teyffe*, resolving to go to the assistance of *Veterani*, who guarded the frontiers of *Transylvania*. But the *Turks*, having the advantage of several days march, sent a detachment of twelve thousand men to take possession of *Titoul*; likewise carried *Lippa* by assault; and afterwards attacking *Veterani*, intirely defeated him, though with very great loss to themselves. The remains of his army, to the number of three thousand men, under the command of general *Truchses*, retired to the *Iron-gate*, one of the principal passes on the frontiers of *Transylvania*. At last, after thirty days hard march, the Imperialists, under the command of the elector of *Saxony*, encamped within a few leagues of general *Truchses*. The sultan, being informed of the elector's arrival, on the sixth of *October* repassed the *Danube* with his troops, and, taking the route of *Adrianople*, left the grand vizier to order the preparations for next campaign, which he resolved to begin early.

THE emperor, seeing the necessity of having a strong army in *Hungary*, engaged the *German* princes to augment their contingent; and treated with the king of *Denmark* for some regiments; but that prince, having then some difference with the duke of *Holstein*, would not consent to part with his troops¹. *Frederic*, duke of *Holstein*, having succeeded his father, who died this year on the fifth of *January*, proposed to call an assembly of the states, that the clergy and nobility of the two dutchies of *Holstein* and *Sleswick* might pay him their ordinary homage; and wrote to the king of *Denmark*, joint sovereign of the dutchy of *Holstein*, for his approbation. As *Frederic* had not named the regencies of the cities of *Lubeck* and *Hamburgh* among those who ought to pay homage, and as this omission had been practised during the last duke's reign, against which the *Danish* deputies had protested, in order to preserve the rights of their master, the king of *Denmark* desired the duke to defer the solemnity of the homage, assuring him, that the delay should be no prejudice to the common rights.

A. D.
1696.

THE duke, not hearkening to the representations of the king of *Denmark*, had entered into an alliance with *Sweden*, and taken some troops of that crown into his service, design-

¹ PUFFEND. l. vii. p. 76. BARRE, t. x. p. 340.

ing to cause the homage to be paid him, without any more regard to the king of *Denmark*. The king being informed of this, declared to the duke, that, notwithstanding the irregularity of his conduct, he would still observe mildness and moderation, and not oppose the exercise of the acts of common government; provided that he first communicated the testament of the duke his father, renewed the antient unions, which ought to be done at the beginning of each reign, and dismissed the troops which he had taken into his service. The duke refusing positively to comply with these conditions, the king immediately prohibited the exercise of the acts of common government; and was preparing to have recourse to force, when the princes, mediators of the treaty of *Altena*, prevailed with the two parties to terminate their difference in an amicable manner in a congress held at *Pinneberg*; but the treaty was not faithfully observed by either of the parties.

THE allies, though weary of the war, yet hoping, from *The allies* the late success of their arms, to oblige the king of *France* to *burn the* to offer more reasonable conditions than those already proposed *French* by him, they made great preparations for the campaign; and *magazines* on the thirteenth of *March* forty squadrons marching from *at Givet*. *Namur*, the greatest part of them invested *Dinant*; while the rest, under the command of lieutenant-general *Coehorn*, burnt the *French* magazines at *Givet*. *Marechal Villeroy* having taken the field, the prince of *Orange* soon after appeared at the head of the allies, and encamped near *Wavre*. Afterwards quitting that post, and marching towards *Gemblours*, he obliged *marechal Boufflers* to decamp, and pass the *Sambre*, to cover the places situated on that river, and on the *Maese*. Both armies seemed to have grand designs, yet they executed nothing; but fatigued one another by marches and counter-marches betwixt the *Maese* and the *Schelde*. The generals on both sides practised all the stratagems of war, and sought the advantages of a victory without the effusion of blood.

ON the *Rhine*, as well as in *Flanders*, both armies continued on the defensive. About the twenty-third of *June* the *French* passed the *Rhine*, and encamped within a league of *Eppingen*, where the Imperialists were intrenched. Towards the end of the campaign the prince of *Baden* passed the *Rhine* in his turn near *Mentz*, and advanced to *Newstadt* against the *French*; while general *Thungen* was to have passed the *Rhine* near *Philipsburg*, and attacked them in rear: but the *French*, having notice of his design, detached the marquis *d'Uxelles* to oppose him. The *Germans*, therefore, after having raised great contributions, repassed the *Rhine* in the beginning of *October*, and then marched into winter-quarters.

The duke
of Savoy
concludes a
separate
peace with
France.

THIS year the duke of *Savoy* was drawn off from the grand alliance by the intrigues of the *French* court, seconded by the pope's nuncio and the *Venetian* envoy, who were desirous of sending the *Germans* out of *Italy*, and afraid of the increase of heresy, by the encouragement given to the *Vaudois* and the *French* Protestants. As the duke could not conclude the treaty at *Turin*, being narrowly observed by the lord *Galway*, in the beginning of the year he went, with a small retinue of his own naming, to our *Lady of Loretto*, under pretence of a religious vow. There having concluded the treaty, by the mediation of the agents of *Rome* and *Venice*, he returned to his capital, and, in conjunction with the allies, made great preparations for the campaign. In the mean time marechal *Catinat* marched towards *Turin* with an army of fifty thousand men, with a pretended intention of bombarding that place; but in reality to support the duke, when he should publish his acceptance of the treaty. On the twelfth of *July*, the *French* army threatening the town, he concluded a truce with them for a month, which was afterwards continued to the fifteenth of *September*. The treaty was at last published on the twenty-third of *August*, under the title of the *Neutrality of Italy*; when the duke wrote to the emperor, and the electors of *Bavaria* and *Brandenburg*, desiring them to accede to the neutrality; otherwise he should be obliged to join his arms with those of *France*, to force the *Germans* to observe the peace, or to retire from *Italy*.

IN conformity to the treaty, the king of *France* made a solemn resignation of all pretensions to *Savoy*, and the duke's territories^u; *Pignerol* was demolished; four millions of livres were to be allowed to the duke for reparation of the damages sustained during the war; and a marriage immediately treated of between the duke of *Burgundy* and the princess *Mary-Adelaide*, to be consummated as soon as they should be of age. In the mean time, the allies began to retire out of a country where they were already looked upon as enemies; and marching into the *Milanese*, were followed, at the expiration of the truce, by the duke of *Savoy* at the head of the *French* and his own troops. Thus, by an adventure not to be paralleled in history, the same general commanded two contending armies in one campaign. Four days after the duke's arrival he besieged *Valentia*, in order to oblige the allies to evacuate *Italy*, or to accept of the neutrality. After the siege was far advanced, the allies at last consented to accept of the neutrality, upon condition that three hundred thousand crowns were

^u Europ. Hist. t. ii. p. 1771. LEBEN. EUGENII, p. 498.

paid to the *Germans*, in lieu of winter-quarters. Thus was concluded the particular peace of *Italy*, which hastened the general one the year following.

THE elector of *Saxony*, who commanded in *Hungary*, began the campaign with the siege of *Temeswaer*; but some days after was obliged to abandon his enterprize. Being informed that the *Turks* advanced with a design to force his retrenchments, he marched himself towards them, in order to give them battle*. The grand vizier was then encamped in the plain of *Temeswaer*, with the river *Beghe* in his rear, a marsh on his left, and in his front three rows of waggons, fastened together by chains and ropes. The elector, resolving to fall upon the *Turks* before they had fortified themselves better, ordered six battalions, supported by two regiments of dragoons, to begin the attack. But the *Turks*, sending out twelve thousand chosen horse, repulsed the *Germans*; and forcing the *chevaux de frise*, which covered their infantry, they penetrated to their second line, cutting in pieces all that opposed them. The janissaries also advancing, put the *Germans* into such disorder, that they were obliged to retire, with the loss of six or seven thousand men, killed and wounded, and twenty-three pieces of cannon taken. The Imperialists soon after repassed the *Beghe*; but were attacked on their march by one thousand *Turks*, who put them in disorder, killed many of their men, took a hundred cattle, and several waggons laden with baggage. For eight days together the *Turks* harassed the march of the *Germans*, who were extremely fatigued, having had no rest, being in great want of provisions, and tormented with thirst: at length, by the great care of the elector of *Saxony*, they arrived on the thirtieth of *August* at *Ollasch*, where they found refreshments.

The elector of Saxony attacks the Turks, but is defeated.

THE elector, having afterwards distributed them into winter-quarters, returned to *Dresden*, to endeavour to procure the throne of *Poland*, which was now vacant by the death of *John Sobieski*. The election of a successor, having been delayed almost a whole year by the artifices of the archbishop of *Gesna*, was at last fixed to the twenty-seventh of *June*. During this delay, the elector having gained many of the palatines, and agreed to renounce *Lutheranism*, and profess the *Roman Catholic* religion, proposed himself as a candidate for the throne, and marched his troops towards *Poland*, to be ready to support his interest. On the day of the election he was proclaimed king of *Poland*, and great duke of *Lithuania*, by the bishop of *Cujavia*; though the prince of *Conti*, the other can-

A. D. 1697. Is afterwards chosen king of Poland.

* Europ. Hist. t. ii. STRUV. per. x. sect. xi. p. 4025.

didate, had the majority of votes. Being thus called to the throne, he immediately entered *Poland* at the head of his troops, and being joined by those of the crown, which declared for him, he strengthened his authority through the kingdom; and having forced the prince of *Conti* to retire, secured the quiet possession of it to himself.

The prince
of Baden
takes Ebe-
renburg.
Aeth sur-
renders to
the French.

IN the mean time the hopes of a general peace were not so certain, but that each party thought it necessary still to prepare for war, at the same time naming the generals for the armies, and the plenipotentiaries for the negotiations of peace. On the *Rhine* the allies, after having thrown up intrenchments along the *Neckar* and the *Rhine*, encamped at *Eppingen*, whilst the *French* army, commanded by marechal *Choiseul*, passed the *Rhine* on the fourth of *July*, and posted themselves at *Stolhof*. The two armies afterwards lay several days within sight of each other, but declined coming to an engagement; and the *French* marching towards *Strasburg*, the marquis of *Baden* passed the *Rhine*, and ordered major-general *Ogilvy* to besiege *Eberenburg*, which surrendered after eight days.

The *French* having withdrawn their forces from *Italy*, sent *Catinat* into *Flanders*, who, at the head of forty thousand men, laid siege to *Aeth*, while *Villeroy* and *Boufflers*, with two other armies, opposed the allies, who made some motions to secure the place: but as they must have hazarded a battle against an army much superior to theirs, they resolved, in a council of war, to entrench themselves in an advantageous post, in order to secure *Brabant*. *Aeth* surrendering to the *French*, they afterwards proposed to take possession of the post of *Anderlach*, by means of which they could have made themselves masters of *Brussels* and *Vilvord*; but finding the allies so advantageously situated, and the prince of *Orange* having sent a great reinforcement to *Brussels*, they thought proper to alter their design.

THE north of *Germany* was at this time disturbed with new commotions; the duke of *Strelitz* having called in *Swedish* troops to enable him to take possession of the duchy of *Gustraw*, pretending to the succession of the late duke *Gustavus Adolphus*, who died without male-issue. The envoy of the emperor representing to the directors of the circle of *Lower Saxony*, that the duchy of *Gustraw* ought to be put under sequestration, till the rights of the pretenders to the succession were determined, the duke of *Strelitz* submitted to the commission; but the *Swedish* troops refused to evacuate the city of *Gustraw*, without orders from the king their master, and likewise denied admittance to the duke of *Mecklenburg*, who

was declared successor by the emperor. The directors of the circle joined their forces to those of *Sweden*, pretending that their privileges were violated by *Leopold's* determination.

THE plenipotentiaries of the allies being arrived at the *Hague*, while those of *France* resided at *Delft*, it was resolved to hold the conferences at a palace of the prince of *Orange*, situated betwixt these two places, and close by the village of *Ryswick*; and the preliminaries being settled, baron *Lillieroot*, the mediator, appointed the first conference to be held on the ninth of *May*. Some days after the imperial plenipotentiaries delivered to the mediator their demands in the name of the emperor and empire; and some of the *German* ministers, at the same time, gave in the particular pretensions of the princes their masters. The *French*, in their turn, proposed the conditions according to which they were ready to make a peace, and declared, that if the allies did not accept of these offers before the twenty-first of *September*, they would reckon themselves free to propose new articles*. The imperial ministers made a tedious answer to the plan proposed by *France*, as the emperor sought all means to retard the peace, and desired the continuance of the grand alliance, to assist him in the design he had of placing the archduke *Charles*, his youngest son, upon the throne of *Spain*, in case of the death of his Catholic majesty, who was at present in such a declining state of health, that the imperial court thought he had but few months to live. The same reason that made the emperor desire the continuance of the grand alliance, obliged the king of *France* to hasten the peace; for he likewise intended the succession of that monarchy for the duke of *Anjou*, the second son of the dauphin: therefore, desiring chiefly to satisfy the rest of the allies, he made large offers to the states of *Holland* and *Spain*. The day fixed by *France* for the termination of the conferences being at last come, the *English*, *Spanish*, and *Dutch* plenipotentiaries signed the treaty, while the imperial and electoral ministers, who were present in the hall, entered a protestation against the proceedings of the allies.

NEVERTHELESS, the Imperialists thought proper to agree to a cessation of arms; and expresses were dispatched to the respective armies upon the *Rhine*, to discontinue all acts of hostility. The plenipotentiaries of the empire and *France*, then resuming their conferences, endeavoured to settle the remaining points in controversy: but the *French* now seeing the empire under the necessity of accepting the conditions proposed by them, absolutely refused to part with *Strasburg*, but ceded

* BARRE, t. x. p. 365.

Philipsburg, Friburg, Brisack; and the forts on the other side the *Rhine*, as equivalents. At length the emperor, considering that *Brisack* and *Friburg* were places belonging to his hereditary dominions, consented to the exchange; and all other articles being agreed upon, the treaty was signed on the thirtieth of *October*, and ratified by the emperor on the seventh of *December*, in his own name, and the name of the empire.

By the treaty *Lewis* the fourteenth engaged to restore to the emperor and the empire, the fort of *Kell*, *Philipsburg*, *Friburg*, and all his other conquests beyond *Alsace*; and likewise that all the re-unions made by the chambers of *Metz*, *Besançon*, and *Brisack*, since the treaty of *Nimeguen*, should be made void: that *Lorrain* should be restored according to the conditions of that treaty; only, that the fortifications of *Nancy* should be destroyed^r. On the other side, *Strasburg*, and all depending upon it on the left side of the *Rhine*, were ceded to *France*; the duke of *Neuburg* was re-established in the *Palatinate*; the pretensions of the princess, which were disputed by the duke, were referred to the arbitration of the pope, and till the difference was decided, the elector was obliged to pay every year one hundred thousand florins of the *Rhine* to the dutchess of *Orleans*.

DURING the negotiations at *Ryswick*, the ambassadors of the Protestant princes delivered a memorial to the mediator, demanding, that in *Strasburg*, and all the other cities of *Alsace* to be ceded to *France*, the *Lutheran* religion should be tolerated, and enjoy all the rights and privileges secured by the treaty of *Westphalia*^z. The *French* desiring some time to answer, afterwards, in concert with the imperial plenipotentiaries, neglected this representation, and inserted in the treaty, that the *Roman Catholic* religion, in the places to be delivered up, should remain in the same state in which it was at that time. Thus, no notice being taken of the Protestants, several churches were to be left to the Papists, which, according to the laws of the empire, and the preliminaries of the treaty, ought to have been taken from them, and restored to the Protestants. The ministers of the electors, and other Protestant princes, refused to sign the treaty till this clause was altered; and published a memorial justifying their refusal, and shewing, that this article in the treaty was contrary to the laws of the empire, the peace of religion, and the treaty of *Westphalia*: but as the Popish princes and the emperor had made no objection, the *French* refused to make any

^r Histoire d'Alsace, t. ii.
p. 121.

^z Memoires de Ryswick, t. iv.

alteration in the treaty for the sake of the Protestants, and only allowed them six weeks to accede to it, threatening them after that time with the whole forces of *France* in case of their refusal.

C H A P. XXIII.

Containing the Progress of a new Alliance against France.

THE elector of *Saxony* being engaged in quieting the tumults in his new kingdom of *Poland*, *Leopold* gave the command of his troops in *Hungary* to prince *Eugene*, who had already become famous by his actions upon the *Rhine*, and in *Italy*. The prince repairing to *Virismarton*, in *Upper Hungary*, put himself at the head of the Imperialists, and ordered prince *Vaudemont* to disperse a body of malcontents, who, commanded by one of *Tekeli's* captains, ravaged the country, took *Tokai* and several other places, putting to death all who offered to resist them. Upon the approach of prince *Vaudemont*, the malcontents retired into *Tokai*; which place was attacked with so much vigour by the Imperialists, that they carried it by assault in a few days, putting most of the malcontents to the sword: those that remained having fled to *Potack*, the prince pursued them, cutting to pieces all that resisted, and forcing the rest to deliver up their captain, and lay down their arms.

In the mean time, the *Turkish* army, which was three times the number of the Imperialists, and commanded by the Grand Seignior, marched from *Belgrade* with an intention of besieging *Peterwaradin*, while the fleet, composed of one hundred and six vessels, sailed up the *Danube*, and passed the *Save*. Prince *Eugene* being too weak to oppose the enemy, waited for a strong reinforcement from *Transylvania*, and put a garrison into *Titoul*. After the reinforcement had joined him, he marched his army towards the sultan, who judging it impossible to besiege *Peterwaradin* in sight of the imperial army, resolved to make an irruption into *Transylvania*. Having taken and burnt *Titoul*, he passed the *Danube*, and marched up both sides of the *Theysse*. Prince *Eugene* having heard that *Tekeli* had persuaded the Grand Seignior to besiege *Segedin*, sent a strong detachment to reinforce the garrison, and continued

*Is entirely
defeated by
prince Eu-
gene, with
the loss of
30,000
men, &c.*

tinued his march to watch the motions of the *Turks*^a. The sultan being encamped near *Zenta*, on both sides of the *Theysse*, over which he had thrown a bridge, prince *Eugene* formed the resolution of attacking his camp. On the eleventh of *September* in the morning, he put his army in march in twelve columns, and about four in the afternoon, having formed them in order of battle, he advanced against the enemy, who were defended by three intrenchments, and seventy pieces of heavy cannon^b. The *Turks* began the engagement with their artillery, which was answered by the Imperialists, who at the same time advanced with their right towards the river, and their left towards the country. About six in the evening, coming up to the intrenchments, they attacked them with such impetuosity, that the *Turks* were immediately broke, and put into confusion; and the grand vizier being killed whilst he was endeavouring to rally them, they made no more resistance, but fled in disorder. The right of the Imperialists having broke down the bridge, intercepted those that fled, and put them all to the sword, not sparing even the bashaws who offered them money for their lives. The ground was covered with twenty thousand dead, and ten thousand more were drowned in the *Theysse*. The loss of the Imperialists was very inconsiderable, having only four hundred and thirty men killed, and fifteen hundred wounded. There was taken from the infidels nine hundred waggons, six thousand camels loaded with provisions, seven thousand horses, seventy-two heavy cannon, seven horse-tails, fifteen thousand tents, with that of the Grand Seignior, and his chariot, in which were ten women of the seraglio, the military chest, in which were found three millions, and the archives of the chancery of the sultan^c.

THAT prince had fled to *Belgrade* with a small body of horse, and left the remains of his army intrenched on the opposite bank of the *Theysse*, while prince *Eugene* marched into *Bosnia*, took *Seraglio*, the capital, by surprize, destroyed the fortresses of *Dobay*, *Magloy*, and *Brandack*, and loading his army with booty, led them back into winter-quarters, returning himself to *Vienna*.

A. D.
1698.

THE troops that had been employed upon the *Rhine*, and in *Italy*, having now marched into *Hungary*, and being assembled at *Salankemen*, between *Peterwaradin* and *Belgrade*, prince *Eugene* repaired thither early in the spring, with a design to

^a *Theat. Europ.* t. xv. p. 118, &c. *LEBEN. EUGEN.* part i. p. 516, &c. ^b *Eur. Hist.* t. ii. p. 1869. *Batailles de Prince Eugene*, t. i. ^c *BARRE*, t. x. p. 376.

open the campaign before the *Turks* were joined by the khan of the *Tartars*, who was on his march with thirty thousand men. The prince made many attempts to draw the enemy to an engagement; but they still continuing in their camp, he proposed in a council of war to besiege *Temefwaer*, which, if it was taken, would confine the infidels to *Walachia*, and prevent them from giving any assistance to the malcontents of *Transylvania* and *Upper Hungary*; but the place was so well provided with every thing for a siege, and the *Ottoman* army was now so strongly reinforced by the junction of the *Tartars*, and the garrisons of several towns, that it was thought proper not to undertake that enterprize. Prince *Eugene*, afterwards hearing of a great convoy that was preparing for *Temefwaer*, made all the necessary dispositions to intercept it; but his design being betrayed by a hussar that deserted to the enemy, the convoy was stopped, and the Imperialists obliged to return to their camp. Thus the whole campaign having passed over without any action, both parties now waited the issue of the conferences for peace to be held at *Carlowitz*, a small town upon the *Danube* near *Peterwaradin*.

THE emperor, tho' he was now delivered from the war with *France*, yet, as his revenues were quite exhausted, he very willingly hearkened to proposals of peace; and the Grand Seignior, fearing a revolution upon his bad success, had prevailed with the king of *Great Britain*, and the states-general of the United Provinces, to act as mediators in negotiating a peace. The first conference was held on the first of *November*, and the preliminaries being quickly agreed upon, the treaty was signed on the twenty-sixth of *January* in the year following, between the sultan on one part, and the house of *Austria*, the *Venetians*, *Poland*, and *Muscovy*, on the other: *Transylvania* was ceded to the emperor, with the conquests which he had made in *Hungary*, and a truce was agreed to between the emperor and the *Porte* for twenty-five years^d. The *Turks* being able to obtain nothing for *Tekeli*, as an acknowledgment of his services, they ceded to him *Lugos*, *Carenfibes*, and *Vidin*, with the title of a principality.

THIS year there was some opposition to the execution of the treaty of *Ryswick*, by the Protestants and the elector-palatine. The Protestants complained to the diet against the fourth article of the treaty, concerning religion, as a formed design between the emperor and the king of *France*, to destroy the Protestant religion in *Germany*: but far from having

A peace concluded between the emperor and the Turks at Carlowitz.

^d DUMONT Corps Diplom. a l'An. 1699. Bat. de Prince Eugene, t. i. p. 61.

that satisfaction which they desired, they were only told, that the article in the treaty concerning religion was conformable to that of *Westphalia*, the Catholics being left to enjoy the free exercise of their religion in Protestant countries, and Protestants enjoying the same privileges in Catholic countries. The elector-palatine, under pretence of not being fully re-established in all his rights, refused to pay the one hundred thousand florins to the dutchess of *Orleans*, according to his agreement. To prevent this refusal from troubling the peace of the empire, both parties consented to refer their reciprocal pretensions to the arbitration of the emperor's ministers at *Frankfort*.

Death of
the duke of
Hanover.

ERNEST-AUGUSTUS, duke of *Hanover*, dying on the twenty-fourth of *June*, without ever having been admitted into the electoral college, his son *George-Lewis*, who succeeded him, met likewise with the same opposition; for though he received the investiture of the electorate from the emperor in the month of *January* following, yet the electors and princes opposing him, presented a memorial to the kings of *France* and *Sweden*, guarantees of the treaty of *Westphalia*^c; shewing, that the erection of that electorate was contrary to the *Golden Bull*, and other constitutions of the empire. The two kings laid these complaints before the court of *Vienna*, who did not much regard them, hoping that the opposition would insensibly drop, when the fear of the tendency of the emperor's proceedings was abated.

A. D.
1700.

MEAN while, the king of *England* and the states of *Holland* took measures to preserve peace between the houses of *Austria* and *Bourbon*. As the king of *Spain*, whose life was now despaired of, had no children, and the young electoral prince of *Bavaria*, whom he had appointed his heir, was lately dead, it was thought prudent, in order to avoid a war, to regulate the succession to his estates by a treaty of partition before his death. The only pretenders to succession, by birth, were the dauphin and *Joseph* king of the *Romans*. The dauphin, being the son of the eldest daughter, seemed to have the best title; but *Maria-Theresa*, his mother, having renounced all right to the succession of *Spain*, the emperor justly insisted upon a preferable claim. *Lewis* the fourteenth, from a pretence of moderation, and love of peace, did not insist upon the whole succession for the dauphin, but acceded to the partition; by which the dauphin was to have the kingdoms of *Naples* and *Sicily*, with their dependencies, the dutchy of *Lorraine*, the marquise of *Final*, and the province of *Guipuscoa*;

^c Mem. de George I. t. i.

the duke of *Lorrain* was to have the *Milanese*; and the archduke all the rest of the *Spanish* monarchy. The *French* king and his son appeared satisfied with the partition, and bound themselves not to accept any will, testament, or donation, contrary to the treaty. Nevertheless, the greatest part of the troops of *France* moved towards *Spain*; and the ministers of *Lewis* the fourteenth, at that court, having gained over the cardinal *Portocarrero*, and many of the *grande*s, who had an aversion to the *Germans*, they persuaded their king to sign a will, upon his death-bed, in favour of the duke of *Anjou*, second son to the dauphin. The emperor, who had all along refused to accede to the treaty of partition, as being rightful heir to the whole, now likewise declared against the will. He protested against all that had been done as null and void; and that he might not give apprehensions to the princes of *Germany*, by claiming the succession himself, he declared the archduke *Charles*, his second son, king of *Spain*, and only claimed the *Milanese* as a fief of the empire. The king of *Spain* dying on the first of *November*, *Lewis* the fourteenth immediately accepted of the will. He sent the duke of *Anjou* into *Spain*, ordered *French* garrisons into the *Spanish Netherlands* and the dutchy of *Milan*, and a squadron of ships to the *West Indies*.

THE *French*, by sending garrisons into the *Milanese* and *Flanders*, greatly alarmed the emperor and the *Dutch*. *Leopold*, claiming the dutchy of *Milan* as a fief of the empire, devolved to him by the death of the king of *Spain* without issue, ordered prince *Vaudemont*, governor of the *Milanese*, and likewise the cities of that dutchy, to swear allegiance to him; but *Philip* the fifth, the new king of *Spain*, had prevented him, and received the homage of the governor and the states before the arrival of the emperor's messenger. *Leopold*, then resolving to have recourse to arms, ordered a body of twenty-nine thousand men to march into *Italy* under the command of prince *Eugene*, and negotiated alliances with the other powers in *Europe*. The kings of *Denmark*, *Sweden*, and *Poland*, refused to engage in a league against *France*; and the *Swiss* cantons, and the republic of *Venice*, declared that they would observe an exact neutrality: but the elector of *Brandenburg* having for a long time been ambitious of the title of king^s, *Leopold* secured him to his interest, by consenting to acknowledge him as king of *Prussia*; for which favour the elector engaged to furnish ten thousand men at his own expence during the war, and likewise maintain a com-

A. D.
1701.

The elector
of Bran-
denburg
acquires
the title of
king of
Prussia.

^s Mem. Negoc. par LAMBERTI, t. i. p. 381.

pany in the garrison of *Philipsburg*. The king of *Portugal*, after many delays, at last he began a treaty with *France* and *Spain*. The king of *England* and the states of *Holland* had not yet declared themselves: but the *French*, uneasy at their preparations, endeavoured to amuse them, by sending count *d'Avaux* to the *Hague*. After many conferences, the negotiation was at last broke up, the *French* refusing to evacuate the *Spanish Netherlands*, or give any satisfaction to the emperor.

Prince Eugene
defeats the
French at
Carpi,

PRINCE *Eugene*, having arrived in *Italy*, made a feint of passing the *Po* near *Ferrara*. Having thus amused the *French*, he passed the *Adige* near *Carpi*, and advanced to *Albano*, within two miles of *Verona*. Upon his approach *Catinat* decamped, and posted five thousand of his men at *Carpi*, and the rest at *Ostiglia*. Prince *Eugene* attacking the forces posted at *Carpi*, after a brisk engagement drove them from their posts, took one hundred prisoners, and the greatest part of their baggage. In several other skirmishes the *Germans* having the advantage, *Lewis* the fourteenth sent *Villeroy* into *Italy*, with orders to march against the enemy. Prince *Eugene*, having then no place of defence to retire to, in case of a defeat, had fortified his camp at *Chiari* with strong intrenchments; and, being informed of the design of the enemy, disposed his army in order to receive them. On the first of September the *French*, having passed the *Oglio*, attacked the *German* camp with great resolution; but being received with firmness, after an engagement of four hours they were repulsed, with the loss of five thousand men. Afterwards, their army being attacked with sickness, they quitted the field, and retired into winter-quarters. Towards the end of the campaign the *Germans* laid all the *Mantuan* under contribution, except *Mantua* and *Goits*; and, continuing in motion all the winter, they took several places on the *Oglio*, which greatly enlarged their quarters.

and afterwards
at
Chiari.

As the war between the emperor and *France* did not directly regard the empire, but only the succession to the crown of *Spain*, several princes of the empire assembled at *Heilbrun*, and concluded a treaty of neutrality. The electors of *Bavaria*, *Cologne*, and *Mentz*, and the circles of *Suabia* and *Francia*, engaged to take no part in the present war. But the emperor having prevailed with the greatest part of the princes to take part with him in the war, the dukes of *Hanover* and *Zell* marched with their troops into the territories of the duke of *Wolfenbuttle*, and made themselves masters of several places, which obliged that duke to quit his engagements with *France*, the elector promising to take into his service those troops he had raised to serve *Lewis* the fourteenth. The *Dutch* likewise
being

being informed that the ~~emperor~~ *emperor* *Cologne* desired some *French* troops to enter his country, ~~given to~~ *to* his territories, and took possession of several of his ~~towns~~ *towns*. Representing to the king of *England*, that the *French* ~~and~~ put formidable garrisons into the strong towns in *Spanish Flanders*, were drawing a line from the *Schelde* to the *Maese*, were making great magazines in *Brabant*, *Guelderland*, and *Namur*, and building forts under the cannon of the towns belonging to the states, that prince concluded an alliance with them and the emperor, which was signed at the *Hague* on the seventh of *September*, and known afterwards by the name of the *triple Alliance*. By this treaty it was stipulated, that if, in the space of two months, the *French* king did not give satisfaction to the demands of the allies, the parties concerned should mutually assist each other with their whole strength.

An alliance concluded between the emperor, England, and Holland.

MARECHAL *Villeroy*, having left his head-quarters at *Cremona*, and repaired to *Milan* with several of the officers of the garrison, to be present at the diversions celebrated in that city in the month of *January*, prince *Eugene* formed the design of surprising *Cremona*. Having ordered prince *Thomas* to march from the *Parmesan* with eight thousand men, to be ready at a certain time to take possession of the bridge upon the *Po*, he himself marched secretly on the other side of the river towards the town; and sending in a small body of men, thro' the ruins of an old aqueduct, who quickly made themselves masters of one of the gates, he entered the city with four thousand men, before the garrison had any apprehension of his being near them^k. The *Germans* were opposed by one regiment at first, till the rest of the garrison put themselves in a posture of defence; then the skirmishes became very warm, the Imperialists still pushing forwards to the other side of the town, wanting to make themselves masters of the gate of the bridge. *Villeroy*, who had returned from *Milan* the evening before, awaking with the disturbance, ran out into the street, and was taken prisoner by the *Germans*^l. The garrison, by this time, being thoroughly alarmed, had secured the gate of the bridge, and the body of troops, that marched from the *Parmesan*, coming too late, had no access, which delay obliged prince *Eugene* to think of a retreat. Finding it impossible to keep possession of the town with the few troops he had, after skirmishing the whole day, he retired at night by the gate of *St. Margaret*, carrying marechal *Villeroy*, and several other prisoners, with him.

^k LEBEN. EUGENII, part ii. p. 100. Lettres Hist. Mars & Mai, 1702.

^l BARRE, t. x. p. 411.

THE *French*, having then no other enemy to contend with but prince *Eugene*, in the beginning of *March*, sent twenty-five thousand men into *Italy*, under the command of the duke of *Vendome*, who was to succeed marechal *Villeroy*. The duke having marched thro' the *Venetian* territories, to avoid prince *Eugene's* posts upon the *Oglio*, arrived at the *French* camp, and began with the relief of *Mantua*, which had been blockaded by prince *Eugene* for eight months. In the beginning of *June*, the *French* army encamped within a league of the Imperialists, with the design of offering a battle; but as they were greatly superior, prince *Eugene* declined an engagement, till he should be reinforced by the junction of several garrisons. Hearing that the *French* had a design upon the castle of *Luzara*, the prince marched on the fifteenth of *August* with a design to attack them: at five in the evening the artillery began to play upon the enemy, and soon after both armies engaged; the battle continued for two hours very desperate, and night putting an end to the engagement, both sides claimed the honour of the victory^m, the *Germans* having possessed the field of action, and the *French* afterwards making themselves masters of *Luzara* and *Guaftalla*.

England
and Hol-
land de-
clare war
against
France.

QUEEN *Anne*, who succeeded to the throne of *England* after the death of king *William*, supported the engagements which he had entered into, and on the fourth of *May* declared war against *France* and *Spain*. The *Dutch* having sent some troops to the siege of *Kaiserwert* as auxiliaries to the emperor, followed the example of queen *Anne*, and became principals in the war. *Kaiserwert* having been put into the hands of the *French* by the elector of *Cologne*, and endangering the circle of *Westphalia*, and the states of *Holland*, the emperor ordered the prince of *Nassau-Saurbrug*, to besiege the place. The garrison being frequently reinforced by count *Tallard*, who was encamped on the other side of the *Rhine*, the allies did not make themselves masters of the town before the fifteenth of *June*, after fifty-nine days open trenchesⁿ.

THE duke of *Burgundy* arriving at the *French* camp on the tenth of *June*, marechal *Boufflers* decamped privately with a design of surprising *Nimeguen*; but the earl of *Athlone*, who then commanded the confederate army, hearing of his intention, marched immediately to prevent him, and arrived at the outworks of the place half an hour before him. The *French*, thus disappointed of their design upon *Nimeguen*, filed off towards *Cleve*, venting their rage upon the defenceless country, which they rifled and laid waste.

^m LEBEN. CAROLI. part i. p. 744. Lettres Hist. Sept. 1702.

ⁿ Hist. de Prov. Unies, t. i. l. xvi. p. 437.

WHILE the *French* army encamped at *Cleve*, the earl of *Marlborough* arrived at *Nimeguen* to command the army of the allies; and drawing all the detachments from the garrison that could be spared, he passed the *Maese* below *Grave*, and took the rout of *Brabant*. The duke of *Burgundy* being informed of this, advanced towards *Ruremond*, and reinforced the garrisons in *Spanish Guelderland*: then finding himself obliged to retreat as the confederates advanced, he left the command of the army to marechal *Boufflers*, and departed for *Paris* on the sixteenth of *September*. The allies having taken several small places without any resistance, endeavoured to bring the *French* army to an engagement; but the deputies of the states-general, who followed the army, having represented to him that it was much more for the advantage of *Holland*, to dispossess the enemy of the towns they held in *Spanish Guelderland*, he detached several parties, who took *Venloo*, *Maseick*, *Stevenswert*, and *Ruremond*. Marechal *Boufflers* fearing that the allies had a design upon *Liege*, went and posted himself at *Tongres*, with a view of securing that place; but the confederates advancing, obliged the city to capitulate, and afterwards took the citadel by storm.

The allies take Venloo, Maseick, Ruremonde, &c.

THE emperor having prevailed with the greatest part of the princes of the empire to abandon a neutrality, employed those troops that were raised for the preservation of the peace of the empire, in the war against *France*; and having assembled a powerful army, gave the command of it to the prince of *Baden*. The troops being encamped between *Spire* and *Worms*, began the campaign by laying siege to *Landau*. Some days after the opening of the trenches, the king of the *Romans* arrived at the camp, in order to make his first campaign, with so large a train, and so splendid an equipage, that the expence of it threw all the emperor's affairs in disorder, the most necessary things being neglected, while the treasure was wasted in supporting this needless pomp. The siege was stopped for some weeks for want of ammunition, but at last the citadel was taken by storm on the ninth of *September*, and on the twelfth the city surrendered.

The king of the Romans takes Landau.

AFTER the taking of *Landau*, the king of the *Romans* encamped at *Bischweiler* near *Strasburg*, with a design of attacking the *French* army commanded by marechal *Catinat*; but seeing the *French* strongly intrenched, and always upon their guard, he quitted the army, leaving the command to the prince of *Baden*. Afterwards, the imperial army being greatly weakened by several detachments, which the neighbouring

• DE BREAND Journal du Siege de Landau, An. 1702.

The elector of Bavaria declares for France, and seizes Ulm. circles and princes had called away to defend themselves against the enterprises of the elector of *Bavaria*, the design of attacking the *French* army was laid aside. That elector having, from the beginning, secretly favoured the succession of the duke of *Anjou*, his nephew, was now prevailed upon by the offers of *France* to declare publicly in their favour, after he had, on the eighth of *September*, surprised the free city of *Ulm*, and taken *Kieberg*, *Biberach*, and some other places ^p.

Marquis of Villars attacks the prince of Baden on his march. THESE proceedings of the elector of *Bavaria* alarmed the diet at *Ratisbon*: the credit of the emperor being very great in that assembly, it was resolved, by a decree of the twenty-eighth of *September*, to declare war against *France*; and a memorial was presented to the emperor, requesting him to proceed against the elector according to the constitutions of the empire. Mean while, the *French* army being now superior to the prince of *Baden*, took possession of *Neuburg* on the *Rhine*, over which river they laid a bridge, notwithstanding the great fire of the Imperialists; and marechal *Catinat* sent a detachment of ten thousand men, under the orders of count *Guiscard*, and the marquis de *Villars*, to march towards *Hunningen*, in order to cut off provisions from the prince of *Baden*. The prince being informed of the motion of the *French*, decamped from *Fridlinguen*, on the thirteenth of *October*, in order to go into winter-quarters; but being observed by the marquis of *Villars*, who was encamped near *Hunningen*, the *French* passed the *Rhine*, and attacked him on his march. After an obstinate and bloody engagement, which continued for near two hours, the prince being greatly inferior to the *French*, began to think of a retreat; but his infantry falling upon the *French* foot with fresh vigour, broke their ranks, and drove them from their ground into a wood. The prince, after he had been five hours upon the field of battle, directed his march towards *Stauffen*. Nevertheless the *French* claimed the honour of the victory; and *Lewis* the fourteenth, honouring *Villars* with a marechal's staff, ordered *Te Deum* to be sung. The prince of *Baden*, soon after having received a reinforcement, advanced within half a league of *Neuburg*, with the design of a second engagement; but marechal *Villars*, not thinking fit to wait his approach, repassed the *Rhine*, and encamped at *Otmarsen*.

MARECHAL *Villars* being thus prevented from joining the *Bavarians*, wrote to count *d'Arco*, their general, that he would march towards him by the forest-cities; but the *Swiss*,

^p BARRE, t. x. p. 418. HEISS, l. iii. p. 287. Contin. of Rapin, v. i. p. 364.

having put garrisons in these towns, declared that they would take up arms against him, if he undertook any thing to the prejudice of the liberty of these places. The *Bavarians*, tho' they failed in being assisted by the *French*, took *Kempten* and *Weissenburg*, and beat count *Palfi*, who commanded the Imperialists in that province. Towards the end of *October* likewise the *French* made themselves masters of *Triers* and *Traerbach*, while, on the other side, the prince of *Hesse-Cassel* marching from *Liege* with ten thousand *Hessians*, retook *Zinch*, *Brisack*, and *Andernach*, from the *French*. *The French take Triers and Traerbach.*

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LEWIS the fourteenth being assisted by the elector of *Bavaria*, resolved to carry the war into the empire; and apprehending that the duke of *Lorraine* would declare for the house of *Austria*, he obliged him to receive *French* troops into *Nanci*, and his other fortified towns. He likewise desired to continue the alliance with the duke of *Savoy*; but that duke beginning to reflect, that if the *French* king drove the Imperialists out of *Italy*, and became master of the *Milanese*, he must be exposed to his mercy; and finding that the emperor was willing to make him large offers, he abandoned the interests of *France*, and concluded a treaty with the emperor, on the fifth of *January*, *Leopold* having ceded *Montferrat* to him, with some cities of the *Milanese*. *Lewis* the fourteenth being informed of this treaty, ordered the duke of *Vendome* to seize and disarm the troops of *Savoy* that were in his army, and demand the fortresses of *Verceil*, *Verjur*, and *Susa*. The duke, instead of complying with this demand, published a manifesto against *France*, and sent envoys to *England* and *Holland*, to solicit assistance, while count *Staremberg* received positive orders from *Vienna*, to endeavour to join him with fifteen thousand men. That count made himself famous by his remarkable march; having left the *Modenese* in the worst season of the year, when the roads seemed almost impassable by reason of the rains that had fallen, he marched through the enemy's country, having the *French* frequently both before and behind him, and, notwithstanding all obstructions, joined the duke of *Savoy* at *Canelli*. *The duke of Savoy concludes an alliance with the emperor.*

THE emperor being informed that marechal *Villars* had orders to join the elector of *Bavaria*, with the army then encamped at *Strasburg*, sent the prince of *Baden* with an army to watch his motions, while the counts of *Stirum* and *Schlick* had orders to march with two different bodies to enter *Bavaria*, the one on the side of *Salzburg*, the other on the side of *Neumark*. *Stirum* having taken *Neumark*, defeated a body of *Bavarian* troops, and made himself master of *Freystadt* and *Neufchatel*. At the same time count *Schlick* having passed

the *Inn*, took possession of several small places on the other side of *Bavaria*, and published the evocatory letters of the emperor, discharging the magistrates from their oath of fidelity to the elector their sovereign. To put a stop to the progress of the imperial generals, the elector assembled his army near *Brenau*, and to deceive count *Schlick*, reported that he was going to besiege *Passau*. The imperial general, considering the importance of that place, marched towards it with the greatest part of his infantry: the elector having thus succeeded in dividing the count's army, marched towards the bridge of *Schardigen*, and attacking the body of troops commanded by general *Plesse*, he routed them, and made himself master of the tents and baggage, and a few days after took *Neuburg* on the *Inn*. Afterwards marching towards *Ratisbon*, with a design of making himself master of that city, count *Stirum* raised the siege of *Amberg*, and went to encamp between that place and *Neumark*, resolving to engage the elector with the first opportunity. The elector, without giving the Imperialists time to entrench themselves, marched towards them all night, and at eight in the morning attacking their camp, routed them in less than half an hour, having killed and taken prisoners about three hundred men, the prince of *Brandenburg-Anspach* being among the number of the first.

The elector
of *Bavaria*
takes pos-
session of
Ratisbon.

The elector having formerly proposed to the city of *Ratisbon* to observe a neutrality, and not to allow a passage to the imperial troops, to which proposal he had never got any satisfactory answer, now marched to that city, and obliged the magistrates to deliver up the bridge and two gates upon the *Danube*. Notwithstanding this the emperor refused to ratify the conclusion of the diet for the neutrality of the city; therefore the elector still kept possession of the city, and the deputies fearing to be overawed in their deliberations, transported the diet to *Lintz* ¹.

WHILE the elector of *Bavaria* was employed in protecting his territories from the imperial troops, marechal *Villars* had passed the *Rhine*, and taken the fort of *Kell* over-against *Strasburg*, and several redoubts built upon the banks of the *Rhine*. Afterwards attacking the lines of the prince of *Baden* at *Stolhoffen*, with an intention of joining the elector of *Bavaria*, he was repulsed with great loss, the prince having received a reinforcement of eight *Dutch* regiments during the time of the action. Notwithstanding this unsuccessful attempt, *Villars* having received repeated orders, resolved to endeavour to join the elector by the *Black Forest*, where the

¹ BARRE, t. x. p. 428.

passes were but slightly guarded, it being thought impracticable to march that way by reason of the great rains, and overcoming all difficulties, he at last joined the elector near *Dutling*, on the nineteenth of *September*¹.

THE combined army immediately marched to attack the lines of count *Stirum*; but that general being informed of their design, quitted his intrenchments, and marched to join the prince of *Baden*. The duke of *Bavaria*, and marechal *Count St. Villars*, pursuing him, defeated his army near *Donawert*, and obliged them to retire under the cannon of *Norlingen*, leaving all their baggage, thirty-three pieces of cannon, and three thousand dead upon the field, besides losing three thousand prisoners, and many standards. The French likewise, with another army of forty thousand men, commanded by the duke of *Burgundy*, besieged *Brisack*, which surrendered after three days open trenches, for which the governor afterwards lost his head, and count *Marfigli*, who was second in command, was degraded, and had his sword broke over his head by the hand of the hangman.

WHILST the emperor was thus overpowered in Germany by the French and Bavarians, the affairs of the confederates upon the *Lower Rhine*, and in *Flanders*, were in a more prosperous situation. Count *Lettum*, general of the Prussians, having taken *Rhimbreg*, blocked up *Gueldres*, and the duke of *Marlborough* having invested *Bonn*, opened the trenches in three different places, on the eighth of *May*, and carrying on the siege with great vigour, obliged the city to surrender on the fourteenth. While the duke of *Marlborough* was employed in the siege of *Bonn*, the rest of the confederate army then assembled at *Maastricht*, proposed to march to *Tongeren*; but the marechals *Boufflers* and *Villeroy* advancing with forty thousand men, the allies were obliged to retreat under the cannon of *Maastricht*. The French afterwards took *Tongeren*, where two battalions were quartered; but the duke of *Marlborough* joining the confederate army at *Maastricht*, with the troops that formed the siege of *Bonn*, they abandoned that place after they had blown up the walls and the tower, and retreated to *Hannuye*. The French thus declining an engagement, the allies resolved to attack them in their intrenchments; accordingly baron *Spaar* was appointed to attack the lines towards *Ghent*, while general *Cochorn* passed the *Scheld* with another detachment, to make an attack near *Liefkenshoek*, and general *Opdam*, with the rest of the army, made an attempt before *Antwerp*. On the twenty-seventh of *June* in the

¹ Mem. de Lamberty, t. ii. p. 601, &c.

morning, baron *Spaar* feigning a march towards *Bruges*, immediately altered his disposition, and attacked the lines in the country of *Waes* near *Steken*, where, after a bloody and obstinate dispute, he forced them sword in hand: about the same time, general *Coehorn* attacking them at the point of *Callo*, after a short resistance broke through with very considerable loss. Next day baron *Opdam*, who was posted nearest *Antwerp*, marched to *Eckeren*, with design of appearing before that city, and preventing them from sending any detachments over the bridge into *Flanders*. He remained two days without seeing any enemy; but on the thirtieth of *June*, marechal *Boufflers* and marquis *Bedmar*, appeared at the head of thirty-two squadrons and thirty-two battalions, and using the advantage of their superiority, immediately attacked the allies: the action was very warm on both sides, and the *French* pushing on within pistol-shot of the place where general *Opdam* was, cut him off from the army, upon which he fled to *Breda* with thirty horse; but the *Dutch*, tho' forsaken by their general, rallied again, and maintained their ground with such firmness, that the *French* were obliged to retire. As the loss was pretty equal on both sides, each party claimed the victory. The allies soon afterwards joining all their forces together, took *Limburg* and *Huy*; and *Gueldres* at last surrendered to the *Prussians* on the seventeenth of *December*.

The allies
take Lim-
burg and
Huy.

ON the *Upper Rhine*, after marechal *Villars* had joined the *Bavarians*, the elector marched into *Tirol*, reviving his antient claims upon that province; and having taken *Inspruck* the capital, and raised great contributions on the other towns, he marched towards *Trent* to meet the duke of *Vendome*, who was to join him from *Italy*; but count *Staremburg* detaching a body of troops to secure the passes and castles upon the road, and the boors of *Tirol* rising against the *Bavarians*, the elector was obliged to retire out of the country, before the duke of *Vendome* could join him.

The
French
take Lan-
dau.

THE duke of *Burgundy* having left the command of the army after the reduction of *Brisack*, marechal *Tallard* was ordered to besiege *Landau*, which had been taken by the king of the *Romans* the year before. The place being of great importance, the prince of *Hesse-Cassel* set forwards from the *Netherlands* with a body of troops, in order to raise the siege, who, having joined the general of the palatine forces near *Spire*, they concerted measures for the relief of the place. The *French* hearing of the prince's departure, ordered monsieur *Pracontal*, with a body of ten thousand men, to follow him with all expedition. Marechal *Tallard* having received this reinforcement, did not wait for the Imperialists in his lines,

lines, but marched out to meet them, and attacking them before they had time to form, he defeated them with the loss of three or four thousand men: afterwards, returning to his camp before *Landau*, the governor of the city expecting no more relief, surrendered on the sixteenth of *November*. The elector of *Bavaria* still keeping the field, on the sixth of *December* invested *Augsburg*, which surrendered soon after.

ABOUT the end of this month *Charles* king of *Spain* arrived in *England* from *Vienna*, in order to embark from thence for *Lisbon*, the king of *Portugal* having now made an alliance with the emperor, upon consideration of having several places in *Spain*, and the country beyond *Rio de la Plata* in *America*, ceded to him. *Leopold*, who in the beginning of the war had ceased mentioning his claim to the crown of *Spain*, and only insisted on his right to the *Milaneze* as a fief of the empire, judging, that the *Germanic* body would not consent to his adding that monarchy to his hereditary dominions, this year ceded his right to the *Spanish* monarchy to the archduke *Charles*, who was proclaimed at *Vienna*, on the twelfth of *September*, king of *Spain*, by the name of *Charles* the third*. In *England* he was received with great magnificence; and the queen behaved towards him in a very noble and obliging manner. Orders being immediately given to fit out the fleet with all expedition, he sailed soon after for *Portugal*, where he arrived on the ninth of *March*, with about nine thousand men, raised by *England* and *Holland* for his service. *Charles*, upon his landing at *Lisbon*, published a manifesto in *Portugal* and *Spain*, promising a pardon to all those who should abandon the party of *Philip* duke of *Anjou*. This prince, on the other side, published a manifesto, which he supported with a strong army, and entering *Portugal* took several towns, which the *Portuguese* retook at the end of the campaign. The prince of *Darmstadt* foiled an attempt on *Barcelona*, sailed with the combined fleet to *Gibraltar*, which he reduced in the month of *August*, and surrendered into the hands of the *English*.

IN *Italy* the *French* seized upon *Modena*, because the duke had declared for the emperor. The Imperialists retaliated upon the prince of *Mirandola*, protected by *Lewis*; and the duke of *Mantua*, perceiving his dominions become the theatre of war, retired to *Paris*, where he married madam *d'Elbœuf*. Nothing, however, could obstruct the conquests of *Vendôme*, who over-run the territory of *Victor Amadeus* with surprising rapidity. *Vercell* and *Yvrè* fell an easy prey, and were demolished; *Susa* experienced the same fate; but *Verue* sustained

A. D.
1794.

* BARRE, t. x. p. 441. HEISS, l. iii. p. 290.

a siege of five months open trenches, though the garrison at length yielded to the superior fortune of the *French* general.

Disturbances in Hungary.

WHILE the imperial court was under great affliction for the losses sustained in *Italy*, the *Hungarian* malcontents ravaging the dutchy of *Austria*, pushed their incursions to the gates of *Vienna*. To prevent their destroying the suburbs, the emperor ordered a deep ditch to be formed from the mountains to the *Danube*, and defended by strong redoubts, mounted with cannon. Three years had now passed since the court had arrested *Ragotski*; about this time he made his escape, and no sooner found himself at liberty, than he fomented a rebellion in *Hungary*, in defence of the religion and privileges of that kingdom. The allies apprehending the disturbances in this quarter might occasion an unseasonable diversion, and draw the emperor's attention from the affairs of *Spain*, and the more immediate object of the confederacy, offered their mediation. They pleaded so warmly the general interest of the empire, that the *Hungarians* consented to send deputies to *Vienna* to represent their grievances. They demanded, in consequence of the royal capitulation, that all civil and military employments should be given to natives; that the prince *Ragotski* should be set at liberty; that the sentence pronounced against the prince should be revoked, and all his possessions restored. The imperial court was unwilling to accept these conditions; but fearing they could not obtain better by force of arms, they proposed, that the kingdom of *Hungary* should be elective at the death of the king of the *Romans*; that this prince should renounce the hereditary act passed in favour of his family, provided the nobility and people renewed their oath of fidelity to his person; that the Catholic and Protestant religions should be mutually tolerated and restored to their former privileges; that the emperor and king of the *Romans*, should grant a general amnesty without exception; that all new taxes should be abolished, and the people suffered to engage in every species of industry and commerce, on paying the antient duties regulated by the states of the kingdom; that in three months after the ratification of this agreement, a general diet of the nation should assemble to examine the grievances of the people; and that for the three succeeding years, the same diet, if they thought proper, should meet to deliberate on the general affairs of the kingdom; finally, that the *Hungarians* should be permitted to send residents to *Vienna*, vested with the character of counsellors to the king^a.

^a BARRE Hist. t. x. p. 444. Journ. Hist. 1704.

THESE terms would appear more favourable to the *Hungarians* than the conditions demanded; but they were thought too general. *Ragotski's* ambition and revenge were not satiated; his influence was great, and he found himself supported by a powerful army. In person he commanded a body of twenty thousand *Hungarians*; general *Forgats* was at the head of eight thousand; count *Caroli* had under him nine thousand men; *Esterhazi*, four thousand; and *Bereccini* was assembling an army of twenty-five thousand strong. So formidable an armament elevated the courage, and raised the demands of the *Hungarians*; they grew indifferent to an accommodation, and were preparing to drive matters to extremities, and begin the war with vigour. Their conduct greatly embarrassed the court at this critical juncture. Already, the *French* army under the elector of *Bavaria* occupied the chief posts on the *Neckar* and *Danube*, after having reduced *Augsburg*, *Passaw*, and other considerable places. *Lewis* had promised to assist him with all his forces; but all the passes were guarded, and the lines of *Stolhoffen*, *Kinchel*, and *Behel*, possessed by the prince of *Baden*. Marechal *Tallard*, however, surmounted these difficulties by an ingenious feint: under pretence of a design to march through the *Swiss* territories, he drew off the imperial forces from their posts, and penetrated by forced marches the *Black Forest*. Nothing could now have saved the empire besides the vigilance and ability of *Marlbrough*, who flew with incredible rapidity from the *Netherlands*, joined the prince of *Baden*, forced the lines at *Schellemburg*, obliged the elector to retire from *Dillingen*, his troops to abandon *Donawert* after burning the magazines, and several cities of the electorate to submit to the superior fortune and conduct of the confederates. It was now that the most advantageous propositions were made to that prince, with a view to detach him from the *French* monarch. He amused the allies, under the pretext of deliberating upon their proposals; but shewed by the event, that nothing was capable of shaking his constancy and fidelity to his engagements. The battle of *Blenheim* was lost, after prodigious slaughter; the electress constrained to implore the protection of the imperial court, at the price of almost all her dominions; and the electorate reduced to the utmost distress; yet did the elector remain firm and unmoved in his resolution to adhere to the treaty with *Lewis* (A).

IN

(A) The reader will perceive transactions which have already that we only touch upon those been explicitly related in the history

Disputes
in the diet.

IN consequence of the flow of success produced by the actions at *Schellemburg* and *Blenheim*, the emperor commanded the ministers of *Bavaria* and *Cologne* to quit *Ratisbon*: a proceeding which highly incensed the *Bavarians*, and obliged them to declare to the inhabitants, that if they refused paying a contribution of three hundred thousand florins, their city would immediately be laid in ashes. The regency and the diet were terrified at these menaces: the imperial ministers represented the danger of continuing the diet in a city threatened with bombardment, and proposed transferring it to *Egra*, a strong town on the frontiers of *Bohemia* and *Franconia*. To this the deputies of the circles replied, that, by the constitution of the *Germanic* body, the diet could only be held in a free city; that, as *Egra* did not enjoy this privilege, they could not consent to the proposition; but it was easy, they said, to obviate all difficulties by observing an exact neutrality.

The brave
defence of
Landau.

DURING these disputes about the security of the diet, and the privileges of the *Germanic* constitution, the allies, determined to push their advantage, invested *Landau*, where the brave defence of *Laubanie* astonished all *Europe*. This intrepid officer behaved, under the pressure of bodily infirmity and the misfortune of blindness, with all the ardour and impetuosity of youthful bloom and florid health. He replied to the menacing summons sent to him by the king of the *Romans*, that he could not let slip the glorious opportunity of perishing in the service of his country, and erecting the most honourable monument to his own memory on the ruins of *Landau*, in which he proposed burying himself. He kept his word, and obstinately defended the last remaining work, ordering himself to be conducted to the trenches to feel the progress of the enemy, and giving directions for sallies; which the soldiers, fired with the amazing constancy of their general, obeyed without murmuring, and executed with irresistible fury. At length, *Laubanie* was wounded, every inch of ground was lost; the garrison dwindled to a handful, spent with perpetual fatigue, and a general assault preparing: this determined the governor to save the lives of his valiant garrison by an honourable capitulation, which he obtained without hesitation on the twenty-fourth of

history of *France*, volume xxv. This is necessary to avoid repetition, to confine our labours to a moderate length, and to furnish an opportunity of dwelling more minutely on those occur-

rences which more immediately regard the empire. A general history must be retrenched in some places in proportion as it is redundant in others.

November,

November, after the siege had cost the Imperialists near ten thousand men, killed and wounded ^b.

THE campaign terminated with the obstinate battle of *Cassano*, in which prince *Eugene* was defeated, after the most glorious efforts to restore the emperor's affairs in *Italy*. Greatly inferior in number of troops, distressed for money and necessaries, and supported only by promises and his own genius, he encountered *Vendome*, the best general of *France*, at the head of an army flushed with conquest. Even his repulse at *Cassano* was less mortifying to the great soul of *Eugene*, than the constant checks and mortifications he sustained from the unsteady measures of the imperial court, fluctuating from one resolution to another. Already the princes of the empire began to testify their aversion to a war, which, though fortunate for the last campaign in *Germany*, produced nothing but useless victories, desolation, and slaughter. The republic of *Holland* raised various difficulties about furnishing her quota of money and troops. She made fresh demands, and proposed several alterations in the new levies, in the pay, cloathing, and quarters of the army. The prince of *Hesse* refused to suffer his troops to be commanded by *Dutch* officers; and prince *Lewis* of *Baden* would not acknowledge that superiority which had long been granted by the other inferior princes of the empire, as due to the republic. To these difficulties others, more immediately relative to the empire, were super-added. The circle of *Suabia*, to avoid paying the stipulated contingent, represented, that the country was ruined by the heavy contributions levied by the *French*, by furnishing winter-quarters to both armies, and by the marches and counter-marches of friends and enemies. This affair was debating in the aulic council, when the emperor *Leopold* breathed his last on the third day of *May*, after having wore the imperial diadem for forty-six years, maintained the affection of his subjects, great authority in the diet, the respect of neighbouring powers, and the reputation of an affable, cautious, and politic prince, whose prudence had often preserved the crown that tottered on his head ^c, and his character, amidst the vicissitudes of a variegated fortune (B).

Death of
the emperor
Leopold.

CHAP

^b Ibid.

^c STRUV. t. x. sect. xi.

(B) *Leopold* was elected emperor at *Frankfort* in 1658; three years before the states of *Austria* had paid him homage: at the same time he was crowned king

of *Hungary* at *Preshburg*, and soon after of *Bohemia* at *Prague*. In 1666, he married *Maria-Theresa*, daughter of *Philip* the fourth of *Spain*. At her death he

C H A P. XXIV.

Containing the Election of the Emperor Joseph; the Transactions in Hungary; the Progress of the German War; the Disputes with the Pope; the Disturbances in Bohemia; the Affairs in the North; and the Invasion of Saxony; with other Particulars.

J O S E P H.

A. D.
1705.
The emperor Joseph's offers to the Hungarians.

THE emperor *Joseph* succeeded to the imperial crown of his father in the flower of his age, after having some years before been solemnly acknowledged king of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*. It was universally believed that this change in the succession would contribute greatly to terminate a war, which had desolated *Germany*, and impoverished *Europe*; but the opportunity that offered of recovering *Lorraine*, and penetrating into *France*, was lost. The *English* were obstinately bent against all terms of accommodation; and *Lewis* was not sufficiently humbled to grant such conditions to *Joseph*, separately, as he could with honour accept. It was certainly intended to compromise the differences with the *Hungarians*; but their spirit and invincible love of liberty pushed them on to demand such a barrier for their freedom, as would wholly have destroyed the emperor's authority. *Joseph* banished the ministers most attached to the jesuits, hoping thereby to prevail on the malcontents to listen to reasonable conditions. He promised to restore to the natives all the effects the jesuits had acquired, and the immense riches they had amassed, since the year 1655; to convoke a general diet, to which all might report their grievances; to restore and confirm the antient privileges of the nation; to assemble a general diet every three years, and oftner, if necessary; candidly to examine the pretensions of *Ragotski*, and the other discontented chiefs; and to pass a general amnesty, including all degrees of men. Six days were given the *Hungarians* to deliberate on these proposals; after which they

he espoused *Claudia*, daughter to his cousin the archduke *Ferdinand*: and lastly, he married *Eleonora*, princess of palatine, daughter to the elector.

By his first marriage, he had one daughter; and by the last, two sons and three daughters. *Struv. t. x. sect. xi. p. 4051. Barre, t. x. p. 460.*

were

were to be persecuted with the utmost rigour, and their country desolated by fire and sword.

RAGOTSKI called a great council of the principal lords of the kingdom to deliberate on these proposals: the result was, to hearken to no conditions which tended to disunite them; to keep in arms until their grievances were fully redressed; to oblige *Joseph* wholly to banish the jesuits; to abolish the arrears of the diet of *Presburg* in 1687; to restore to the people their uncontested right of electing their own sovereigns; to have the sole garrisoning of their own fortresses; and to obtain ample security that no foreign troops should ever be quartered in the kingdom, or employments bestowed but upon natural-born *Hungarians*, either civil or ecclesiastical, except in cases where the diet should think proper to gratify very extraordinary services by certain preferments. All the members of the council swore strictly to observe this resolution, and to punish as traitors to their country those who should depart from their engagements, or connive in the least with the measures of the house of *Austria*.

THE consequence of the discontents in *Hungary* was apparent to the confederates. *England* and *Holland* were sensible that the emperor would apply his whole strength to subdue those turbulent subjects; they therefore exerted their utmost endeavours to mediate an accommodation. Their mediation^a was accepted by both parties, and conferences were held at *Tyrnaw*; but some inconsiderable advantages gained by the imperial forces encouraged the emperor to rise in his demands. A body of the *Hungarians* was defeated near *Fort Pax* by general *Glokelsberg*; and *Bereccini* was worsted in a sharp encounter he had with count *Heister*. Thus the negotiations were broke off, after they were in a fair train of coming to a happy issue.

GENERAL *Heberville*, who commanded the grand imperial army, could not boast the same advantages. After raising the blockade of *Waradin*, he advanced within sight of the malcontents, intrenched at *Scibo* to dispute his passage. Here he met with a variety of unexpected obstructions; and was reduced to the necessity of giving battle, under all the disadvantages of situation, in returning to *Great Waradin*, and exposing his rear to the attacks of the enemy. Besides, *Rabutin* had sent him advice, that, without immediate succours, he should be forced to relinquish all his imperial majesty's fortresses in *Transylvania*. In this extremity, he determined upon fighting. At first the enemy made a brave resistance: they

^a BARRE, t. x. p. 464.

Operations of the campaign in Germany. twice repulsed the Imperialists with great slaughter; but their cavalry giving way, they were forced to yield to *Heberville's* obstinacy, to abandon their camp with precipitation, and leave their baggage and magazines to be plundered. This victory was followed by the intire reduction of *Transylvania*, where the emperor's sovereignty was again acknowledged; after which *Heberville* returned to *Hungary*, having left a sufficient force with *Rabutin* for the defence of the province.

WHILE *Vienna* rung with rejoicings for the victory at *Scibo*, *Lower Hungary*, *Moravia*, and the hereditary dominions, were desolated by the malcontents, who had penetrated into the heart of the dutchy of *Austria*. *Trautsmansdorf* with some other towns and villages were laid in ashes, and several fortresses reduced, in which the rebels lodged their booty. Their success in pillaging drew into their party crowds of the *Austrian* peasants, fired with the hopes of plunder; and this increase of numbers so elevated the expectations of the malcontents, that they refused the armistice proposed by the mediators. The allies acted heartily in this cause, that the emperor might be at liberty to turn his whole force against the common enemy; but their endeavours proved fruitless. *Lewis*, though considerably weakened by his late defeats, still maintained his spirit, and now joined redoubled activity to numerous forces. *Marechal Villars* was at the head of a formidable army on the *Moselle*; and the banks of the *Rhine* were covered by the numerous troops of *Marsin*. The elector of *Bavaria* had invested and reduced *Huy*, the garrison surrendering prisoners of war; and *Liege* was in the utmost danger, had not the fortune of *Marlborough* interposed. That general, with his usual boldness, and irresistible impetuosity, forced the elector's lines near *Messelin* on the *Maine*, and obliged him to retire in disorder towards *Louvain*, to cover that place, *Antwerp*, *Lière*, and *Mechlin*. This motion rendered almost fruitless the bloody advantage gained by the allies; yet the elector mentions it in the following modest terms, in a letter which he wrote in the field to his favourite the baron *Malkenecht*: “God I hope will pardon those who were
“ the cause of our being surprised. The whole army is here;
“ nor is the misfortune irrecoverable; with God's assistance
“ we shall be able to save *Brabant* and *Antwerp*. I am well,
“ but extremely fatigued.” After all, it was the obstinacy of the *Dutch* deputies which probably saved the elector: *Marlborough* was for pursuing and attacking him in the neighbourhood of *Louvain*; but he was opposed by the *Hollanders*, who refused to suffer the *Dutch* army to run the hazard. The *English* general loudly complained, that their unseasonable cau-
tion

tion had wrested victory out of his hands, and deprived him of additional laurels. He remonstrated to the states-general, of the little regard paid by their officers to discipline and subordination: "My heart is so full, said he, that I cannot refrain from lamenting to you the decline of my authority since the last campaign." However, all his remonstrances produced no effect: all his efforts served only to reduce some inconsiderable places, and were insufficient to prevent the elector's becoming master of *Diest*.

ALTERCATIONS now arose between the confederate generals. *Marlborough*, not unjustly, reproached the prince of *Baden* with dilatoriness; and, in some measure, attributed to his backwardness that the different members of the empire had not yet furnished their contingents. The prince replied, that he had never doubted the duke's courage or ability; but he did not imagine he would have presumed to insult a prince of the empire, who had hitherto commanded not only the respect of his equals, but, in a particular manner, the esteem of every officer of candour and merit in the army. Not satisfied with the sarcasm implied in this rebuke, he complained of *Marlborough* to the courts of *Vienna* and *London*: he even wrote to the diet at *Ratisbon* in terms full of resentment, saying, that the haughty carriage of the *Englishman* reflected dishonour on the whole *German* body, if they tamely passed the insult. He alledged, in his own justification, that he only waited to be joined by his detachments; and that the junction with *Marlborough* was soon enough effected, had not that general imprudently involved himself in difficulties, from his ignorance of the country, and the enemy's situation: that he now was desirous of throwing upon a prince of the empire an error consequent on his own presumption. The issue of these disputes was, that the allied army separated, and by that means suffered *M. Villars* to reinforce the elector of *Bavaria* with thirty battalions and fifty squadrons, by which he was again enabled to face his enemies. An attempt was accordingly made to attack the prince of *Baden* in his intrenchments, before he should be reinforced by the troops of different circles now on their march; but his prudent disposition baffled all the endeavours of the elector and *Villars*. He soon after received the expected succours, and was in a condition to act offensively, which obliged the *French* generals to retire behind their lines at *Haguenaw*. As *Villars* was forced to detach seven battalions to *Italy*, he found he should not be able to cover his lines, and therefore retreated under the cannon of *Strasburg*. By this means the count *de Frise* was at liberty to invest *Drusenheim*, which he reduced in five days, while the

*Disputes
between
the prince
of Baden
and the
duke of
Marlbo-
rough.*

the prince of *Baden* was forming the siege of *Haguenaw*. After the batteries had played for some time, *Perry*, who commanded in the garrison, demanded a capitulation; and proposals were sent him by the prince; the first article of which imported, that he should surrender prisoner of war. *Perry* demanded eight days to deliberate on this article, and the same time for each of the other propositions; which being refused, the siege recommenced with great vigour. The governor, having advice that the town was not invested on the side of the *Saverne*, resolved to retire by that quarter, and save the garrison from falling into the hands of the enemy. Leaving the *sieur de Rebingue* in the covered way with two hundred men, he evacuated the town at nine in the evening, and was followed by *Rebingue* at eleven o'clock, arriving happily at *Saverne* before his design was discovered. This circumstance gave additional credit to the reproaches levelled by the duke of *Marlborough* at the prince of *Baden*, and persuaded most persons, that the prince was greatly relaxed in his usual vigilance and activity^b.

*A quarrel
between
the pope
and the
emperor.*

WITH this transaction ended the campaign, during which the emperor found himself involved in a dispute with the pontiff. *Cavalletti*, one of the imperial ambassador's domestics at *Rome*, had struck the officers of justice, in the execution of their orders to arrest his son for some misdemeanour. The fiscal, informed of the violence, ordered both to be seized, imprisoned, and their effects sealed up. A few hours after the secretary to the embassy complained to the pope of this insult upon the privileges of an ambassador; but the pontiff replied, that *Cavalletti* was imprisoned not as the domestic of the imperial ambassador, but as the subject of the holy see, who had opposed the execution of justice. This answer proved unsatisfactory: the count *de Lamberg* represented the affair to the emperor; but, before he received any instructions from the court of *Vienna*, the prisoner was set at liberty. Notwithstanding this, the count no sooner received an answer from *Vienna* than he quitted the ecclesiastical state, without the ceremony of taking leave; and the pope's nuncio was at the same time desired to leave the imperial court. So trivial a circumstance was sufficient to revive an ancient controversy, which had for some time been absorbed in business of more consequence. The emperor now demanded, that cardinal *Patuni*, secretary of state, should be deprived of his office, and forbid the court; that *Palavicini*, governor of *Rome*, should be banished; that the process formed against the mar-

^b Id. *ibid.*

quis del Vasto, a *Neapolitan* nobleman, vested with the character of ambassador from the archduke *Charles*, should be burnt by the ignominious hands of the common executioner ; that the pontiff should send a cardinal to *Vienna*, to apologize for his conduct ; and that as an immediate attonement, *Ferrara* should admit an imperial garrison. This, indeed, was talking in the stile of an emperor ; no measures half so spirited had been taken since the days of *Charles* the fifth. Had *Joseph* persisted, it is probable the pontiff must have yielded to all that was required. *Clement* wrote several letters to the court of *Vienna*, representing the irregular conduct of the count *de Lamberg*, on his quitting *Rome*. He likewise demanded, that the orders given his nuncio to depart from *Vienna* should be revoked ; but he was not able to appease the emperor, or procure the least mitigation at that time, notwithstanding the affair soon after appears to have been almost forgot.

THE altercation between the papal and imperial courts, prevented *Clement's* soliciting the emperor to pay more regard to the complaints of the *Bavarians*. By a treaty with the electress, all acts of hostility on both sides were to cease, and the elector to be regarded merely as the general of *Lewis* the fourteenth, at the head of a *French* army. Besides, it was stipulated that the *Bavarians* should enjoy all their privileges, and that the revenues of *Munich*, the capital, and its dependencies, should go untouched, for the support of the princess and the electoral family. The treaty was badly observed after the emperor gained possession of *Bavaria* : it was regarded as a conquered country, and treated with the same rigour, as if no agreement had ever passed : all the records were removed to *Vienna*, and the electoral palace stripped of the plate and rich moveables. The nobility and people were oppressed with exorbitant contributions, and the troops quar-
Cruelties of
the Impe-
rialists in
Bavaria.
tered upon them at discretion : all were pillaged and disarmed. Nothing could exceed the misery of the inhabitants besides the brutality of the *Austrian* army ; the soldiers committing every kind of excess ; and the rapacity of the officers carried them so far, as to dig in the tombs for the hidden treasures of the *Bavarians*, which ought to have been sacred : all were imprisoned upon suspicion of concealing their wealth ; and to be rich, was sufficient to be deemed criminal : loud complaints were made to the imperial commissaries : crowds of old men, women, and children, poured out their grievances and tears before them, in a piteous manner, capable of moving the most obdurate breast ; yet did their sighs, wailings, and wretchedness, produce no effect. As it was necessary to justify to the public the excesses committed, it was pre-
tended

tended that the *Bavarians* had conspired against the *Austrian* garrisons. The accusation was false, and, indeed, too absurd to gain credit ; but it was urged to palliate their severity. The *Bavarian* nobility demanded of the commissaries a list of the names of the conspirators ; they promised to have them punished agreeable to the laws ; but the commissaries gave only a general reply, refusing to enter into a detail. Some days after several private gentlemen, who had ventured to make the same remonstrances, were arrested, and their estates confiscated : thus all were deterred from interposing in behalf of the innocent victims to the *Austrian* avarice.

WHEN it was presumed the spirit of the *Bavarians* was sufficiently subdued, the count *de Lowenstein*, governor of the province, published an edict, enjoining all the young men from the age of eighteen to thirty-five, to appear in certain places specified, in order to be draughted for recruits to the regiments in *Italy* and *Hungary*. This ordonnance was thought beyond measure oppressive ; it was not only a direct violation of the treaty with the electors, but the grossest infraction of the laws of nations, and of the electorate in particular. The peasants hid themselves ; and their evasion was construed into an act of rebellion. In a few days all the jails in *Bavaria* were crowded with the unfortunate inhabitants, dragged out of churches and monasteries, in which they had taken refuge ; and where the culprit could not be found, the imperial vengeance was reeked on the heads of his mother, children, and relations. Their houses were pillaged, and the little magazines of provision they had for the support of their families, burnt and destroyed. Terrified with these violences, and fainting under the pressure of extreme want, the peasants fled in the night to the woods, in search of food to appease their hunger. Thither they were pursued by the barbarous *Austrians*, and driven to such despair, that they united against the common enemy, and joining the malcontents of *Bohemia*, soon became formidable. Above twenty thousand took the field, and suddenly reduced *Burkhausen*, *Kelheim*, *Wilsbroun*, *Hilsgarsberg*, *Brunau*, and *Scharding*. A design was formed to surprise *Huy* ; but their troops being separated in detachments, and accidents preventing their assembling at the place of rendezvous, they were attacked and defeated by the *Austrians*. Perceiving they could not make head against regular forces, the peasants made proposals to surrender the places they had taken, and lay down their arms upon certain conditions. Their terms were accepted, and an amnesty granted, but observed like the former treaty. Some were hanged, some beheaded, and others broke on the wheel, dismembered and dis-

perfed about the country, and fixed up in the moft public places. At this time the electrefs was in *Italy* with her mother the queen of *Poland*. She demanded leave to return to her dominions, and a passport, which was granted ; but juft as ſhe arrived on the frontiers of the electorate, ſhe was prohibited from purſuing her journey, without any reaſon aſſigned. Her complaints of this violation of the treaty of *Landau* availed nothing ; ſhe was even deprived the poor ſatisfaction of mingling her tears with thoſe of her faithful ſubjects, and bewailing in conſort the miſfortunes of her country^a.

SUCH was the deplorable ſituation of the houſe of *Bavaria*, when the death of the duke of *Zell* occaſioned ſome diſputes between the family of *Hanover* and the king of *Denmark*, which were happily accommodated under the mediation of the emperor *Joſeph* and the queen of *England*. The deceaſe of the biſhop of *Lubeck* had likewise almoſt kindled a ſtorm in the north, by renewing the ſeveral pretenſions of the crown of *Denmark*, and the houſe of *Holſtein-Gottorp* to that ſee. The duke took poſſeſſion, and the prince of *Denmark* demanded the deciſion of the aulic council. The former was ſupported by the *Swediſh* monarch, and the king of *Denmark* reſolved to maintain the right of the prince his brother. By the interpoſition of the queen of *England*, and the ſtates-general of the United Provinces, the affair was for a time compromised, juſt as the parties were upon the eve of hoſtilities. *Charles* of *Sweden* was at this time engaged in *Lithuania*, and king *Auguſtus* of *Poland*, reſolving to profit by the opportunity, aſſembled an army near *Grodno*. The *Swede*, apprized of his deſign, quitted *Lithuania*, flew like lightning to *Poland*, appeared with his army before *Grodno*, offered battle, and was reſuſed. *Auguſtus* waited to be joined by the army from *Saxony* ; but *Schulemberg*, the *Saxon* general, was defeated in his march by *Renſchild*, quartered with a body of *Swedes* on the frontiers of *Brandenburg*. Next year, after *Charles* had driven the *Ruſſians* out of *Lithuania*, he proſecuted, with redoubled vigour, the quarrel with *Auguſtus*, transferring the ſeat of war into the heart of the electorate of *Saxony* : in this manner a diſpute between two northern princes became a concern of the empire. His arrival overwhelmed the *Saxons* with conſternation ; all the princes of the empire dreaded the vicinity of ſo enterpriſing and ambitious a monarch. They offered their mediation to accompliſh a peace ; *Charles* gave audience to their ambaffadors and the deputies from the ſtates of *Saxony*, at *Alt-Ramſtadt*. At length a treaty was concluded, in which

Affairs of
Saxony.
A. D.
1706.

^a Jour. Hiſt. An. 1705. BARRÉ, t. x. p. 496.

were a great variety of articles kept secret from the *German* princes. The treaty was ratified by *Stanislaus*, the competitor for the crown of *Poland*, and afterwards sent to *Warsaw*, for the approbation of *Augustus*; during which an armistice for ten weeks was published in the *Swedish* camp. The *Polish* envoy *Pfingsten*, being sent with the treaty, *Charles* intrusted him with an order for general *Mardeveldt*, and the palatine of *Kiovia*, to refrain from hostilities for the time specified; but the envoy committing this order to another hand, it was never delivered. In consequence of this neglect a battle was fought, in which the *Swedes* were defeated; upon which the peace was again broken, and *Charles* determined to punish, with the utmost rigour, the supposed perfidy of his enemy. *Saxony* was loaded with exactions, and the people reduced to extreme misery. In the end, *Augustus*, to save his hereditary dominions, was forced to renounce the crown of *Poland*; to confirm it to his rival *Stanislaus*; to renounce all his engagements with the czar, and other enemies of *Sweden*; to restore all the jewels and archives of *Poland*, which he brought into *Saxony*; to maintain in *Saxony* and *Lusatia* the Protestant religion, and to surrender all the *Swedish* prisoners, deserters, and particularly the famous *Patkul*, who was broke on the wheel and quartered, though his merit, courage, patriotism, and public character, ought to have exempted him from so ignominious a punishment, however obnoxious he might have been to the *Swedish* monarch (A). The allies, apprehensive of disobliging the ferocious *Charles*, were obliged to guaranty this treaty. *England* and *Holland* feared he might be induced to join with *France*, and support the elector of *Bavaria*, now put under the ban of the empire. *Joseph* had the same sentiments: he had constrained the aulic council to proscrib the electors of *Bavaria* and *Cologne*, by which he

The electors of *Bavaria* and *Cologne* put under the ban of the empire.

(A) *Patkul* was a native of *Livonia*: his zeal for the liberties of his country incurred the resentment of the states of *Sweden*, in the reign of *Charles* the eleventh. He harangued boldly, in the king's presence, upon this subject; and his eloquence and public spirit secured the royal esteem. The states, however, condemned him to death: the king warned him of his danger, and *Patkul* withdrew to *Poland*. Animated with re-

venge, he advised *Augustus* to the conquest of *Livonia*, just as *Charles* the twelfth had succeeded to the crown. Upon some disgust he quitted *Poland*, entered into the service of the czar, and acquitted himself with fidelity. He was at this time invested with the character of ambassador from the czar, notwithstanding which, the necessity to which *Augustus* was reduced, obliged him to violate the laws of nations.

confirmed

confirmed to the council an authority before disputed ^b. After so extraordinary a precedent, it did not become the inferior princes of the empire to contest this extensive jurisdiction, tho' we have since beheld it prostituted to the worst purposes of ambition and policy.

No sooner was the decree of the aulic council passed, than the emperor assembled a great number of nobility. Seated in his imperial throne he heard read the acts by which *Leopold* had invested the two proscribed princes with the electoral dignity. He then tore them in pieces, threw them on the ground, and trampled upon those solemn decrees. The heralds at arms took up the scraps on the points of their lances, and flung them into the street. Then was pronounced the decree of the aulic council, by which the princes were proscribed; after which the sentence was publicly proclaimed by the heralds in all the public streets of *Vienna*. A price was set on the head of the elector of *Bavaria*, and the same would have been done to the elector of *Cologne*, had not his ecclesiastical character exempted him from such severity. Even the children of the elector of *Bavaria* were deprived of their titles, and ordered to be called only the children of the count *de Witelsbach*. Most princes in *Germany* blamed the emperor's inflexibility, and the rigour of the sentence; they likewise declared, that the form was not agreeable to the usual method of proscribing the members of the *Germanic* body. The constitution indeed requires, that the accused should be cited before a full diet, be permitted to plead their own defence, again examined before the three colleges, and, if found guilty, three several times summoned to comply with their obligations, and make ample satisfaction. If the delinquent should still persist in his fault, the three colleges then assemble, and publish the ban of the empire. It was therefore concluded, that as those formalities had not been regarded in this instance, the proscription was void and of no effect.

THE electors, however, rested their cause upon a surer foundation: they hoped that *M. Villars*, backed by a numerous army, would restore their affairs, and demonstrate the injustice of their sentence. He advanced with great rapidity along the *Sar*, and obliged the prince of *Baden* to abandon his camp and retire towards *Drusenheim*. This situation likewise he quitted precipitately on the defeat of his advanced guard, who disputed the passage of the *Moter* with the *French* forlorn hope. This retreat extremely affected the reputation of the prince of *Baden*, as he left all his tents standing, his baggage,

^b Id. *ibid*.

stores, ammunition, and part of his cannon, a prey to the enemy, repassing the *Rhine* before a body of irregulars, with an expedition which had all the appearances of a flight. In consequence *Lauterburg* fell an easy victim, and the Imperialists were driven from post to post, without the credit of striking a blow, or making the least shew of resistance. In a word, *M. Villars* profited so much by this general consternation, that he soon occupied all the posts and fortresses from the river *Motter* to *Spirebach*. Next he reduced *Haguenau*, by a detachment under the same *Perry*, who had lately so bravely defended it against the Imperialists : after which he was too much weakened by draughts made from his army, to enter upon any considerable enterprize.

PRINCE *Lewis* of *Baden* was in much the same circumstances : he was forced to send strong reinforcements to *Hungary*, to oppose the progress of the malcontents, who had forced the lines at *Morave*, defended by general *Baskai*, and made an irruption into *Austria*, whence they returned with booty of immense value. *Guy de Staremberg*, who imagined he lay in security behind the lines of *Oedemberg*, had likewise the mortification of being forced, while the *Hungarians*, after destroying thirty villages, and desolating the whole country, returned with rich plunder to *Newbausel*. Afterwards *Ragotski* harassed, for the space of a month, the army under *Staremberg*, by perpetual marches, counter-marches, skirmishes, and alarms : both practised every finess of war, and exhausted the whole military art, in endeavours to gain some decisive advantage ; when at length *Ragotski*, by a sudden manœuvre, appeared before *Strigonia* in *Lower Hungary*, which he took by assault. *Staremberg* retook this place soon after, though he found himself unable to stop the ravages of the enemy. *Ragotski* was at the head of forty thousand men, and had left considerable detachments with the generals *Fergats* and *Oskai*, to penetrate into *Austria* and *Moravia*. They passed and repassed, pillaged, plundered, desolated all before them, and returned untouched, laden with booty. A corps of *Hungarians* had near surprised the emperor, and seized his person, as he was hunting in the forest of *Eberdorf*. The scheme was well laid, and it only miscarried through accident.

IN *Italy* affairs were not more prosperous : the enemy, under *M. Berwick*, had reduced *Nice*, and the Imperialists were diminished at least four thousand in number, since prince *Eugene* had quitted the command. Such was their superiority, that the *French* were meditating the conquest of all *Piedmont* ; nor could the remonstrances of *Eugene* animate the councils of *Vienna*, or quicken their measures. Money was want-

ing,

ing, and the emperor was advised to supply the deficiencies by new impositions on the *Bavarians*; but *Eugene*, touched with the misfortunes of the electorate, proposed a scheme more generous and noble: it was to mortgage to the *English* the revenues of *Silesia* for the sum of twenty-five thousand pounds sterling. The proposal was embraced; *Eugene* intrusted with the negotiation, the money borrowed, and the utmost expedition exerted in levying troops for the service in *Italy*. As soon as the levies were complete, the prince prepared to re-pass the *Alps*; but before his arrival he was informed of the unfortunate action at *Calcinato*: before he could collect the remains of the scattered army, the enemy had invested *Turin*^c. The capital was on the verge of destruction, when *Eugene*, by the most astonishing march, environed with danger, and hemmed in on every side by enemies, appeared before the *French* camp, forced their intrenchments, obtained a complete victory, relieved *Turin*, and recovered all the conquests made by *Lewis the Great*, with a rapidity which will transmit his memory with glory to the latest posterity.

IN *Flanders* the duke of *Marlborough* rivalled the fame of *Eugene*, by a victory equally glorious and decisive as that at *Turin*. *Villeroy* was defeated by an inferior army at *Ramillies*, with the loss of his cannon, baggage, and an infinity of killed and prisoners. *Ghent*, *Bruges*, *Louvain*, *Mechlin*, *Brussels*, *Oudenarde*, and a variety of other places, surrendered at the summons of the victorious confederates. Covered with glory *Marlborough* set out for *London*, and from thence proceeded to sound the intentions of his *Swedish* majesty, who was supposed to have a bias in favour of *Lewis* and the elector of *Saxony*. Here he approved himself as able a statesman as his repeated conquests had shewn him a general.

WHILE *Marlborough* resided at the court of *Charles* the twelfth, the emperor dispatched the count *de Wratislaus* to *Leipsick*, to accommodate the differences between the *Swedish* monarch and the house of *Austria*. *Charles* demanded satisfaction for the injury done him, by granting a passage through *Silesia* to a body of *Russians*. With respect to the house of *Holstein*, he required that right of primogeniture should be established, and the see of *Lubec* confirmed to the present possessor: he insisted, that his contingent against *France* should be excused, on account of the war against *Poland* and *Muscovy*, in which he was engaged: he farther expected, that liberty of conscience should be allowed the Protestants in *Silesia*, and the count *Zoern* sent to apologize in the *Swedish* camp

^c Vid. Univ. Hist, v. xxv. in the Reign of Lewis XIV.

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for the disrespectful terms in which he spoke of him and his ally king *Stanislaus*. The count replied, that his instructions were too limited to grant those demands : he refused restoring to the Protestants any of the churches of which they were deprived, previous to the treaty of *Ryswick* ; but the king insisted and extended his demand to that of *Westphalia*. *Wratislaus* returned for fresh instructions to *Vienna* ; and during his absence the *English* and *Dutch* ministers laboured to persuade the king to march without delay against the *Russians*. They offered their mediation to terminate the affair with the emperor to his satisfaction ; but *Charles* well knew that his presence would have more influence. In fact, the emperor was forced to accede to all the propositions made by the *Swede*, who, at this critical juncture, was courted by all the potentates of *Europe*, who equally feared and admired a young prince so fierce, active, ambitious, and warlike.

THE long duration of a war, in which all *Europe* was embroiled, intirely drained the provinces of money, and deprived them of the possibility of furnishing the usual contingents. The people ardently wished for peace ; but the imperial and *British* courts, and the states-general, were not yet satiated with conquest. The circles of the *Upper* and *Lower Rhine*, of *Suabia* and *Franconia*, complained of the impossibility of defending their frontiers against the enemy, unless the stipulated forces were regularly levied : this gave birth to the assembly which met at *Heilbron*, where it was resolved, that an army of forty thousand men should be raised for this purpose, and augmented by a certain number of *English* and *Dutch* forces. A sufficient sum of money for the maintenance of this army was voted ; magazines were to be formed at *Philipsburg* ; *Landau* was to be fortified, garrisoned, and well provided ; and recruits sufficient to complete all the regiments to be sent early in the spring to *Savoy* : but the execution of these resolutions met with numberless difficulties.

NEGOTIATIONS were likewise on the carpet, to engage the emperor to invest his brother, the archduke *Charles*, with the dutchy of *Milan*. He had long waved this request, and thereby excited jealousy in the *Italian* states, who dreaded the establishment of the imperial power in *Italy*, and the vicinity of so formidable a potentate. At the same time the *English* and *Dutch* were labouring to procure the extension of the duke of *Savoy's* territories. He was detached from the *French* interest by a promise of the late emperor, to cede to him the towns of *Valencia* and *Alexandria*, with their dependencies. *Joseph* had long deferred the performance of his father's promise ; but he now at length yielded to the intercession of his allies ;

allies ; he surrendered the above cities to *Victor Amadeus*, and invested the archduke *Charles* with the dutchy of *Milan*. Perhaps the treaty which the emperor now signed with the court of *France* was the least politic of all his late measures. He consented that *Lewis* should withdraw his garrisons out of *Italy*, with all their baggage and artillery. They must have necessarily fallen into the hands of prince *Eugene*, who now carried all before him ; and the *French* army in *Flanders* received by this means a reinforcement of eighteen thousand of the best troops of *France*, veterans, who had served during the war in *Lombardy*. Had the whole imperial army in *Italy* been likewise recalled, it would more than have counterbalanced this advantage gained by *France* ; but the case was otherwise : that army was almost wholly taken up in garrisoning the towns evacuated by the enemy. It is true, a direct path was now opened to *Provence*, and a scheme on foot for penetrating into the heart of *France* ; but as these extensive projects never took effect, it may reasonably be presumed that this treaty was on the whole prejudicial to the alliance. The imperial generals proposed laying siege to *Toulon* ; accordingly the duke of *Savoy* and prince *Eugene* encamped at *la Valette*, where they established their head-quarters. On the twenty-ninth of *July* they attacked the enemy posted on an eminence near *St. Catharine*, and strongly intrenched : they were twice repulsed, but returning a third time to the charge, they attacked with such impetuosity as carried the intrenchments sword in hand ; upon which they erected batteries on the eminence to play upon *Toulon*. *M. Tesse*, who commanded the *French* army perceived, that the safety of the town depended upon dispossessing the Imperialists of an eminence that intirely commanded the besieged. He resolved upon the enterprize, and executed it with so much vigour, that the whole allied detachment was put to the sword, and above four battalions cut in pieces. This disappointment, the scarcity of provision, and the difficulty of forcing a strong town well garrisoned, provided and covered with an army, determined the duke and prince *Eugene* to raise the siege, and withdraw the imperial forces. The latter, however, in his retreat made himself master of *Susa*.

NOR were the emperor's arms more successful on the *Rhine*. The mar- At the death of prince *Lewis* of *Baden*, one of the best officers of *Baden* in the imperial service, the command of the army was reith made given to the margrave of *Brandenburg-Bareith*, a Protestant general of prince, and the oldest veldt-marshal. It was an agreement the *Impe-* between the Catholics and Protestants, that the officers of rialists. either religion should have the command in turns ; the only

expedient by which both parties could be united for the common interest : yet did the directory of *Mentz* oppose this coalition, because it was disliked by several of the Catholic princes of the *Germanic* body, who wanted to engross all preferments. The emperor had taken some measures to satisfy the directory, which so enflamed the Protestants, that he was now obliged to appease them, by appointing prince *Eugene* and the margrave alternately to the command. As the former was wholly occupied in *Italy*, this regulation gave the Protestants full satisfaction. The margrave no sooner entered upon his new appointment, than he wrote to the several circles to solicit their contingents, and his remonstrances were supported by the states-general of the United Provinces, who wrote to the diet, reproaching the circles with backwardness, and with having taken no measures for the defence of their frontiers and the campaign on the *Rhine*. Their letter, which was exceedingly bitter and spirited, became the subject of debate in the diet. Several of the members took offence at the acrimony of the style, and the ministers refused to act, until they were empowered by fresh instructions from their different courts.

MEAN time, the margrave was at the head of an army on the *Rhine*; but, instead of the forty thousand men voted by the assembly at *Heilbron*, it did not exceed twenty-eight thousand men, newly levied, ill armed, and worse payed. With this force, he was embarrassed how he should act against M. *Villars*, and be able to defend the lines at *Stolhoffen*, which covered the territory of *Baden-Dourlach*, and extended to the impassable mountains of the *Black Forest*. These lines were indeed impregnable, had they been sufficiently guarded; but *Villars* knew the state of the imperial army, and resolved to profit by the opportunity. Conducted by the count *de Broglie*, who was perfectly acquainted with the country, the strength and weakness of the lines, he made divers feints and false attacks, as if he intended penetrating into the marquisate, while he was assembling twenty battalions and forty-five squadrons under *Broglie* at *Lauterberg*. Filling sixty boats with grenadiers, he dropt down to the isle of *Newburg*: he chased from thence the Imperialists, after a short resistance. As he was preparing to attack the lines, they were abandoned by the margrave, who retired under cover of a thick fog, not imagining he should be able to stand the assault. Thus, without scarce striking a blow, *Villars* got possession of the strong works at *Stolhoffen*, all the tents of the Imperialists, great part of their artillery and baggage, the cloathing of several regiments, a variety of copper pontoons, an intire bridge of boats, twenty thousand sacks of corn, a prodigious quantity of forage,

The margrave flies before the French.

forage, ammunition, and stores, and the intire command of the marquisate of *Baden*. Terrified at this unexpected loss, the marchioness-dowager fled precipitately with her family from the castle of *Rastadt*; but *Villars* sent after her to request she would return, promising her the protection of his master, and all the respect due to her sex and quality: she relied upon the marechal's word, returned to *Rastadt*, and found all her effects untouched, and the greatest order observed; only contributions to the amount of one hundred thousand crowns were levied in the marquisate. *Villars* then penetrated into the dutchy of *Wirtemberg*, which he taxed at the rate of two millions of livres. His approach gave the alarm to the margrave, encamped at *Heilbron*, who did not believe himself in security here, notwithstanding his army had been augmented by considerable reinforcements. The truth is, he was forced again to weaken himself, in order to secure *Landau*, *Friburg*, and *Philipsburg*, by strong garrisons. *Villars*, however, had too much discernment to waste his time in sieges. He found it more to the king's and his own advantage to spread consternation over *Germany*, drive before him the little fugitive imperial army, and support his own by contributions levied on the enemy.

THE misfortunes of the campaign were wholly charged upon the misconduct of the margrave: they ought, perhaps, to be imputed to the backwardness of the circles in contributing their contingents. Certain it is, that so displeased was the emperor with all the margrave's proceedings, that he offered the command of the army to the elector of *Hanover*, under pretence that *Baroth* was too old and infirm to support the duty. His true motive was to engage the elector to join his forces to the Imperialists: this the elector perceived, and declined the compliment on account of his bad state of health. It was obvious, that he chose not to declare himself, until he was certain the princes of the empire would fulfil their engagements, and assured of the measures of the king of *Sweden*. To raise money sufficient to augment the army, the next step taken by the imperial court was to confiscate the estates of all the ministers and officers in *Bavaria*, who had shewn the least attachment to their sovereign; a procedure that was followed by the necessity of depriving them of the power of revolting^a.

ALL this time the circles of *Suabia* and *Franconia*, assisted by the deputies of several imperial cities, remonstrated to the diet at *Ratisbon* upon the dangers which threatened all *Germany*, and their territories in particular. The remonstrances

^a BARRE, t. x.

were followed by a declaration of their deputies, importing, that if speedy measures were not taken for their defence, they should be under the necessity of accepting the proffered neutrality with *France*. At the same time it was whispered, that the princes of *Wirtemberg*, *Baden*, and the states most exposed to the enemy's incursions, had come to a resolution of striking up a separate pacification. In these circumstances, the diet exerted the utmost vigilance to prevent so dangerous a breach in the alliance and the states of the empire. No method more effectual could be found than issuing orders to the margrave of *Bareith* to join with all possible celerity the troops of *Westphalia* and other circles, assembling in the neighbourhood of *Mentz*, and after this junction to proceed to the *Rhine*. This resolution had two important objects in view, one of which, it was imagined, might necessarily succeed. *M. Villars* only advanced into the heart of *Germany*, because the imperial army retired; but should the margrave return to the *Rhine*, the marechal must infallibly take the same route to watch his motions. On the contrary, if the *French* meditated the recovery of *Bavaria*, the Imperialists might pass the *Rhine*, force the lines at *Lauterberg*, penetrate into *Alsace*, and retaliate all the injuries the empire might sustain from the loss of the electorate, and the heavy contributions levied in other districts. The emperor approved the resolution, and the orders were immediately dispatched to the margrave. He passed by *Heilbron*, through *Franconia*, with such rapidity as baffled all the endeavours of *Villars* to obstruct his progress: upon which the *French* general sent a detachment of four thousand men under the count *de Bourg* to sustain the lines at *Lauterberg*, in case they should be attacked. Another detachment, under the count *de Broglio*, seized upon *Lauffen* on the *Necker*; while the marechal in person crossed that river with a part of his army, and arrived on the fourth of *July* at *Dourlach*. His approach broke the design of the Imperialists upon *Alsace*, and enabled him to lay under contribution all the states of the *Palatinate*.

THOUGH the margrave was reinforced by the troops at *Mentz*, and the flying camp of general *Thungen*, he was still unable to make head against the marechal. The necessity of augmenting his army, occasioned a motion in the diet to take into the pay of the empire a body of eight thousand *Saxons*; but to this the circles of *Suabia* and *Franconia* objected, on account of the heavy contributions levied upon them by the enemy, which had already impoverished the country. They proposed the necessary supplies should be borrowed of *England* and *Holland*; hence the emperor perceived the backwardness

of the circles to enter upon fresh expences, and the danger lest they might close with the proposals of *France*, should any constraint be laid on their inclinations. For these reasons the proposition was dropt, and he again sought the assistance of *Hanover*. The more strongly to induce the elector to accept the command of the army, it was proposed to invest him with the title of veldt-marechal: the margrave complained of the injustice done him, and the indignity offered, by so declared a preference. He vindicated his own conduct; and, with great truth, shifted the blame on the circles of the empire, the insufficiency of his army, and the want of every necessary. However, the emperor persisted, the margrave resigned the command, and it was bestowed, with the title of veldt-marechal, on the elector of *Hanover*. *The duke of Hanover is appointed general of the Imperialists.*

IN the month of *September* the elector repaired to the camp at *Etlinguen*, attended by a body of *Hanoverians*. Immediately he visited all the posts; and, having examined the situation, formed the design of running a line along the *Elbe*, for the greater security of the country. He sent a sketch of his project to the diet; and, while he expected their sentiments, was preparing to surprize the marquis *de Vivons*, encamped at *Offenburg*. With this view he detached two thousand cavalry, and an equal number of infantry, under the conduct of count *Merci* and prince *Lobskowitz*, under cover of a thick fog, to make the attempt^b. They approached so near to the *French* camp, that the scheme must have taken effect, had they not been discovered by foraging parties, who spread the alarm, and gave the *French* general time to withdraw and evacuate his camp, with the loss of three hundred soldiers and a few officers. With this transaction ended the campaign, both armies going into winter-quarters.

AFFAIRS in *Spain* bore a very untoward aspect. The battle of *Almanza* was lost; the allies every where foiled by the vigilance, activity, and superior genius of marechal *Berwick*; and the kingdoms of *Valentia* and *Arragon* forced to submit to the conqueror. But these losses were in some measure repaired by the happy revolution in *Naples*, effected by cardinal *Pignatelli* and the duke *de Monteleon*. Here count *Thaun* was appointed governor, and the archduke *Charles* declared sovereign of the whole kingdom. At the same time the nuptials of this prince, with *Elizabeth-Christina* of *Wolfembutte*, was celebrated with great magnificence at *Vienna*. This reverse of fortune, however, in *Spain*, prevented his attending the ceremony in person, which was performed by his proxy. *Affairs in Spain and Naples.*

^b Journ. Hist, sub. An. BARRE, *ibid*,

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*Resolutions
of the diet.*

DURING the recess from hostilities produced by the winter, the diet was plied with remonstrances from the allies. The states-general represented, that as the war was undertaken in defence of the liberties of *Europe* in general, and of the states in particular, they were resolved to prosecute it with the utmost vigour and alacrity : the same measures they expected from all their allies ; yet hitherto it unfortunately happened, that in proportion as they augmented their forces, the emperor and princes of the empire diminished their army, and seemed to throw the whole burthen of the war upon their allies. A variety of other grievances were represented with great freedom and energy, which so embarrassed the diet, that three months were spent in disputations. At length the colleges agreed to raise three hundred thousand florins, to supply the deficiencies of the preceding year, and a million of crowns for the sole use of the military chest : besides, three thousand *Saxon* horse were to be taken into pay, the army to be augmented to one hundred and twenty thousand effective men, for the defence of the frontiers, the garrisons, and the purpose of facing the enemy upon the *Rhine* ; the elector of *Hanover* was authorised to enforce by military execution the decree of the diet, and the contingents of the several members, either in men, money, or artillery. Yet did not this precaution produce the effect. The princes and cities alledged various excuses for evading this extraordinary expence. They insisted upon recalling the army from *Italy*, as a measure preferable to new and oppressive levies.

Objections

raised by

the circle of

Burgundy.

BESIDES these difficulties, another occurred of a more refined and political nature. By the partition of the one hundred and twenty thousand men, and two million eight hundred thousand florins made by the diet, a certain proportion was assigned to the *Spanish Netherlands*, under the name of the circle of *Burgundy*. In this division were included a great number of towns belonging to the republic of the United Provinces, who highly resented that they should be taxed by the empire, at the same time they were contributing to the support of the war as subjects of the states-general. They remonstrated to the diet, refused to pay the taxes, and by this means introduced a new scene of discord and confusion. *Ruremonde*, *Venlo*, *Nimeguen*, *Tielt*, *Bommel*, and the whole barony of *Breda*, sent their deputies to the diet, and to the states-general. It was on the presumption of their having a voice in the grand council of the empire, that they were taxed as subjects of the empire ; it was because they were the acknowledged subjects of the republic they refused to pay them. They pleaded the impossibility of being subject to two separate indepen-

independent states; and the diet thought it unreasonable they should maintain the privileges of members of this assembly, without contributing to the expence of the government^a. However, the cities carried the debate, and in consequence the whole decree of the diet was rendered fruitless, because an additional expence must fall upon the other members,

DURING these altercations, the crown of *Portugal*, the archduke *Charles*, the duke of *Savoy*, prince *Eugene*, the duke of *Wurtemberg*, and the prince of *Hesse-Cassel*, were all clamorous for money, troops, provisions, and necessaries. All were in want, and disappointed. The projects of the duke of *Savoy*, prince *Eugene*, and the elector of *Hanover*, were at a stand, and the troops in a most deplorable situation; but nothing could hasten the dilatory proceedings of the *Germanic* body. Without *England*, the confederates must have been ruined, and all the glorious victories of *Eugene* and *Marlborough* rendered abortive. The *British* parliament kept firm not only to their engagements, but greatly exceeded the promised supplies, and became equally the support and the cement of the alliance. Through the invigorating influence of this weakly state, always proud of taking the lead, the principal in every quarrel, and the prey of every confederacy, the combined armies were at length put in motion. In *Flanders* the battle of *Oudenarde* was gained, under the auspices of *Marlborough* and *Eugene*, though the enemy were headed by a prince of the blood, and the philosophic *Vendome*, one of the first generals in *Europe*, and now, with marechal *Villars*, the prop of *Lewis's* declining glory. *Lisle*, *Ghent*, and other cities, surrendered to the conquerors, and nothing seemed capable of stemming the impetuosity of the confederates. On the *Rhine* no considerable transaction occurred: both sides directed their chief strength to the *Netherlands*; and the affairs of *Hungary* still bore an unfavourable aspect.

THOUGH the malcontents had been frequently defeated, they were far from being conquered, obstinately refusing the terms proposed by the court of *Vienna*. They flattered themselves with the hopes of some happy revolution, which should induce the emperor to secure their privileges. They even wished for a *Turkish* war, hoping that, between rival powers, they might acquire independency. *Ragotski*, and the other chiefs, loudly complained of the violence offered to public liberty; and to silence their clamours, and redress their grievances, the emperor convoked a diet at *Presburg*. This was certainly a prudent measure, had it been rightly pursued; but

Affairs of Hungary.

A diet sits at Presburg.

^a *BARRÉ Hist. t. x. An. 1708.*

no steps were taken in the diet to appease the troubles; no concessions were made to sooth, or proposals offered to satisfy the disaffected. The diet answered no other purpose than to shew that the kingdom swarmed with malcontents; only a small proportion of whom appeared in arms, and to draw up a remonstrance of the grievances of the people. They demanded a public ratification, in full diet, of the late emperor's declaration, that no attempts should ever be made on the privileges of the kingdom: they also demanded security that his imperial majesty should never bequeath the crown by will or testament; and that, at his death, the antient right of election of a sovereign should revert to the people: that no *Hungarian* gentleman should be condemned for treason, before he was legally proved of having appeared in arms against the supreme authority: that the nobility should be exempted from having soldiers quartered upon them: that no taxes should be levied without the consent of the states, and all contributions upon any other authority be abolished: that the general diet be assembled every three years: that the imperial council, relative to the kingdom of *Hungary*, consist wholly of natives of that country: that all employments in the kingdom be filled up by *Hungarians*, whether civil, military, or ecclesiastical: that all foreigners should immediately resign their places, except the cardinal *Saxe-Zeith*, primate of the kingdom, who, in consideration of his extraordinary merit, should continue in possession of all his dignities: that the officers of the treasury should be wholly directed by the laws, with respect to the confiscation of the estates of noblemen: that liberty of conscience, and the public exercise of religion, should be restored to the Protestants: that, however, the Catholic faith should be the established national religion, and the other tolerated only, for the sake of peace: that the offices of palatine of the kingdom, judges of the king's court, of the thane of *Croatia*, &c. should be restored on the antient footing, and their salaries regularly paid out of the public revenue: that the revenues of the kingdom should be administered by an *Hungarian* treasurer, independent of the imperial court: that foreign troops should be obliged to observe exact discipline, and intirely to quit the kingdom before the session of the next diet: finally, that his imperial majesty should commit the whole direction of affairs to his *Hungarian* council; assisted by four other counsellors of his own election.

SUCH was the bill of remonstrance, presented to the court; several of the demands were entirely new, and others the same which had been repeatedly urged, to little purpose. Hitherto the success of the malcontents had not been considerable

able enough to induce the emperor to grant all their demands; however, defeats and disappointments could not break their spirit; they even rose with misfortune. Nor did the sitting of the diet prevent the malcontents from, making excursions into the hereditary dominions of the house of *Austria*, which they overwhelmed with terror. They besieged a variety of places, and, among others, the strong fortrefs of *Neistette*, which they reduced to great extremity. General *Heisler*, informed of the wretched situation of the garrison, marched with seven thousand cavalry, and a body of infantry, to their relief; his approach obliging *Ragotski*, and the count *Bireccini*, to retire beyond the river *Trenchin*. In their retreat he attacked the enemy's rear with so much vigour, as put them in confusion, and obliged them to relinquish the siege, with the loss of a considerable number of men and military trophies.

WHILE rejoicings were making in *Vienna* for this trifling victory, the court was alarmed with advice that the rebels had crossed the *Danube*, forced the lines of *Petronelle*, carried fort *Rust* by assault, and plundered the towns and villages within forty miles of the capital of the empire. Intelligence likewise arrived, that the enemy had forced a passage over the *Meuer*, taken *Legrad*, a town situated on the confluence of that river with the *Drave*, surprised *Chackthurn* and *Petaw*, cut off the communication between *Slavonia* and *Transylvania*, and reduced general *Heisler* to the necessity of raising the siege of *Newhausel*. With this news vanished all hope of reducing the malcontents: their armies, their courage, their resentments, and their prospects, were daily augmenting. They had fortified *Newhausel*, razed the works of the besiegers, augmented the garrison with two thousand men, and put this place out of all manner of danger. *Ragotski* had assembled the chief discontented generals, and obtained from them a resolution to continue so just and necessary a war, with the utmost vigour and alacrity. They highly extolled his valour, activity, and patriotism, and rewarded his zeal for the public liberty with the chief command. Then they signed a new association, whereby they agreed to defend their privileges with their lives and fortunes, to obey the directions of *Ragotski*, and to suffer every extremity for the space of six years, rather than renounce their pretensions; at the expiration of this time the association might be renewed ^b.

*Success of
the malcon-
tents.*

THE court of *Vienna*, however, was less astonished at the firm resolutions of the *Hungarians*, than at the spirit with

^b Jour. Hist. sub An. hoc.

which

Disputes
renewed
with the
pope.

which the pontiff resented the emperor's late conduct. He now thundered excommunications against some officers of the imperial army in *Italy*, because, in passing through the territories of the church, they had committed some irregularities, and exacted contributions from the clergy of *Parma*, and other districts. The pontiff had first complained to the emperor, but not finding redress, he proceeded to judgment with great rigour, and seized this opportunity of wreaking his vengeance for the late insult offered his authority. He likewise refused to acknowledge the archduke's pretensions to the crown of *Spain*, and thereby widened the breach between the papal and imperial courts. In the month of *July* the count *de Caunits*, auditor of the rota for the empire, distributed circular letters in *Rome*, supported by an imperial manifesto, whereby *Joseph* annulled the pontifical censures, alledging, for a reason, that *Parma* and the towns where his troops had lived at free quarters, were fiefs of the empire. He added his resolution to support the imperial rights in *Italy*, without other exception, than of those towns which could prove their immunities by authentic deeds, signed by former emperors, and ratified by the *Germanic* body. In this menace he had an eye to the pontiff, and the dukes of *Tuscany* and *Parma*, whose neutrality, during the war that raged in *Italy*, gave great offence to his imperial majesty.

JOSEPH pushed his resentment still farther. The cardinal *Grimani*, viceroy of *Naples*, published a decree suppressing the nunciatory tribunal, and forbidding the clergy to pay the annates to the chancery of *Rome*. He insisted, that the king of the *Two Sicilies* did not require the investiture of the pontiff, because these provinces were not fiefs of the papal see, and the estates of *Avignon* and *Benevento* reverted by right to the crown of *Naples*. To support these decrees the Imperialists commenced hostilities: they seized on *Comacina*, *Magnavaca*, *Logo*, *Cévali*, and other places, commodious for throwing succours into *Ferrara*, over which they asserted the right of the duke of *Modena*. At the same time the dukes of *Mantua* and *Montferrat* were put under the ban of the empire, and their estates confiscated, because they had presumed to tax the imperial justice. It had been stipulated in the treaty of one thousand seven hundred and seven, by which the *French* evacuated *Lombardy*, that the duchy of *Mantua* should be sequestered in the hands of the pope and the republic of *Venice*, until a general pacification should determine its fate; and the emperor should maintain garrisons in such towns as he thought proper, out of the revenues of the duchy, only allowing a certain sum for the support of the ducal dignity. Without
regard

regard to this treaty the Imperialists appropriated the whole Joseph's revenues to their own purposes, and the duke was left to beg *presses the* his sustenance, like a vagrant, from the neighbouring princes. Italian states. They likewise transported the duke's artillery to *Milan*, and other places, obliging the inhabitants of *Mantua* to maintain their forces at free quarters. It would be vain to attempt a vindication of this conduct, equally insolent and oppressive. The Imperialists acted in this manner wherever their arms were successful, poverty being the strong motive to their rapaciousness^c.

As to *Montferrat*, the emperor gave the investiture of the duchy to the duke of *Savoy*, on condition that prince adhered faithfully to the alliance during the war, without regard to natural affection and the interests of his daughter, married to the duke of *Anjou*, competitor with the archduke *Charles* for the *Spanish* monarchy; that he acknowledged the princess of *Welfembutte* as queen of *Spain*, in right of her husband the archduke; and that he should grant the duke of *Modena* a subsidy of fifteen thousand livres, until he was put in quiet possession of the duchy of *Ferrara*. The death of the duke of *Mantua* happily prevented the chagrin he must have felt from this iniquitous distribution of his dominions. This event made no alteration: the emperor pursued his resolution of establishing the imperial rights in *Italy* on the ancient footing; and he ordered the duke of *Parma* to prove his rights in fifteen days, or pay homage to the empire, under pain of confiscation of all his dominions. All *Italy* was alarmed at the high tone in which *Joseph* expressed himself. *Venice*, *Genoa*, and all the other states, were deeply interested in this resolution, which must rob them of the greatest part of their dominions, or render them at least subject to the empire: yet the imperial forces in *Italy*, and their own weakness, obliged them to suppress their complaints, and satisfy themselves with murmuring at a conduct they were incapable of resenting. At length, *Joseph* carried his violences to so enormous a length, that they ventured upon remonstrances. They said, that his measures were contradictory, - since he required the consent of the aulic council in a simple donation in *Italy*; and yet had, of his own right, disposed of the *Higher Palatinate*, and the county of *Chamb*, in favour of the count Palatine. His father *Leopold* had never consulted the empire when he transferred to the duke of *Savoy* a considerable part of the *Milanese*. Besides, that prince had, in the year 1691, declared the duke of *Parma* a vassal of the holy see; yet the

^c BARRE ubi supra.

emperor now claimed the dutchy as a fief of the empire. These arguments were unanswerable; but *Joseph's* claim must be decided not by reason, but the sword.

*The pope
has recourse
to arms.*

THE court of *Rome*, less timid than the other states and princes of *Italy*, resolved to join force to arguments, to stop the progress of the imperial power. In a conclave of thirty-four cardinals, a great majority was for coming to an open rupture, and repelling hostilities: all of them contributed to the expence of raising an army, to the command of which count *Marsigli* was appointed. The peasants of *Ferrara* were already in arms; and being joined by a few ecclesiastical forces, they drove the Imperialists out of *Argenta* and *Longastrino*, while the marquis *de Bentivoglio*, at the head of his own vassals, seized upon their magazines. On the first notice of these hostilities, count *Thaun* marched for the *Ferrarese*, forced several important posts, and laid siege to the capital, forbidding the people to supply the inhabitants with provision, under the penalty of military execution. At the same time the prince of *Darmstadt*, commander in chief in *Naples*, ordered several regiments to file towards the ecclesiastical territories; but before they entered upon action, the marquis *de Prie* was sent to *Rome* to propose an accommodation. The terms were, that the pontiff should reduce his standing forces to five thousand men; that he should permit the Imperialists to quarter in the ecclesiastical territories, and a passage when required. A few days were given him to consider the conditions, and in the mean time an armistice was granted.

ALREADY the Imperialists were in possession of the greater part of *Ferrara*, and the troops under count *Thaun* only waited for orders to march directly for *Rome*, while the fleets of *England* and *Holland* threatened the pontiff's sea-ports and coasts. The princes of *Italy* were over-awed: they scarce ventured to breath in whispers their grievances; and the remonstrances lately published, they feared had already roused the indignation of the confederates. Terror appeared in every face, and a general revolution in the affairs of *Italy* was apprehended. *Clement* assembled a consistory, to deliberate on the state of affairs, and the emperor's propositions: several cardinals were bold enough to repel them; but the more dispassionate were of opinion it was better to yield certain points and a few temporal rights, than incense a monarchy equally able to destroy or support the holy see. As they could come to no resolution, a message was sent to the marquis *de Prie*, requesting a prolongation of the armistice, the time limited being too short to deliberate on matters of so great

great moment; but he answered, that any extension of the truce exceeded his instructions, and that the infallible consequence of rejecting the emperor's proposals would be the desolation of the ecclesiastical territories, perhaps of *Rome* itself.

This menace determined the consistory. They were terrified with the picture drawn by the imperial ambassador; and fearing the ecclesiastical forces were too weak to resist the enemy, they embraced the proposals, and signed the treaty in the month of *January*. Here it was stipulated, that the pontiff should reduce his army to the number mentioned above; that he should disband all the *French* and *Spanish* auxiliaries; that he should furnish subsistence for six thousand Imperialists in his dominions; that he should on no terms abet the malcontents in *Naples*, or assist the enemies of the house of *Austria*, and the other allies; that *Commachio* should remain in the hands of the emperor, until it was otherwise disposed of at a general pacification; at which time commissaries should be appointed on both sides to adjust their mutual pretensions to this and to *Parma* and *Placentia*. No mention was made about acknowledging the right of the archduke to the *Spanish* monarchy: this was remitted to the conclave, where the emperor depended on a majority. This circumstance gave the *French* the greatest uneasiness. *Lewis* doubted not but establishing the right of *Charles* to the *Spanish* succession would be a necessary article of the treaty. *Marechal Tesse* was therefore dispatched to *Rome* to frustrate the negotiation; but his remonstrances made no impression. The Imperialists marched towards *Rome*, the treaty was signed, and the marechal was forced to rest satisfied with protestations. With respect, however, to acknowledging the archduke *Charles*, the pontiff egregiously equivocated. In his brief, addressed to that prince, he called him 'Our dear son the Catholic king in *Spain*;' a phrase which equally incurred the resentment of both parties. *France* alleged he granted too much in calling *Charles* a Catholic king; and the emperor was displeased he gave him a title inferior to the Catholic king of *Spain*, *Naples*, and the *Indies*. *Clement*, however, cleared himself.

THE new year was ushered in by the emperor's application to the states of the empire, to confirm the ninth electorate he had created in favour of the duke of *Hanover*. A variety of princes objected to the erection of this electorate, particularly the archbishops of *Treves* and *Cologne*. All the Catholics blamed *Leopold* for strengthening the Protestant interest in the electoral college, and they now represented to *Joseph* the evils which might arise from ratifying the creation of a new dignity. For six years the affair had been agitated; but *Joseph* determined

Peace concluded with the pontiff.

Difficulties about the honours to be conferred on the elector of Hanover.

terminated to surmount all opposition, and at any rate oblige the general of his army on the *Rhine*, and his Protestant allies. To satisfy the Catholics, it was proposed to erect for them another electorate, so as to turn the scale in the electoral college; but this being opposed, it was resolved to give a casting vote to the president of the diet, who was always a Catholic, the archbishop of *Mentz* constantly holding that dignity. Upon this compromise the elector of *Hanover* was admitted into the college; but the dispute was not wholly terminated. The duke of *Wirtemberg* opposed his being complimented with the grand standard of the empire, which had been long possessed by his family. He said, that honours ought to be contrived for the elector of *Hanover* which should diminish in no respect the other members of the empire, and particularly the duke of *Wirtemberg*, who had always distinguished his loyalty to the imperial crown. Recourse was then had to the place of grand treasurer, because, since the proscription of the elector of *Bavaria*, the count-palatine quitted that title for the other more honourable one of grand master of the empire: yet, as by the peace of *Baden* all employments and dignities were established on the antient footing, this project likewise met with difficulties. It was almost impossible to adjust the different pretensions of the elector-palatine and the elector of *Hanover*, who disputed about the dignity of grand treasurer. It was expected all obstructions would be removed, by making the new elector grand master of the horse; but to this the king of *Poland*, as elector of *Saxony*, put in his claim, pretending that all the functions attached to that charge belonged of antient right to the arch-marechal of the empire^c.

AFTER the diet had acknowledged the elector of *Hanover*, they voted that the emperor *Joseph* had a voice in the electoral college as king of *Bohemia*; an honour which none of his predecessors enjoyed since *Ladislous*. A peculiar prerogative he likewise enjoyed: it was, that his presence at the assembly could not be required, unless the diet was held on the frontiers of the kingdom whence he derived his right of voting. There was a wide difference made between the readmission of the sovereign of *Bohemia*, and the introduction of the house of *Brunswick* into the diet: the rights of the first were without exception or limitation; those of the other were restrained to the male issue of *Ernest-Augustus*, the first elector.

IN this situation were the affairs of the empire, when the most Christian king began seriously to wish seeing an issue to a

^c BARRE Hist. d'Allemagne, t. x. sub An. 1708-9.

long war, which had desolated and impoverished his dominions. Lewis proposed terms of peace. The president *Rouille* came to *Antwerp* to confer with the deputies of the states-general: his terms appeared so moderate, that, after much altercation and punctilious delays, *Rouille* was told, his master would be permitted to send plenipotentiaries to the *Hague*, to adjust the preliminaries of a general pacification. This was retaliating the indignities sustained from the *French* monarch before the peace of *Ryswick*: it was indeed mortifying, in excess, to that towering pride which aimed at giving law to all *Europe*. After tedious negotiations, mutual proposals were made and rejected: the allies demanded more than *Lewis*, even in the wain of his glory, could grant, without staining his honour, and subduing his natural affection for a grandson. We have already exhibited the particulars in our *History of France*: sufficient is it to remark in this place, that both sides prepared for the prosecution of the war, after *Rouille* had notified the impossibility of his master's accepting five of the articles specified in the preliminaries.

A. D.
1709.

Negotiation broke off.

THE confederates under *Marlbrough* and *Eugene* were again victorious in the *Netherlands*: *Villars* lost the battle of *Malplaquet*; but he was formidable in his defeat, and had stained deep with blood the laurels gained by the conquerors.

UPON the *Rhine* the campaign opened late in the season. The elector of *Hanover*, dissatisfied with the conduct of the preceding year, predicted the event of this, from the dilatory proceedings of the *Germanic* body. Scarce a single member of the empire discovered the least ardour in the common cause. All were slow in furnishing their contingents, and many refused at all to contribute to the public expence. The best troops were employed in *Flanders*, and money was wanting to assemble an army on the *Rhine*. It was proposed in the diet to borrow; but the college of princes refused their consent both to this measure and to levying new taxes, until all the circles had paid the arrears of their quotas. Under these embarrassments, the elector of *Hanover* wisely declined accepting the command of an army in want of every necessary, and which must every where be foiled by the enemy's superiority. However, he was at length gained over by the influence of the queen of *England*; upon which he repaired to the camp about the middle of *August*. He no sooner reviewed his forces than he made a motion towards the *French* lines at *Weissenburg*, commanded by the *marechal de Harcourt*. He had formed a project, which would have proved fatal to the enemy, had it been attended with the success which might reasonably have been expected. It was proposed to pass the *Rhine* into

War prosecuted.

the *Higher Alsace*; while count *Thaun*, after crossing the *Rhine*, should penetrate into *Franche-comté*, with a view either to reduce that province, or to seize upon the *Three Bishoprics*, and levy contributions in *Champagne* and *Burgundy*. To amuse *de Harcourt*, the elector propagated a report that he designed attacking his lines at *Weissenburg*; and the marechal took the necessary measures of defence, at the same time that he believed something further was intended. As if he had been acquainted with the elector's real design, he detached five squadrons and two battalions to defend the passage of the *Rhine* towards the *Upper Alsace*, and the commanding officer was scarce arrived at his post before he received intelligence that the enemy were in motion. In a few days the marechal *Harcourt* was surprised with undoubted intelligence, that general *Merci*, at the head of thirteen battalions and twenty-three squadrons, was traversing the territory of *Basil*, the *Swiss* having, contrary to their professed neutrality, granted him a passage. By the twenty-first of *August* he had entered the *Higher Alsace*, and advanced as far as the isle of *Newburg*, between *Brisack* and *Hunningen*. The sieur *de Roccaux*, who commanded the *French* detachment, immediately abandoned the island, and retired in such good order towards the main army, that *Merci* did not chuse to hazard an attack. Then the Imperialists, occupying that post, threw a bridge over the *Rhine*, and marched over eight battalions, leaving the rest of the troops to the defence of the bridge and island. Mean time, count *de Bourg* advanced with a body of troops beyond the lines, to watch the motions of the Imperialists; and he was reinforced with four battalions and eight squadrons, sent to his assistance by the marechal. With this force, in all consisting of eighteen squadrons, six battalions, and eight companies of grenadiers, he resolved to give battle to the enemy; which *Merci*, at the head of nine thousand men, imprudently enough accepted. The armies met between *Hermstadt* and *Rumersheim*, at the distance of a league from the isle of *Newburg*, and engaged with great vigour for half an hour, when the Imperialists gave way, and left a complete victory to the count *de Bourg*, with all their baggage, provision, stores, twelve pair of colours, two standards, two pair of kettle-drums, several pieces of cannon, two hundred horses, and all count *Merci*'s papers, among which was found the plan concerted by the elector of *Hanover* ^a.

Imperial-
ists de-
feated.

AFTER this unfortunate action, the elector of *Hanover* retired towards the lines of *Etlingen*, and relinquished the great

^a Jour. Hist. 1709.

object in view; while count *Merci*, filing off to the *Rhine*; endeavoured to cover the passes of the *Black Forest*; though he could not prevent the marechal from laying under contributions the marquisate of *Baden*, and the bailliages in the neighbourhood of *Landau*.

In *Italy* count *Thaun* opposed marechal *Berwick*. As to the duke of *Savoy*, he was so disgusted with the emperor's vast pretensions in *Italy*, which he thought might in time devour all the lesser states, that he resigned the command of the combined army. The Imperialists had taken *Annecy*, with intention to penetrate into *Franche-comté*; but the defeat of *Merci* rendered that post useless. A variety of detachments were made from both armies; but they had the caution not to fall in with each other. At last marechal *Berwick*, with the main army, approached *Briançon*, with intention to besiege it; and *Thaun*, incensed that with a superior army he had gained not a single advantage, advanced to give him battle. All his attempts were foiled; and yet his conduct upon this occasion obtained him great honour. He was opposed by a general of such vast abilities, that to maintain his ground, and avoid being disgraced, was considerable reputation. He practised every stratagem to oblige the marechal to quit the advantageous post he occupied; but in vain: the *French* army was so judiciously posted as to cover all the frontier, and render perfectly secure the great object of *Thaun's* designs, *Dauphine* and *Provence*. In a word, all was directed with so much ability, that this campaign affords the finest lessons in the art of war.

MEAN while, the allies had so vigorously prosecuted the war in *Flanders*, that the archduke's affairs in *Spain* were wholly neglected. *Eugene*, as much respected at *Vienna* as *Marlborough* was in *London*, carried all before him in council, and determined the emperor to direct his chief efforts to the side of the *Netherlands*, where he commanded the Imperialists in person. *Charles* complained that he was neglected, in consequence of which his conquests were seized from him, and his influence was daily declining. *England*, moved by his remonstrances, determined however to send succours to *Catalonia*: but *Lewis* now made fresh proposals of peace by his ambassador, the marquis *de Torcy*. He offered to accept some of the conditions he had last year rejected; but though the approaching revolution in the *English* ministry displayed the pacific intentions of that nation, *Joseph* was still inexorable. He dispatched the count *Zinzendorf* to the *Hague*, to traverse the projects of the *French* ministers; and he acquitted himself with so much address, that the negotiations

A. D.
1710.

had the same issue as the preceding. The more the *French* ambassadors yielded, the more did the allies rise in their demands: every day gave birth to new propositions unfavourable to *Lewis*. At last, the confederates plainly declared, that, unless the most Christian king would contribute his assistance to dethrone his own grandson, it was impossible the treaty could take effect: and even this hard condition was clogged with restrictions, which rendered it next to impracticable. Yet the confederates endeavoured to load the *French* monarch with the odium of breaking off the conferences: they alledged, that he proposed nothing more than to amuse them with negotiations, in order to draw breath, and recover his vigour for resuming hostilities. Nothing could be less true: it was *Lewis's* earnest desire to come to an accommodation upon any terms possible, that were not wholly destructive of his honour and humanity. He was now no longer the same formidable monarch who gave law to *Europe* at *Ryswick*.

No sooner were the conferences broke off at *Gertrudenberg*, than both armies took the field in the *Netherlands*. *Bethune*, *Aire*, *St. Venant*, and other towns, yielded to the victorious arms of *Eugene* and *Marlborough*; but nothing decisive occurred. The allies had gained four towns, and about fifteen leagues of a fine country; but they lost above twenty thousand men, and their infantry was quite ruined.

TOWARDS the *Rhine* no considerable action was performed, not because the parties were too weak to take the field, but because they were pretty equal. Count *Merci* and *Du Bourg*, exerted all their ability, the one to regain the reputation he had lost, the other, to maintain the glory he had acquired by the late fortunate action: in a word, the season passed in marches, encampments, and stratagems, none of which produced any real advantage.

Affairs of Hungary. WITH respect to the affairs in *Hungary*, they were rather more prosperous than the year preceding. *Neuhaufel* submitted to the Imperialists, after sustaining a blockade of six months: yet all the endeavours of the court of *Vienna* to bring the malcontents to reason, proved fruitless. The old obstructions to peace still remained; the discontented nobility continued to insist upon the re-establishment of their privileges, of the ancient laws, and the liberty of electing their sovereigns, which the emperor could not be induced to grant. Such was the situation of *Hungary*, while *Bavaria* was dismembering in favour of the elector-palatine, and his brother the bishop of *Augsburg*. Other fiefs were also bestowed on the bishops of *Salzburg* and *Passaw*. The count *de Schomborn*, vice-chancellor of the empire, and nephew to the elector of *Mentz*,
was

was presented with the perpetuity of the district of *Reidemburg*, in consideration of the bishop of *Breslau*'s being chosen coadjutor of *Mentz*. All these promotions and donations were made of the emperor's own authority, without consulting the diet, which appeared to him unnecessary, as his father had put the elector of *Bavaria* under the ban of the empire, without the consent of the *Germanic* body, and the princes of the empire. The same ceremony he neglected in the disposal of *Mirandola* to the duke of *Modena*. This dutchy he confiscated, because the duke had appeared in the *French* army; a measure to which he had been forced in the year 1705, while a minor.

IN *Italy* the campaign passed without effusion of blood; but it was otherwise in *Spain*, where the succours sent by *England* enabled *Charles* to gain the decisive victory of *Saragossa*, which must have infallibly established him in the *Spanish* throne, had the advantage been properly pursued. But the arrival of the duke de *Vendome* soon changed the scene, and the consequences of the battle of *Villa Viciosa* were as fatal to *Charles* as those of *Saragossa* might have proved to *Philip*. This single victory, improved by the abilities of *Vendome*, restored the affairs of *Philip*, placed him securely in the throne, and raised him from a fugitive prince to a triumphant monarch. The following note to him from *Vendome* the night succeeding the battle, is memorable. "Sire, I have prepared for you the best and most glorious bed in which you ever slept." This bed was composed of colours and trophies taken from the enemy, in which the king slept for five hours. The revolution in *Spain* gave the utmost uneasiness to the allies; and a great man told the duke of *Hanover*, that the union of two crowns in the house of *Bourbon* was a gordian knot, which future ages must untie by the sword. The prediction, however, has not been verified in its full meaning, as *France* has hitherto deduced scarce a single advantage from the succession of a prince of the blood to the *Spanish* monarchy besides what would naturally have resulted from the situation of both kingdoms, had not that event ever happened.

THIS year the elector of *Hanover* made an acquisition of the county of *Delmenhorst*, mortgaged to him by the crown of *Denmark*. As the money borrowed was not paid at the time appointed, he took possession of the lands, which occasioned some disputes with the *Danish* monarch. These however were more easily decided than the affair of *Heildesheim*. For the space of an hundred years the house of *Brunswick-Lunenburg* and *Protestants* improved possession of that bishopric. It was ceded in 1693 to *Ferdinand*.

Ferdinand elector of *Cologne*, on condition that the Protestants should be maintained in the free exercise of their religion. It was afterwards stipulated in the treaty of *Westphalia*, that the affairs of religion should be placed on the same footing as in the year 1624; in consequence of which, the elector of *Mentz* and the duke of *Brunswick* drew up a convention, which was ratified in 1652, by *Maximilian-Henry*, elector of *Cologne* and bishop of *Heildesheim*. Here it was stipulated, that Protestants should not, in religious matters, depend on the chancery or episcopal spiritual court, but carry their complaints before the Protestant consistory. Without regard to the convention, the Protestants were oppressed, and the number of their churches diminished. They were besides compelled to observe the festivals of the *Romish* calendar, and to bring their complaints before the chancery. The elector of *Cologne* promised to examine their grievances; but he died. The Protestants remonstrated to his successor to no purpose; upon which they carried their complaints before the chamber of *Wexlar*, where they obtained a decree in their favour: but the decree being disregarded in *Heildesheim*, they applied to the circle of *Lower Saxony*, and particularly to the house of *Brunswick*. As the see of *Heildesheim* was at that time vacant, the elector of *Hanover* wrote to the chapter, exhorting them to pay the due regard to the convention of 1643; but his letters producing no effect, he seized upon the revenues of that diocese in the electorate. The canons carried their complaints to the emperor and the diet; but receiving no favourable answer, they promised to redress all the grievances; and upon executing their word, the elector restored their revenues^b. Such was the issue of an affair which had almost embroiled *Germany* in a new civil war, on account of religion.

BEFORE we conclude the section it will be proper to give an abstract of the affairs of the North, as they had considerable influence on the resolutions of the diet, and the circumstances of the empire. The unfortunate battle of *Pultowa* wrought an intire change in *Sweden*, *Russia*, *Poland*, and *Saxony*. The hero who had dethroned a king, and thrown all the Protestants of *Europe* into consternation, was now a fugitive in the *Turkish* dominions. A few years before he gave law to the emperor, *Denmark*, and *Augustus* king of *Poland*, while he was feared and courted by the confederates, and the *French* monarch. Now the elector of *Saxony* was entering upon measures to recover the crown of *Poland*, and pre-

^b BARRE, t. x. p. 575.

precipitate the unfortunate, *Stanislaus* from a throne with the same rapidity as he had been elevated to that dignity by the king of *Sweden*. *Augustus* pleaded, that he had signed the treaty of *Alt-Ranstadt* by compulsion: he assembled his troops, published circular letters in *Poland*, and granted a general amnesty to all who had taken arms for his rival. His intention was to join the *Russian* forces under general *Goltz*, and the *Polish* army commanded by *Siniauski*, while the passes to *Saxony* should be strictly guarded by the militia of the electorate. About the time this junction was effected, the king of *Denmark* acceded to the confederacy against *Sweden*. In consequence he made an irruption into *Schonen*, which alarmed the duke of *Holstein-Gottorp*, obliged him to put the militia in arms, block up all the passes, and take measures for his own defence; his minister, the baron *Fabricius*, residing at this very time at the little court maintained by the *Swedish* monarch at *Bender*. Had *Pomerania*, and the dutchy of *Holstein* become the theatre of war; some inconveniencies to the *Germanic* body were apprehended, which might weaken the emperor's efforts against *Lewis* the fourteenth. To anticipate danger, his imperial majesty, the princes of the empire, the queen of *England*, and the states-general, signed a treaty for the security of *Holstein* and *Pomerania*. In this treaty appeared one very singular article, inserted at the request of the czar *Peter* and *Augustus* of *Poland*, without which they refused to accede to the measures taken by the allies: it was, that the fourteen thousand *Swedish* troops, quartered in *Pomerania*, should not be permitted to return for the defence of their own dominions, or to draw their swords in *Pomerania* in behalf of their natural sovereign. Nothing could be more insolent than a clause, which already supposed them prisoners of war^a; yet the confederates gave this agreement the appellation of a treaty of neutrality, and resolved to raise an army in its support. The project however never took effect. It became the subject of every conversation; it occasioned much speculation; but none of the parties adhered to their engagements, and the princes of the North were left at liberty to despoil the unfortunate king of *Sweden*, in what manner they thought proper.

^a BARRE, *ibid*.

C H A P. XXV.

Containing Negotiations for a Peace with France ; Revolution in the English Ministry ; the Death of the Emperor Joseph ; the Disposition of the Germanic Body relative to Peace ; the Election of the Archduke to the Imperial Diadem ; the Protestation of the Electors of Bavaria and Cologne against their Proscription ; the Cession of the Sovereignty of the Netherlands to that Prince ; the Emperor Charles prosecutes the War against France ; he is deserted by his Allies, and at length forced to accept of the Terms proposed by Lewis at Rastadt.

A. D.
1711.

IN the beginning of the new year, letters addressed to the emperor arrived from *Peter the Great* and *Augustus* king of *Poland*, demanding the execution of the late treaty, as they expected being attacked by the Grand Seignior. Divers councils were held upon this subject ; and the whole politics of the court of *Vienna* were directed to prevent the *Turks* from entering *Hungary*, and assisting the malcontents. It was at length resolved to acquaint the northern monarchs, that the treaty would be executed as soon as the rebels in *Hungary* could be reduced to obedience ; and that, in the mean time, it answered one very important purpose, that of detaining the *Swedish* army in *Pomerania*. From this reply it was apparent, that the war had greatly diminished his strength ; a circumstance of which the *French* monarch did not fail to make his advantage, though he entertained still greater expectations from the approaching revolution in the *English* ministry. It was well known that *Marlborough's* influence occasioned the duration of the war, and that his enemies, the *Tories*, were equally strenuous for peace, as the only means of clipping the wings of that hero, and setting bounds to his ambition. At length they gained their ends, by an artful application to the passions of the queen ; the friends of the *British* general were turned out of the administration ; his power greatly limited ; but he was still continued at the head of the army, from an apprehension of alarming the allies, particularly the *Dutch*, who placed the greatest confidence in the abilities and good fortune of *Marlborough*.

THIS

THIS great event was succeeded by another no less important to the peace of *Europe*. The death of the emperor *Joseph*, who expired at *Vienna* on the seventeenth of *April*, gave a new turn to the politics of Christendom (A). It was now obvious, that the balance of power, the object of a bloody war for the space of nine years, would be destroyed, if the archduke annexed to the imperial diadem the *Spanish* monarchy. This circumstance, together with the continual solicitation of the new ministry, and the general inclinations of her people, impoverished by a long and expensive struggle, determined the queen of *England* to accommodate matters with *France*, and, if her allies were obstinate, to strike up a separate pacification.

THE emperor's death was announced to the princes of the empire, by circular letters from his mother the empress-dowager, and dispatches were immediately sent to *England* and *Holland*, where the imperial ministers laboured to demonstrate, that this event ought to effect no change in the views of the confederates, as it could not have any influence on the equilibrium they were desirous of establishing in the scale of *Europe*. The arguments advanced in support of this principle, were rather specious than true; yet they were embraced by the king of *Portugal*, the duke of *Savoy*, and several princes of the empire, who found their advantage in prolonging the war, and hiring out their forces: indeed, the states-general,

(A) The emperor *Joseph* fell a martyr to the small-pox, and the unskilfulness of his physicians, in the prime of life and vigour of youth. He was crowned king of *Hungary* in 1687, and three years after he was elected king of the *Romans*. In 1699 he married the daughter of the duke of *Brunswick-Lunenburgh*, by whom he had three children, *Leopold-Joseph*, his only male issue dying in his infancy. As to the character of this emperor, it is variously represented; less gentle, mild, and affable than his father *Leopold*, he possessed fire, spirit, and ambition. Impatient of opposition, he was haughty, active, enterprising, and indefa-

tigable: he frequently pursued from resentment what he had first undertaken from policy. Never did an emperor of *Germany* govern with more despotism; and the house of *Bavaria* is an instance of the inflexibility of his temper. His success augmented the pride of his disposition, and added fuel to a fire which had long burnt with violence. In the space of five years he saw *Lombardy* subdued, *Piedmont* evacuated, *Naples* reduced, the *Low Countries*, and even the kingdom of *Spain*, conquered by his own arms and those of his allies. The only reverse of fortune he ever experienced, was subsequent to the battle at *Villa-Viciosa*.

the

the *Portuguese*, and *Viſtor Amadeus*, hoped to ſhare in the ſpoils of the *Spaniſh* monarchy. This had hitherto maintained them faſt in the confederacy, and induced them now ſtrenuouſly to labour for its continuance.

As the queen of *Great Britain* had no ſuch expectation, and had ſupported the chief expence of the alliance, from regard to the general intereſt of *Europe*, ſhe now, from the ſame motives, ſigned preliminaries of a peace with *France*, which ſhe ſent for the approbation of her allies. Without
Conduct of hesitation the court of *Vienna* rejected them, and the count de
count Gal- *Gallas*, the imperial miniſter at *London*, laboured to give the
las at preliminaries an invidious turn, and render them unpopular.
London In this he was ſupported by the whole weight of the *Whig* faction. He carried his reſentment ſo far as to ſpeak diſreſpectfully of the queen's perſon, and was, for that reaſon, forbid the court; upon which he broke out into the bittereſt invectives, taxing the queen and miniſtry with perſidy, and a breach of faith. He accuſed the latter of corruption, and offered to prove juridically what he advanced; nor did the archduke *Charles* abſolutely condemn the conduct of his ambaffador. He declared he would adhere to the propoſitions made at *Gertrudenburg*; and in this reſolution he was ſupported by the elector of *Hanover*, who declared he would never detach himſelf from the intereſts of the houſe of *Austria*.

*Operations
of the
campaign.*

It was otherwiſe with certain princes of the empire: the king of *Pruffia* was, at this very time, ſecretly negotiating with *Lewis*; however, ſome differences about the conditions broke off the treaty, and determined his *Pruffian* majeſty to continue his forces with the combined army. Notwithſtanding *England* had ſigned the preliminaries, her forces ſtill acted under the duke of *Marlborough* in the *Netherlands*, where the confederates reduced *Buchain*. Prince *Eugene* had now withdrawn the *Auſtrians* from the combined army, in order to ſtrike ſome blow of conſequence on the *Rhine*; but no opportunity offered, and the ſeaſon was far advanced before his arrival. Beſides, the members of the empire had been extremely deficient in advancing their contingencies, and the military cheſt was quite exhausted. The prince complained in a letter to the elector of *Mentz*, and he tranſmitted the writing to the diet at *Ratiſbon*, where it was peruſed and diſregarded. It was univerſally believed in *Germany*, that the conduct of *England* muſt oblige the houſe of *Austria* to liſten to propoſals: they therefore thought it prudent to withhold their ſupplies. As to the campaign in *Dauphiny*, it was equally ſteril in great events as thoſe on the *Rhine* and in the *Netherlands*. The duke of *Savoy* was ſuperior in forces to
the

the enemy ; but marshal *Berwick* posted his army with so much address, as rendered abortive all the duke's motions and stratagems ^b. In *Spain* the *French* king, and *Philip* his grandson, maintained the superiority gained the preceding campaign ; and, indeed, the vacancy in the imperial throne fell out seasonably to save the honour of the archduke, who was in a fair way of being driven out of the *Spanish* dominions, as the duke of *Argyle*, commander in chief of the *British* forces in *Portugal*, had orders not to enter upon action.

No sooner was the campaign finished, than the princes of the empire redoubled their endeavours to persuade the imperial court into the necessity of terminating a war, which had wholly drained the empire of resources : still, however, the ministry at *Vienna* proved obstinate, and the empress-regent of the *Austrian* dominion sent prince *Eugene* to the court of *London*, in hopes that the presence of this hero, and the strength of his arguments, might have some weight with the queen, and animate the people against the intended pacification with *Lewis*. *Eugene* was received with all the respect due to his merit and quality. He had conferences with the ministry ; he was admitted to an audience of the queen ; but all his endeavours proved fruitless : the arguments of the court of *Vienna* were no longer in behalf of the balance of power in *Europe* : her interest was changed, and so were the maxims of the court of *London*.

MEAN time the elector of *Mentz* convoked the diet for the election of an emperor, at *Frankfort*. Letters were addressed to the electors of *Triers*, *Saxony*, *Palatine*, *Brandenburgh*, *Bohemia*, and *Hanover* ; but those of *Bavaria* and *Cologne* were not invited, because of their late proscriptio. The elector of *Saxony* certified to the archduke the settling of the diet, and he replied, that he entrusted all his affairs to the empress his mother. That princess had already made application to king *Augustus*, for his interest in procuring a seat for her ambassadors in the electoral diet, as sovereign of *Bohemia* ; but she was answered, that her powers were insufficient, and the ambassadors instructions must be signed by the archduke. This reply they founded upon a fundamental maxim of the imperial constitution, that the electoral dignity was an office purely masculine, and incapable of descending to the female line ; therefore a regent could not exercise the full powers. However, the empress, disappointed in this application, did

The electoral college
assembles.

^b SMOLLETT, vol. iv. *Torcy* Mem. t. ii.

not despair of succeeding with the other electors. She endeavoured especially to gain the elector *Palatine*, as he owed particular obligations to the emperor *Joseph*; but here too she failed, for the elector replied, that her request was diametrically opposite to the constitution, which he in a particular manner, as vicar general, was bound to preserve. Perceiving that the electors were inflexible, the court of *Vienna* acquainted the archduke of what passed, and he confirmed, as king of *Bohemia*, the instructions given to the ambassadors.

Now the electors of *Cologne* and *Bavaria* hoped for a favourable turn in their affairs, as their proscription was entirely an act of the late emperor, without ever consulting the *Germanic* body. Many of the princes had resented this exertion of power, and complained that the sentence passed upon them was illegal, and a violation of their privileges. Finding, however, that their names were omitted by the elector of *Mentz* as arch-chancellor, they entered a protest against the decree, whereby they were proscribed, and the election of the prince chosen king of the *Romans*. When this protest was published, the elector of *Bavaria* resided at *Namur*, in quality of sovereign of the *Netherlands*, which were ceded by *Philip V.* on condition that he was placed on the throne of the *Spanish* monarchy. As to the archbishop of *Cologne*, he resided at *Valenciennes*, in a splendor not usual with a fugitive prince, and liberally supported by the court of *France*. It was believed that large sums of money were employed, in gaining over the ministers of the electoral princes; but the event shewed either the falsity of the report, or the misapplication of the money. No regard was paid to the remonstrances of either of the proscribed electors, and they were reduced to the necessity of protesting against all the proceedings of the diet.

THE first business of the diet was to examine the powers of the several ambassadors, who represented the absent electors. Then they proceeded to regulate the ceremonial, to obviate the protests of the two proscribed electors, to satisfy the complaints made by the imperial states, concerning the imperial capitulations; and lastly, to answer the remonstrances sent by the diet at *Ratisbon* upon the necessity of forming a perpetual capitulation, whereby the privileges and liberties of the *Germanic* body might be secured and protected against all injustice. This last article had repeatedly been examined at former diets, and the electors had agreed with the other members

pers of the empire upon a perpetual capitulation. However, as it was impossible to provide expressly against all instances in which the emperors might abuse their authority, the electors claimed a right of enlarging, retrenching, or altering the form, as they found necessary according to circumstances. Now the other members of the *Germanic* body presented certain articles, which they desired might be inserted; but as the electors would only admit of some of the articles, the other members protested against the whole capitulation. They complained of the conduct of the electors, pretending that they violated the rights of the *Germanic* constitution, by declaring that the emperor's will, and the consent of the electoral college, were sufficient authority for declaring war, concluding peace, or forming alliances. They admitted, that when the diet sat but a few months, there might happen certain conjunctures, where it would be dangerous to wait for the consent of the states; but this could never be the case, while the diet constantly met, as was now become a necessary part of the constitution. These reasons could not persuade the electors, who unanimously agreed in their former resolution, provided they acted in nothing contrary to the golden bull, the treaties of *Munster* and *Osnabrug*, and other constitutions of the empire.

ANOTHER article which gave great offence was, that the electors had stipulated with the emperor, that their ambassadors should take place in the diet of all the other *German* princes; a clause which piqued the pride of the ancient families, who looked upon themselves in all respects upon a footing with the electors. To satisfy them this article was explained, the electors declaring that it only respected those persons lately raised to the dignity of princes, who acted in certain employments at the imperial court.

Difficulties attending the proceedings of the electoral diet.

THE next business of the diet, was to examine the protests entered by the proscribed electors. Most of the states were of opinion, that the suffrages of the princes would be without effect, and the validity of their proscription left to be determined by the diet at *Ratisbon*. But the *Brandenburgh* ambassador insisted, that these electors being closely allied to *France* against the empire, had thereby violated their oath of fidelity, whence they forfeited the right of electors. He even advised that their vacancies might immediately be filled; but this proposal was reputed rash and precipitate.

The arch-
duke
Charles
elected em-
peror by
means of
Charles
VI.

THEY now proceeded to the election of an emperor. It was for some time whispered, that the electoral prince of *Poland*, who resided with great splendor at *Frankfort*, had an eye to the imperial throne. His noble air, obliging address, liberality, generosity, and magnificence, rendered him extremely popular. He was visited by the electors during the session of the diet, and treated with all the distinction due to his high birth and merit. Their conduct strengthened the report, and it was really believed that the king of *Poland* his father had already secured the interest of *England*, *Prussia*, several states of the empire, the czar of *Muscovy*, and the king of *Denmark*. The eyes of *Europe* were all fixed upon this prince, when it suddenly appeared that amusement was his sole motive for residing at *Frankfort*. The day of the election was fixed, and the archduke *Charles* was unanimously chosen emperor and king of the *Romans*, on the 12th day of *October*. Besides the birth and merit of this young prince, the electoral college had political reasons for giving him the preference. His powerful hereditary dominions rendered him the most natural protector of the empire, and the strongest barrier against the attacks of the *Turks* on the one hand, and of the *French* king on the other. The empire, said the archbishop of *Mentz*, is a wife of high family without a fortune. She must be maintained at great expence, and only the revenues of the house of *Austria* are adequate to the support of the dignity. Already *Charles* possessed the kingdoms of *Hungary*, *Bohemia*, the duchies of *Austria*, *Silesia*, the provinces of *Corinthia*, *Swabia*, together with the other estates of his family in *Germany*. It was by no means the intention of the electoral college to reunite the *Spanish* monarchy to the imperial diadem, and his vast hereditary possessions, which would have rendered *Charles VI.* more powerful than *Charles V.* who was enabled to aspire at universal monarchy. It was sufficient for their purposes, that he succeeded to his father's estates and dignities, which would render the ballance pretty equal between the houses of *Austria* and *Bourbon*. In fact, if the apprehension of seeing the crowns of *France* and *Spain* united on the same head, had occasioned a bloody war in *Europe*, what could have been expected from the re-union of the imperial diadem, the *Spanish* monarchy, the crowns of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*, and the vast possessions of the *Austrian* family*?

* BARR. fol. x. An. 1711---1712.

THE *Germanic* body had for ten years supported the claim of the house of *Austria* to the *Spanish* monarchy. Now all were in expectation that the death of the emperor *Joseph*, and the elevation of the archduke to the imperial dignity, would force the way to a general pacification, especially as *England* had withdrawn herself from the alliance. But *Charles* had other sentiments. He was governed by an ambitious ministry, who found their interest in continuing the war, persuaded him it was for his honour, and animated him to prosecute his claim to *Spain* with redoubled vigour. He resigned himself wholly to the management of the prince *Lichtenstein*, and the count *Heberstein*; and from their counsels arose all his objections to peace. In his heart he chimed in with the sentiments of the empress regent, who powerfully seconded the pacific intentions of the queen of *England*. But the dictates of his own mind, the respect for his mother, and the voice of all *Germany*, were suppressed by motives of ambition, and the lustre of such a jewel as the *Spanish* crown, glittering in the eyes of a young monarch. Besides, his counsellors had so strongly inculcated the legitimacy of his claim, that he believed he could not renounce it, without injustice to his posterity. This alone appeared a sufficient reason for continuing the war; but he could not flatter himself with success, without the liberal assistance of his allies, whose maxims since his accession to the imperial throne appeared wholly changed. From the steps already taken by the allies, it was plain they determined to accommodate matters with *Lewis*, and take the lead in the negotiations for peace, in the same manner they had done in the operations for war. *Charles* wanted their assistance, but he would not suffer them to be judges of his right. It was with this view he insisted upon the preliminaries given in at *Gertruydenberg*, and sought on those terms the alliance of *England* and *Holland*, in support of his claim to the *Spanish* monarchy; while at the same time he wrote to the elector of *Mentz*, to use his influence with the diet, to prevent their taking any measures contrary to his interest and intention.

*Divisions
in the
counsels at
Vienna.*

ON the first notification of his election, the emperor took ship from *Barcelona*, and arrived at the port of *Vado*, where he staid on board for several days, expecting the *Genoese* would send ambassadors to compliment him on his cession to the imperial diadem and crown of *Spain*. In this he was disappointed, and the senate explained to his ministers their motives for refusing him the latter title.

*The emperor sets
out for
Germany.*

At length he landed; and passing through the territories of the republic without halting, he had an interview with the duke of *Savoy*, near *Pavia*. Here the duke enumerated the services he had performed to the house of *Austria*, to the prejudice of his own interest: he conjured the emperor to fulfil the treaty of 1703, and the imperial decree of 1707, by which *Montferrat*, *Valencia*, *Alexandria*, and other places, were ceded to the house of *Savoy*. *Charles* promised all that was required, and likewise to add some other places, as soon as he had concluded peace with *France*.

WHEN the conference broke up, *Charles* set out for *Milan*, where, according to some writers, he received the first advice of his election. Now he received the congratulations of all the *Italian* powers, which at last induced the republic of *Genoa* to compliment him with the title of king of *Spain*. In his journey to *Germany* he received the homage and oaths of the states of the *Tyrol*, and next day he appointed forty five counsellors, to form different boards at *Vienna*, for the examination of all important affairs. Finding he was so far advanced on his way to the empire, the electoral college hastened to conclude all the forms previous to his coronation, which they imagined would give weight to his negotiations; and on the 19th of *December*, *Charles* entered *Frankfort*.

THE day after his arrival, he swore to observe the imperial capitulation, in the manner it was proposed by the electors. The diet thought they should, in consequence of the articles they inserted, be restored to all the privileges of which they were deprived by the late emperor; but the manner destroyed the intention of their allegations, as plainly appears by consulting the capitulation (A). Here he promised to promote the felicity and aggrandisement of the empire; to take no measures for rendering the imperial crown hereditary in his family; to observe in matters of religion, the ordinance framed at *Mecklenburgh*, the regulations of the diets, and the treaties of *Augsburg*, *Münster*, and *Osnabrug*; to consider the electors as the dearest and most important members of the *Germanic* body; to

(A) Published at *Leipsic* in the year 1712, and transcribed at full length in *Barre's* history of the empire. It was another objection to the capitulation, that it was disapproved

by divers persons of the *Germanic* body, who protested against it, and indeed against the proceedings of the diet. *Vide supra*.

consult them, and be directed by their advice in all affairs of importance; to preserve them in all their rights and privileges; to call upon them at all diets and councils assembled on the affairs of the empire; to raise no troops, erect no fortifications, or demolish no public works, without the consent of the *Germanic* body; to contract no alliances without the unanimous consent of the electors; to direct all his treaties and connections to the general good of the empire; but to give full liberty to the princes of the empire, to form what alliances, and contract such engagements as they thought proper, provided they had no tendency to the prejudice of the emperor, or the *Germanic* body. In the 10th and 11th articles it was stipulated, that the emperor should confiscate no estates, should proscribe no members, or seize upon fiefs, but with the concurrence of the *Germanic* body. He farther engaged to assemble at least every ten years a general diet, to which all the princes of the empire might carry their grievances; to leave the imperial chamber the free exercise of its ancient jurisdiction; to restore to all the princes, prelates, and members of the empire, whatever had been violently extorted from them; to admit none but persons of approved probity, and natives of *Germany*, into the council; and to bestow all the principal employments on high born subjects of the empire.

*The capitulation
signed by
the emperor.*

BESIDES these, and a variety of other less important articles, it was added, that notwithstanding this capitulation should be perpetual on the side of his imperial majesty, the electoral college should, on proceeding to a new election, be at liberty to make additions and alterations, provided they did not counteract the intentions of the golden bull, in any of the articles essential to the *Germanic* constitution. Moreover, a clause was superadded, that the college should never proceed to the election of another emperor during the life of the present, except in the following cases:——When the emperor should fix his residence out of *Germany*, or make too long a stay out of the imperial dominions. In these instances the emperor might be regarded as dead, and the electoral college would be justified in proceeding to a new election.

FROM a number of articles which we have not specified, it appeared that the electors by no means approved of the conduct of *Leopold* and *Joseph*, with respect to *France*, and the electors of *Cologne* and *Bavaria*; that they were desirous of preventing any future evils of the same nature, that they condemned the excessive complaisance

paid

He is
crowned
at Franc-
fort.

paid to the will of the two late emperors, to the prejudice of the rights and liberties of the *Germanic* body, and that they resolved to limit the imperial authority within certain boundaries. On the 29th of *December* the ceremony of the coronation was performed with great magnificence, and several gold medals were distributed among the electors, the princes of the empire, and the foreign ambassadors, who attended. *Charles* then received the homage of the inhabitants of *Frankfort*, and then set out directly to *Vienna*.

Affairs of
Hungary.

By this time the queen of *England* had acquainted her parliament with her pacific intentions, and obtained their consent to the preliminaries. *Holland* was likewise upon the eve of concluding a separate treaty with *France*; and *Charles* saw himself under the necessity of supporting a war against *France* and *Spain*, or of accepting the terms offered by *Lewis*: As the disturbances in *Hungary* necessarily divided his forces, the empress regent had before his arrival determined to give some satisfaction to the malecontents. The emperor *Joseph* had just before his death appointed conferences at *Debraxien*; and the *Hungarian* infantry demanded as preliminaries, the abolition of the articles of *Prēsburgh*, whereby the crown was made hereditary in the house of *Austria*; the reformation of all the imperial decrees relative to the affairs of *Hungary*, and full restitution of the liberties, prerogatives, and ancient laws of the kingdom, and security, that the subsequent treaty should be better observed, than any of the succeeding. It was the advice of the count *de Palfi*, and all the disinterested honest nobility about the court, that the demands of the *Hungarians* should be gratified. They represented, that driving the malecontents to despair, was the sure method of obliging them to throw themselves into the arms of the grand signior, who would joyfully embrace any conditions. The king of *Sweden*'s complaint of the disregard paid to the treaty with him, was well known; and it was not improbable, if that monarch could obtain an army from the *Porte*, but he would revenge himself on the empire, by protecting the *Hungarians*.*

THOUGH these arguments were equally just and obvious, they produced no effect. The ministry were actuated by private views of interest; they would lose the immense wealth in prospect arising from the confiscated estates of the rebels

* BARRE. *ibid.*

if matters were accommodated ; they, therefore, insinuated that the concessions required would prove injurious to the emperor's honour ; that subjects, who had taken arms against their sovereign, were unworthy of his clemency ; that lenity towards rebels would only encourage sedition in the other provinces ; that the danger apprehended from the *Turks*, and king of *Sweden*, was merely ideal ; that these two powers were sufficiently employed in supporting a war against *Russia*, *Poland*, *Denmark*, and *Saxony*, without searching for more enemies ; and, upon the whole, that it would be time enough to treat with the rebels when the instructions of the *Turkish* ambassador, now arrived at court, should be known.

THE aga obtained an audience of prince *Eugene*. He told him, he was sent to assure the imperial court of the friendship and affection of the grand signior ; to acquaint the emperor, that his highness had declared war against the czar of *Muscovy*, for reasons known to the whole world : but that, with respect to the empire, he would scrupulously observe the treaty of *Carlowitz*. The same he requested of the emperor. No great stress, however, could be laid on such general promises, which afforded suspicion they were intended as a blind to screen some secret design, as a fairer opportunity could not have happened for taking the *Hungarians* under the protection of the *Porte*. These were the sentiments of the empress-regent, who laboured, in conjunction with count *Palfi*, to procure at least a cessation of hostilities. At last, in despite of all the intrigues of the ministry, they carried their point. An amnesty was signed at *Zathmar*, and afterwards ratified by several of the *Hungarian* nobility. This treaty imported, that prince *Ragotski* should have full pardon, and restitution of all his estates, provided in three weeks he took an oath of fidelity to the emperor, as king of *Hungary* ; that, if he chose it, he should have liberty to retire to *Poland* ; that religion should be maintained on the footing established by law ; that the people should have the liberty of representing their grievances to the diet ; and that, if prince *Ragotski* did not embrace the amnesty within the time limited, all the rest of the nobility should be intitled to the advantages specified in the treaty.

THE treaty was signed by count *Caroli*, without the participation or authority of *Ragotski*, and the other nobility ; they therefore disavowed his conduct by a solemn act dispersed in all the palatinates of *Hungary* : however, they were unable for want of troops to enter upon action, as twenty-two *Hungarian* regiments had, immediately after signing the treaty, taken an oath of fidelity to the emperor. Several fortresses belonging to *Ragotski* likewise surrendered ; and *Mongatz*,
End of the rebellion in Hungary.

after sustaining a blockade for six weeks, at length opened her gates to the Imperialists. *Ragotski*, without money, without troops, friends, or a retreat, wandered a vagrant round *Poland* for some time, whence he passed into *France*, and then to *England*, to enjoy the blessings of freedom and philosophical security. Many of the other *Hungarian* nobility repaired to the little court at *Bender*. And in this manner ended the revolt in *Hungary*, which might have produced fatal consequences to the house of *Austria*, had the projects of the elector of *Bavaria* proved less unfortunate.

A. D.
1712.

Eugene's
negotiations
in Eng-
land,

Now all the views of the court of *Vienna* centered in the vigorous prosecution of the war against *France*. Prince *Eugene* was the soul of the imperial councils, and peace was equally opposite to his interest and inclinations. His negotiation in *England*, however, produced nothing. The queen, and her minister the lord *Oxford*, were inflexibly bent on peace, and the disgrace of the duke of *Marlborough*. In the conference with lord *Oxford*, the prince demanded in general, that the queen would not detach herself from the interests of the house of *Austria*, and her engagements to her allies; and the *English* minister replied, that her majesty had already furnished her plenipotentiaries at *Utrecht* with the necessary instructions: that *Utrecht*, and not *London*, was the place appointed for adjusting the interests of the empire and *Great Britain*. By this answer, he thought to embarrass prince *Eugene*, and prevent his solicitations, though it did not succeed; for he so repeatedly pressed his request, that a conference was granted, and Mr. secretary *St. John*, afterwards lord viscount *Bolingbroke*, appointed to canvass the subject with the imperial minister. *Eugene* demanded that some expedient should be found, by which the emperor might send ambassadors to *Utrecht*; yet was this contrary to the emperor's former declaration, that he would send no plenipotentiaries to any congress which should be held in that city. Not satisfied with Mr. *St. John*'s answer, he continued to press memorials upon the court, in which he magnified the vast efforts made by the house of *Austria*, in the common cause; notwithstanding, he said, the revolt in *Hungary*, she constantly maintained great armies in *Italy*, on the *Rhine*, in *Spain*, and the *Netherlands*; now being eased from the burthen of that civil war, his imperial majesty had given orders for augmenting all his forces in the places above specified, to an hundred and three thousand effective

^b FORCES, fol. iii,

men,

men, exclusive of garrisons, and the army destined for the defence of *Bavaria*. He requested her majesty to consider that the season was far advanced; that no preparations were made for opening the campaign; that whether war or peace was preferred, there was not a moment to lose; since, in the latter case, the good disposition of the allies would procure more advantageous terms; and in the former early preparations insure success; that the states general had determined to send to *Spain* the four battalions promised the preceding year, where the emperor would maintain an army of 30,000 men; that of the expences of the *Spanish* war, amounting this year to four millions of crowns, his imperial majesty was willing to pay a fourth, in order to render the burthen easier to *England*; that with the vigorous assistance of the maritime powers the war might be brought to a speedy issue, perhaps during the session of the congress; the prince concluding his memorial with beseeching Mr. secretary *St. John* to obtain him a speedy answer.

As prince *Eugene* found by the indirect answers of the *Prince English* ministry, that all his endeavours to prevail on the *Eugene* queen to resume the war would prove fruitless, he took his *repairs to* leave, and set out for the *Hague*, where he conferred with *the* the pensioner *Heinsius*, and the chief members of the republic. While he was here, the counts *Zinzendorf* and *Canisburg* arrived in quality of plenipotentiaries from his imperial majesty, with whom, and the deputies of the other allies, the prince held a variety of consultations on the operations of the ensuing campaign; or if peace was the object, what terms should be demanded of *Lewis*. The emperor required that *France* should be stripped of all her acquisitions since the treaty of *Munster*; that she should restore to the duke of *Lorraine* all that *Charles IV.* had ceded, and absolve him from the oath of fidelity and homage; that the emperor should be put in possession of the entire *Spanish* monarchy, except what was granted by treaty to *Portugal*, and the other allied powers. To this was subjoined, that his imperial majesty would have no objection to treat with the *French* plenipotentiaries, provided such conditions were offered, as by alteration, addition, and modification, might in the end amount to his demands. While the emperor persisted in the resolution of making these demands the basis of a treaty, it was impossible the negotiations could advance; especially, as all the other allies had their particular demands. Those of the *Dutch* were high, nothing less than the cession of the *Spanish Netherlands*, and a variety of towns to be yielded in perpetuity. *Portugal* demanded all those cities,

cities, towns, villages, districts, and lands in *Europe* and *America*, promised by the emperor *Leopold* to *Peter II.* and the entire property of *Cape Nord*, situated between the river of *Amazons*, and that of *Vincent Pinsen*. The elector of *Brandenburgh* demanded that *France* would acknowledge him as king of *Prussia*, cede to him the principality of *Orange*, with all the lands, chattels, and effects belonging to the house of *Chalon-Orange* and *Chatél-Belin*, to which he was legitimate heir. He also insisted upon the sovereignty of *Newchatel* and *Molingen*, and the city of *Gueldres*. The elector of *Triers* insisted upon restitution of his capital, and the other towns of which he had been despoiled, before and since the treaty of *Munster*. The elector *Palatine* desired to be maintained in possession of the *Palatinate*, and the county of *Chamb*; to have restitution of the places taken by *France* during the war. The *Circles*, that all the places ceded by the treaty of *Munster*, and other subsequent treaties, should be restored. The duke of *Wirtemberg*, the landgrave of *Hesse*, and the bishop of *Paderborn*, put in their claims, and all had their particular demands; besides, prince *Ragotski* and the duke of *Lorrain* represented how much it was for the interest of all *Europe*, that they should be restored to their dignities and possessions.

NEVER, upon any occasion, was beheld such a number of memorials; it appeared as if nothing more was wanting than to ask and obtain; and it may be safely affirmed, that all the several demands seemed calculated rather to prolong the war, than to obtain peace, the professed object of their pursuits. The duke of *Savoy* made large demands; and the queen of *Great Britain*, though the most inveterate as well as formidable enemy of *France*, was not without her pretensions, some of which proved extremely irksome to *Lewis*; particularly, the cession she required of cautionary towns in *America*. Upon the whole, however, *France* might have complied with every thing required, had the emperor and states general been less exorbitant in their demands, which had all the appearance of a design to insult misfortune, and triumph over the low condition to which the grand monarch was reduced. Had they intended to destroy the *French* monarchy, and divide the spoils, they could not have dictated in a more arbitrary manner; but they ought to have considered, that re-uniting *Spain* and the *Indies* to the *Austrian* dominions, was no longer the design of the principal of the allies, who thought the emperor already sufficiently potent; and that now their high demands answered no other purpose than shewing how important *England* was to the confederacy,

deracy, and how unequal, without her, they were to extort their pretensions. The imperial ministers expatiated upon the moderation of the emperor; but in *France* and *England* it was said that no branch of the house of *Austria* was ever void of ambition. This family had always grasped at power, and wherever they gained a superiority, exerted it with a high hand; as was visible in the conduct of the late emperor, with respect to the *Italian* states, and of the present prince's insolent demands*. With respect to bestowing the *Spanish* monarchy on *Charles*, the danger was evident; as to giving it to *Philip*, it was only possible. In the former case, the ballance of power must necessarily be destroyed; in the latter, it was improbable it ever should, as *Philip* had now but a distant prospect of ever succeeding to the crown of *France*. These were the sentiments of the *English* parliament, when the congress was first opened at *Utrecht*.

BEFORE the congress had regulated all the formalities, the bishop of *Bristol* made a laboured speech, demonstrating the expediency of abridging the negotiations; which was seconded by the abbé *Polignac* in that elegant and masterly style for which he was so eminently distinguished. It was proposed to fix the day for concluding the treaty, on the same footing settled before the opening of the congress; but the *Dutch* deputies desired time to acquaint the states general with the proposition. A courier was dispatched to the *Hague*, and their high mightinesses did not appear averse to the proposal, before they had conferred with the imperial minister. Count *Zinzendorf* assembled at his lodgings all the ambassadors of the empire, to whom he communicated the proposition made by the bishop of *Bristol*, and the abbé *Polignac*. Those who wished to see peace established, consented to it without hesitation; but the others opposed it vehemently, under pretence of scrupulously examining the several interests of the allied powers: their real motive was to raise difficulties, which might retard or break off the negotiations. Notwithstanding this, *Zinzendorf* made a speech in the congress, filled with the strongest assurances of his imperial majesty's sincere intentions to cultivate peace; but contradicted his professions by his demands. In answer to the claims of the emperor, the *French* monarch offered to oblige his grandson to renounce all pretensions to the kingdoms of *Naples* and *Sardinia*, and the duchy of *Milan*, provided the archduke would desist from his pretensions to the *Spanish* monarchy. The other articles implied, that, with

*Difficulties
to the ne-
gotiations
at U-
trecht.*

* *TORCY*, tom. ii. *BARRE*, tom. x. *ibid.*

respect to the empire, the frontiers on the *Rhine* should be put in the same condition as before the war; that the electors of *Cologne* and *Bavaria* should be restored to their dominions and honours, and that the most christian king should resume all the titles he possessed in *Germany* at the treaty of *Ryswick*. The plenipotentiaries of the allies sent the *French* propositions to their several courts; and upon receiving an answer, count *Zinzendorf* gave in a memorial which he called the specific demands of his master, and desired an answer in writing, in hopes of raising some difficulty to the negotiation. Of this the court of *Versailles* was aware, and therefore adhered to the former propositions, without the trouble of replying to the specific demands. *Zinzendorf* waited with impatience for the expected answer, and was at last told by the mareschal *d'Uxelles*, that as they had reciprocally exchanged propositions, that was sufficient foundation for entering upon the negotiation, without the formality of written replies, which would only excite disputes, and spin out the conferences. *Zinzendorf*, fired at the disappointment, answered, that if the negotiation did not take a more favourable turn, he was determined to withdraw from the congress. He soon kept his word, and had the address to draw off with him the other allied plenipotentiaries; but still the *French* ministers adhered to their first resolution. The dispute was of more consequence than it might at first appear. It was the business of *Zinzendorf* to ensnare and puzzle; plainness and perspicuity were equally the interest of *Lewis*, who had ardently wished for a general pacification. He desired to treat civilly the allies in general; but the emperor and *Dutch* insisted upon a separate discussion of their several claims.

The allies
take the
field.

MEANTIME the *English* and *French* ministers exchanged visits, which gave great offence to *Zinzendorf* and the *Dutch* deputies. They held consultations on their side, and omitted nothing in their power to frustrate the effects of the congress. But their final resolution was, to push the war with vigour, in hopes of obtaining some signal advantage, which would induce the queen of *England* to break off her engagements to *Lewis*, and leave *France* to her destiny. As for the *Dutch*, they set no bounds to their pretensions; these they left to be determined by the sword. The rigorous rights of conquest they regarded as legitimate, and they resolved to consolidate with their republic whatever they should be able to wrest violently from the *French* king. With this view they took their measures for opening the campaign. Prince *Eugene* seconded their designs with all his ability, and made several

several motions to frustrate the effects of the enemies activity and superiority. The earl of *Albemarle*, at the head of the *Dutch* forces, had orders to burn the vast magazines formed at *Arras*; however, he was prevented in his designs by the vigilance of marshal *Villars*.

HAPPILY for *France*, the suspension of arms with *England* was now signed; but as they had agreed to keep the transaction a profound secret until the campaign opened, the queen was under the necessity of joining her forces to the allied army. It was generally believed, that, tired out with the clamours of her allies, and the obstructions to a general peace, she had resolved upon the vigorous prosecution of the war, than which nothing was more remote from her intentions. *Eugene*, more penetrating and sagacious than the rest, entertained suspicions. He discovered something mysterious in the conduct of the *English*, and wanted the opportunity of an interview with the duke of *Ormond*. The allies passed the *Scheld*, and encamped opposite to the enemy. *Eugene* held several councils of war, and proposed blending the troops in the *British* pay with the *Austrians*; but the *English* general declared that he would command in person all the forces entrusted to his care by the queen his mistress. In another council it was proposed to attack M. *Villars*; but the duke of *Ormond* produced his orders not to act offensively. This immediately discovered the views of *England*, and made the imperial and *Dutch* generals declare they would prosecute the war without the queen's concurrence, and demonstrate to her, that *England* was of less consequence to the alliance than she imagined. Her majesty, they said, was mistaken, if she proposed setting bounds to their conquests, and dictating their conduct.

IN consequence, they undertook the siege of *Quesnoi*, *The allies* which was invested by general *Fagel*; and two days after *take* *Ques-* the trenches were opened, the duke of *Ormond* demanded a *noi.* conference with prince *Eugene* and the *Dutch* deputies. Here he acquainted them with his orders to publish a general armistice for two months in his army, and exhorted them to embrace the same measures. They demanded time to submit the proposal to *Vienna* and the *Hague*, and the duke granted eight days for this purpose. During this time, he proposed to the foreign generals in the *English* pay, to follow the example of his forces, under pain of forfeiting their pay and arrears. They likewise desired time to deliberate on the proposal, and a few days after they separated from the *English*, declaring their resolution to support the emperor

emperor in the prosecution of the war. Only one battalion and four squadrons of the *Holstein* troops, under general *Walef*, remained with the duke of *Ormond*. Their conduct extremely embarrassed the *English* ministry, who now poured out reproaches and menaces; Mr. secretary *St. John* declared, that the queen would regard their refusal as an open rupture; however, they still persisted^a.

WHILE mutual recriminations passed between the *English* and the auxiliaries in the pay of *Great Britain*, the duke of *Ormond* withdrew his army; and, assured of the evacuation of *Dunkirk*, took possession of that important town and harbour. The *Dutch* beheld with jealousy the motion of *English* forces towards their frontiers, and they saw no remedy but entering into the same pacific measures. However, the siege of *Quesnoi* was pushed with vigour. The besiegers having got possession of the counterscarp, were preparing to give the assault, when the garrison beat a parley, and surrendered at discretion.

WHILE *Quesnoi* engaged the chief attention of the allies, they sent a detachment of cavalry, accompanied with a great number of volunteers, to make an irruption into the very bowels of *France*. It is inconceivable the consternation which so inconsiderable a force spread; from the terror that appeared in every countenance, and the panic which seized the whole *French* nation, one would have imagined that the whole confederate army was at the gates of *Paris*. After all, this detachment returned without performing any thing memorable; their whole pursuit was plunder, in which they succeeded. Now the allies entered upon more vigorous measures; they invested *Landreci*, and the direction of the siege was committed to the prince of *Anhalt Dessau*, general of the *Prussian* forces. Thirty four battalions and thirty squadrons invested the place, while prince *Eugene* with the remainder of the army covered the siege, and neglected nothing to insure success. He fortified his camp, and so ranged his forces, that it looked impossible to relieve the garrison. *Villars*, on the other hand, was no less vigilant for the protection of a town, the possession of which would open the enemy a passage into *Champagne* and *Picardy*. He resolved to force the posts which covered the navigation of the *Scarpe* and the *Scheld*, and to attack the enemies lines at *Denain*, in which he succeeded by an admirable stratagem, and thereby fixed the return of the epoch of good fortune, after

^a Journ. Histor. sub hoc Ann.

it had long been unpropitious to the arms of *Lewis*. Whatever merit we must allow prince *Eugene*, it was obvious from this single transaction, that he was no longer assisted by the counsels of *Marlborough*.

MARESCHAL *Villars* next invested *Marchienne*, where the enemy had formed their magazines: on his first presenting himself, he summoned the governor to surrender; threatening, in case of refusal, with putting him to the sword. The governor, having 4000 men under his command, despised his menaces; but was forced to surrender prisoner of war in the space of four days after the trenches were opened. The loss of *Marchienne* determined the fate of *Landreci*; Prince *Eugene*, deprived of his magazines, and the communication by water with *Antwerp* and *Tournay*, was forced to relinquish the enterprise, in a manner that enabled the French general to form enterprises which otherwise would have been impracticable. *Hempesch*, governor of *Douai*, hearing of the fate of *Denain* and *Marchienne*, made no doubt but he would soon be besieged. To make the most vigorous resistance his situation would admit, he recalled all his detachments, and strengthened his garrison with three battalions drawn from *Lisle* and *Bethune*. He was invested on the 8th of *August*; and notwithstanding the most vigorous defence, the number of the garrison, the strength of the place, and the endeavours of prince *Eugene* to relieve the besieged, they were forced to surrender by the eighth of *September*, prisoners of war. Upon these reiterated disgraces prince *Eugene* assembled a council of war, where the chief officers advised occupying the plain of *Queverain*, and forming the siege of *Maubege*, in case *M. Villars* entertained designs against *Bouchaine* or *Quesnoi*, in which the imperialists had formed magazines, to repair the late disaster at *Marchienne*. This opinion was embraced, and the prince of *Hesse* detached before, to prepare the way for the army. *Villars* discovered the intention of the allies, and took measures for anticipating their design. He advanced a large body of troops, who took possession of *Queverain*, before the allies had scarce crossed the *Scheld*. At the same time he blocked up *Quesnoi* so closely, as rendered it impossible for prince *Eugene* to withdraw his artillery, and great magazines of stores and ammunition. He then invested the place, and kept up so incessant a fire from his batteries, that *Ivay*, a French refugee, raised to the rank of major-general, and made governor, surrendered upon honourable conditions. Thus fell the imperial artillery and magazines into

the hands of the enemy, which produced more real advantage to *Villars*, than if he had gained a battle ^b.

IN every attempt this great general, the pride of the empire, the terror of the *Turks*, and the saviour of *Italy*, was foiled by the *French* mareschal, who lost no occasion of profiting by his superiority. Besides obliging prince *Eugene* to evacuate his camp at *Malplaquet*, to retire between the *Sambre* and the *Haisne*; besides forcing the garrison of fort *Knoques*, he now formed the siege of *Bouchaine*, the reduction of which place had made a considerable addition to the laurels of the victorious *Marlborough*. It was at this time defended by the celebrated *Grovesstein*, and invested by the mareschal in the beginning of *October*. A fortnight after the trenches were opened it surrendered, notwithstanding the most spirited resistance; and thus *Villars* recovered all the conquests made by the allies in three successive campaigns. With these expeditions the armies separated, and retired to winter-quarters; upon which *Villars*, loaded with glory, repaired to court, where he was received with that peculiar regard due to his merit, and to a general who had first stemmed the torrent of misfortune, and retrieved the honour of *Lewis*.

PRINCE *Eugene* set out for the *Hague* to concert the operations of the ensuing campaign with the *Hollanders*, and the means of repairing the late disgraces sustained by the allies. He held several conferences with count *Zinzendorf* on the subject of the *Spanish Netherlands*, of which the emperor conceived a violent desire of being in possession. This measure the *Dutch* opposed, because the conquest of these provinces was made chiefly at their expence. They could not, they affirmed, assent to the emperor's pretensions before the barrier granted by the emperors *Joseph* and *Leopold* was confirmed to the republic; besides a part of their expences in the war repaid. They requested the imperial minister to lay their reasons before the emperor, and demonstrate to him that it was his interest to act in concert with the *United Provinces*, since the least misunderstanding must encrease the misfortunes of the preceding campaign, and turn the scale wholly in favour of their common enemy ^c.

Charles
VI.

crowned
king of
Hungary.

MEANTIME the emperor *Charles* assumed the title of king of *Hungary*, dispensing with the formality of an election, which he regarded as a mere ceremony. He thought his

^b BARRE, tom. x. sub Ann.
p. 196.

^c LE CLERC, tom. ii.

coronation sufficient to vest him with all the authority of his predecessors. He used less ceremony with respect to *Bohemia*, where he did not think even a coronation necessary to the complete investiture of the sovereignty. In the month of *April* the states of *Hungary* assembled at *Presburg*, to deliberate on the oath which should be tendered the new monarch; and here prince *Ragotski* and count *Bereccini* entered a protest against the validity of the coronation. The court of *Vienna* was immediately informed of this proceeding; but *Charles*, disregarding it, set out for *Presburg*, where he was solemnly crowned, after he had taken the same oath as the emperor *Joseph*, and given the strongest promises to preserve the liberties of the people inviolable. The public rejoicings on this occasion did not prevent the business of the diet. In this assembly were discussed the grievances and complaints of the nation under the former government: the deputies, among other articles, demanded, that the crown should not be made hereditary in the female line of the house of *Austria*, in case of failure of male issue; that an irrevocable agreement should pass between the king and the people; which should have all the force of a fundamental law; that the chief employments should be given to the natural born subjects of the country; and that the confiscated estates, applied by former emperors to gratify the avarice of their ministers, should be restored and annexed to the revenues of the crown of *Hungary*.

To these demands *Charles* made vast promises, which he determined never to perform. The *Hungarians* suspected his sincerity from the readiness with which he complied with all they required; and they expressed their distrust that the court of *Vienna* would make attempts on their prerogatives. Count *Bereccini* fomented their jealousy, by reminding them that the ministry of the late emperors arrogated to themselves a power unknown to the states since the foundation of their monarchy; that the council at *Vienna* reversed all the forms of justice, and introduced dangerous maxims, such as, that the will of the prince is supreme arbiter over fortune, liberty, and life; and that the opportunity now offered for recovering the antient privileges of the nation, and re-establishing the true political equilibrium between the king's prerogatives and the people's privileges. These arguments produced the desired effects upon some minds: about six hundred *Hungarians* appeared in arms, in *Upper Hungary*; upon advice of which the court of *Vienna* immediately dispatched two regiments against them, to suppress this first act of rebellion and awe the country. Cardinal *Saxa Zeitz*, in high esteem even

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among the Protestants, set out for *Presburg*, to renew the promises made by the emperor, after which the diet was adjourned.

The emperor levies oppressive taxes.

FOR carrying on the war against *France* with greater vigour, the emperor published certain new edicts, which were deemed exceedingly oppressive, in his hereditary dominions. All the proprietors of houses, lands, and other rents, were ordered, in the space of six months, to pay into the treasury one hundredth part of their whole estate, and besides twelve per cent. interest upon the remaining capital. A part of the revenue raised by these taxes was sent to the duke of *Wurtemberg*, to put the army under his command on the *Rhine*, in a respectable posture. While this general was forming a plan for forcing the enemy's lines at *Weissenburg*, levying contributions, and establishing winter-quarters in *Alsace*, he was diverted from his purpose by a report that he was to send strong detachments to *Flanders*, to reinforce the garrisons of *Landau* and *Philipsburg*, and repass the *Rhine* with the remainder of his army. His project had all the appearance of succeeding, and he had made several masterly movements to facilitate it, by perplexing the enemy. M. *Harcourt's* vigilance, however, was not to be surprised, nor his sagacity outwitted: he took all the necessary measures for the defence of his lines, and effectually frustrated all the duke of *Wurtemberg's* projects.

IN *Italy* the Imperialists were rather more successful, as they got possession of *Porte Hercole*; but in *Spain* count *Staremberg*, though delivered by death of his most formidable enemy, the duke *de Vendome*, performed nothing considerable. Here *Philip*, from a certainty that peace must soon ensue, ordered his generals to act offensively; while the *French* king, on the side of *Dauphiny*, contented himself with observing the enemy's motions. As for the king of *Portugal*, he seconded the views of her *Britannic* majesty, and desired nothing better than the suspension of arms offered^b.

THE more to embarrass the imperial councils, the affairs of the North seemed to require their attention, as the king of *Denmark* had formed the resolution of invading the duchy of *Bremen*. This obliged *Steinbock* to demand the execution of the treaty of *Osnabrug*, by which the *Germanic* body guaranteed *Pomerania*, now threatened by the *Poles* and *Muscovites*, and *Bremen*, to the king of *Sweden*. General *Crossan* used other arguments with the king of *Prussia*, the elector of *Hanover*, and duke of *Wolfenbuttle*, to induce them to

^b BARRE, *ibid.*

oppose the lighting up a war on their frontiers. He represented the danger of suffering the *Russians* and *Danes* to gain a footing in the empire, and plied this topic with so much address, that they ordered a body of troops to file towards *Staden*. *Stakelberg*, who commanded in this place, distributed the *German* auxiliaries in the outworks; but scarce had the *Danes* began working upon their lines of circumvallation, when the *Prussians* and *Hanoverians* evacuated their posts, retired into the territories of *Hamburgh*, and there halted for fresh instructions. In consequence, the *Danes* after a brisk siege reduced *Staden*, and the *Saxons* without resistance entered *Pomerania*. An offer was made by the czar and king of *Poland* of giving *Stetin* to his *Prussian* majesty, in consideration of his assisting them with a train of artillery and ammunition; which he refused, though the aim of his policy soon after appeared, which was to attain the sequestration of *Swedish Pomerania*, in hopes soon of acquiring the property. It was soon after this that *Steinbock*, the *Swedish* general, burnt the rich town of *Altena*, which was filled with *Danish* stores of provision and ammunition, and reduced the inhabitants to the most wretched state of misery and distress. Some writers have endeavoured to excuse this action as arising from accident; but it is beyond doubt, that *Steinbock* demanded heavier contributions than the inhabitants were able to pay, that he gave them notice to remove their effects, and then took this cruel revenge. How far he might be justified by the laws of war for retaliating in this manner the barbarous conduct of his enemies, is what we will not pretend to determine; certain it is, that *Altena* had taken no part in the confederacy against *Sweden*; the burghers had been forced by the *Danes* to suffer their town to be made a magazine. *Steinbock's* proceeding was undoubtedly very impolitic: all *Germany* exclaimed against the *Swedish* barbarity, and the violence done to an imperial city.

It was now apprehended that the troubles in the North might be attended with dangerous consequences to the empire; to prevent which, the princes of the *Germanic* body assembled at *Brunswick*, where appeared ambassadors from the emperor, the king of *Prussia*, the dukes of *Hanover* and *Wolfsbuttle*, the bishop of *Munster*, and the landgrave of *Hesse-Cassel*. They represented, that in the present situation of affairs they could not provide too diligently for the defence of *Lower Germany*, and stopping the progress of those violences, the lamentable effects of which had already been felt by the maritime circles. It was then resolved to form an alliance of neutrality, to be ratified by the diet; to levy an army of

twenty thousand men, at the expence of the contracting parties; and to give the command of this army to prince *Eugene*, with orders to take post on the *Elbe*. It was therefore resolved to oblige the belligerent powers to evacuate the frontiers of *Germany* in the space of three weeks, and to obtain security for repairing the damages they had committed in several provinces of the empire; or, in case of refusal, to declare them enemies to the *Germanic* body. It was farther stipulated, that this declaration should be made in the strongest terms to the court of *Sweden*, and the czar of *Muscovy*; that the places held in the dutchy of *Mecklenburg* should be abandoned; that the towns in *Pomerania* and the dutchy of *Bremen* should be sequestered in the hands of the emperor; that the revenues of *Bremen* should be assigned to his *Danish* majesty, after the expences of sequestration were deducted; that the *Swedes* should not be suffered to return to *Poland*; that they should be prevented from garrisoning the towns they possessed in the empire; that they should be compelled to repass the sea, without being molested by the *Muscovites*, *Poles*, or *Danes*; that if either of the contending powers should be defeated, then the imperial army should join the weaker party, and maintain the balance equal; but that if the *Swedes* were joined by any other power, the imperial army should act against them, without admitting general *Steinbock's* excuses on account of the king his master's absence; that when the empire was evacuated, if the belligerent powers shewed an inclination for peace, the empire and *Germanic* body might offer their mediation, and propose a congress at

A. D. 1713. *Lubec*. Such were the conditions of the treaty signed at *Brunswick* in *January* 1713.

WHILE the princes of the empire were deliberating on the means of securing the tranquility of the war in *Germany*, the *Swedish* general *Steinbock* was carrying all before him. Without tracing him through operations foreign to our design, it is sufficient, that his progress was so rapid, as to oblige the czar to solicit the king of *Prussia* and elector of *Hanover* to embrace the league against *Sweden*. He went in person to the courts of *Hanover* and *Berlin*, where he negotiated with so much address, as gained some advantage, though he did not succeed in the principal object of his visit to the two *German* electors. Soon after the king of *Prussia* died, and the arms of *Peter the Great* were so successful, that the whole *Swedish* army surrendered prisoners of war; upon which the *Poles* and *Muscovites* returned to *Pomerania*, while the *Danes* laid close siege to *Tonningen*, under a pretence that the duke-administrator of *Holslein* had violated the neutrality. This obliged the
young

young king of *Prussia* to declare to the *Danes*, that if they persisted in persecuting the duke, he would, in conjunction with his allies, take effectual measures for the protection of the house of *Gottorp*. By withdrawing his troops, he said, his *Danish* majesty could only live upon a good footing with the princes of the empire. This steadiness and spirit shook the resolution of *Denmark*; and the king immediately wrote to the court of *Berlin*, that he was ready to terminate his differences with the duke of *Holstein*. He also consented, that during the negociation *Tonningen* should, for eight days, be supplied with all manner of provision; and that the emperor should nominate a time and place for the sitting of a congress, for a general pacification among the northern powers. In this manner did the resolutions of the assembly at *Brunswick*, and the steadiness of the king of *Prussia*, command the respect of his *Danish* majesty.

It was otherways with the czar and king of *Poland*, who at this time were laying siege to *Stetin* in *Pomerania*, defended by general *Meyersfeld*, an officer who joined the fire, the activity of youth, to the experience of forty campaigns. They had begun to batter in breach, when the king of *Prussia* declared, that he was charged with the sequestration of *Pomerania*. *Augustus* of *Poland*, the king of *Denmark*, the czar and the elector of *Hanover*, all opposed the pretensions of *Prussia*; they declared they had a just right by treaty to certain places in *Pomerania*; but the king of *Prussia* declared, that the sequestration would continue only until a peace was concluded, when *Stetin* should be restored to *Sweden*, upon his being reimbursed in the necessary expences of the sequestration. In a word, he acted with so much stability, that a treaty to this purpose was signed, and all the powers withdrew their forces, though the king of *Denmark* expressed his dissatisfaction at these arbitrary proceedings, and issued orders for seizing all the vessels that entered the ports of *Pomerania*, without regard to the flags and protections of *Poland* and *Russia*. Here too the *Prussian* monarch acted with his usual address, but with less regard to equity, and the rights of the empire, than he had hitherto demonstrated. He signed a treaty with the *Danish* minister; the direct tendency of which was to plunder the duke of *Holstein*, by sequestrating his dominions, until differences were compromised with the ducal family, provided the king of *Denmark* consented to the sequestration of *Pomerania*.

WHILE the emperor and the *Germanic* body were diligent in composing the disturbances in the North, they seemed to- of the em-
tally indifferent to the peace of the empire on the other side. peror and

The emperor flattered himself that the *French* monarch, greatly advanced in years, and broken with incessant care, must soon finish his career, and that his death, and the subsequent minority, would produce a revolution in the affairs of his kingdom, favourable to the empire. Hence arose his obstinacy and insurmountable objections to the propositions offered by *Lewis* ^c. On their side, the *Dutch* seemed rather sedulous to extend the flames of war, than to cherish the blessings of tranquility. They refused to grant the ambassadors of *Cologne* and *Bavaria* passports, in which should be recited the titles of their masters, because these princes, they alledged, had lost the rights of electors, in consequence of their proscription. *France* retaliated by raising difficulties about acknowledging *Charles* the sixth in quality of head of the empire. He was elected without the consent of the electors of *Cologne* and *Bavaria*, while at the same time the ambassador of *Hanover* was admitted into the diet though his right was disputable. These reasons were specious; they seemed to prove the election irregular, and to justify the dissent of the *French* monarch. On other occasions, the conduct of the diet would have scarce been noticed; at a negotiation the parties endeavoured to profit by every circumstance. The court of *France* hoped, that by relaxing in this article, they might be able to obtain other advantages in favour of the proscribed electors in her alliance. It was the earnest desire of *Lewis* to gain over the *Dutch*; but the artifices of *Zinzendorf*, and the influence of *Eugene* raised a thousand difficulties.

The duke
of Savoy
accedes
to the
treaty of
Utrecht.

Now, however, the duke of *Savoy* began to express less attachment to the house of *Austria*; whether nature or interest operated with him, is not material. At length his eyes were opened; and, tired with a war in which his friends and enemies equally contributed to his ruin, he beheld in a true light his opposition to his own daughter's elevation, only to support a family celebrated for ambition and ingratitude, of both which his own experience furnished him with instances. He resolved therefore to commit his affairs into the hands of the queen of *England*, who undertook to mediate his peace with *Lewis*. That princess laboured to procure for him the crown of *Sicily*, and the reversion of the *Spanish* monarchy, in default of male issue of the direct line. Mr. *St. John*, then lord *Bolingbroke*, executed a treaty to this purpose, with that peculiar address, which acquired him the reputation of the finest gentleman, and the most refined politician, of his coun-

^c Auct. citat. VOLT. t. i. DANIEL, t. v.

try. In consequence, the queen withdrew her fleet and forces from *Portugal* and *Catalonia*; a proceeding which greatly cooled the affections of the *Dutch* to the house of *Austria*. This republic, invariably steady to her interest, perceived that her strength alone, combined to that of the house of *Austria*, was insufficient to cope with *France* and *Spain*. She became more difficult to the proposals of count *Zinzendorf*, and plainly indicated an intention of pursuing the footsteps of *England*, *Portugal*, and *Savoy*; for both these last courts acceded to the treaty of *Utrecht* towards the close of the preceding year. They were possibly confirmed in this resolution by the solemn renunciation of *Philip* the fifth of his pretensions to the crown of *France*, by which was removed all dread of the union of two great monarchies, the apprehension of which had already cost rivers of blood. By a similar act the dukes of *Berri* and *Orleans* renounced any right they might have to the *Spanish* succession. There was now no longer room for clamour against the ambitious designs of *Lewis*; a circumstance, which, joined to the success of his arms, greatly embarrassed the republic. Still, however, there was a party in the provinces, who strongly urged supporting the house of *Austria*, and prosecution of the war; but the opposite faction gained ground daily. The province of *Holland* long declared for pacific measures: this operating with the real interests of the provinces in general, and the influence of the queen of *England*, at length determined the states-general to drop the emperor's alliance, notwithstanding the warm remonstrances and profuse promises of *Zinzendorf*. The count represented to their High mightinesses, that the emperor being first in dignity and power of all the allies, they ought chiefly to consult him in the article of peace; that it was greatly to be feared the facility with which *Tournay* was surrendered, was only a trap to disengage the republic from the protection of the house of *Austria*, in order, one day, to drive them with the more facility out of the *Spanish Netherlands*. He observed, that in the war terminated by the peace of *Nimeguen*, the emperor and *Germanic* body had actually snatched the republic out of the jaws of inevitable destruction, in grateful return for which, it was now the duty of the provinces to assist in procuring them some equivalent.

To these arguments, enforced with great warmth in the public assembly of the states, *Zinzendorf* joined intrigue. He caballed with the elector of *Hanover* and the duke of *Marlborough*, and endeavoured to gain their influence with the states-general; but all his art could not succeed. He was answered,

that *England* alone was not detached from the alliance, but the courts of *Savoy* and *Portugal* likewise ; that now was the time to profit by her *Britannic* majesty's kind intentions to the republic ; that though they could not now obtain all the advantages they proposed, yet there was still enough offered to render peace preferable to a war attended with multiplied disgraces ; and that in hesitating to accept the terms, they might in the end be forced to solicit more disadvantageous conditions.

ZINZENDORF tried all in his power to animate the *Dutch*, and raise their desponding courage with the hopes of vast succours, from the czar of *Muscovy*, and the kings of *Poland* and *Denmark* ; but these prospects were too remote to have weight with the republic. She perceived, that while she waited for northern succours her provinces might be laid desolate, and her subjects become the victims of ambition and obstinacy : she therefore, at once, determined upon peace under the mediation of *England*, beginning with signing the barrier and guarantee treaties of succession to the *Spanish* monarchy.

No sooner had the *Dutch* seriously resolved on a peace with *France*, than the negociations of *Utrecht* assumed a very different aspect. Almost all the clouds raised by jealousy and resentment were immediately dissipated. The republic granted the passports before refused to the plenipotentiaries of the two proscribed electors, and the congress was again opened by the most able set of ministers who ever conducted any negotiation. All practised the utmost refinements of policy ; each enforced his master's rights with the most energetic elocution ; the abbé *Polignac* shone in a peculiar manner, and supported, with astonishing fortitude, the fatigue of a tedious negociation, in which the rights of so many powers were to be adjusted with his master. The specific demands, as they were called, of the different states of the empire gave abundance of trouble. All the little *German* princes insisted upon particular treaties, and a separate discussion of their rights ; but the perseverance and ability of the plenipotentiaries triumphed over all difficulties.

Now the deputies of the four associated circles represented to the *British* ministers, that by the treaty of *Nordlingen* they had embraced the alliance ; that they had fulfilled all their engagements, and sustained the enemy's heaviest shocks at their own expence, without demanding subsidies from *Great Britain* ; that notwithstanding this, her *Britannic* majesty thought proper to conclude a separate peace, without stipu-

stipulating a barrier for the circles, or any equivalent for the oppressive expences of the war; that it would be equally for the glory of the queen, the honour of her ministers, the good of the empire, and of *Europe* in general, that some reparation should be made; and that they expected this, at least, from the queen's goodness and equity. However warmly they urged this request, it was but little regarded. *France* had now obtained her principal aim; she left the empire destitute of allies, and could, in these circumstances, make her own conditions. But to preserve the appearance of moderation, a memorial relative to the affairs of the empire was drawn up, and given to the earl of *Peterborough*, with a request he would have it presented to his imperial majesty.

WHEN the earl gave in this paper to the emperor, he re-
marked, that the queen of *England* had made the utmost ef-
forts to support the house of *Austria* in *Spain*, *Flanders*, *Hun-*
gary, and *Germany*. She felicitated herself on having been
instrumental in appeasing the disturbances in *Hungary*, in dis-
pelling the storm that menaced the empire from the North,
in assisting to fix the imperial diadem on his head, in pro-
curing him the possession of the *Milanese*, *Naples*, and *Sardi-*
nia, together with several other advantages. He said, that
Great Britain, drained of men and money, obliged her ma-
jesty to conclude peace; that the conditions were honourable
and profitable, and such as his imperial majesty, by accepting,
would have added a variety of precious jewels to his crown;
that the queen proposed now stipulating for his imperial ma-
jesty the best terms which circumstances would admit, and
procuring for him the cession of those places possessed by the
Spaniards on the frontiers of *Tuscany*; that the possession of
such vast dominions as his imperial majesty enjoyed, could not
possibly be secured, except by a solemn treaty, guarantied by
the chief powers in *Europe*; and that while the queen had
contributed more than any other ally to the advancement of
the common cause, in reducing the enemy's ambition within
limits, she had room to hope that the confederates would
not deny her the glory of giving peace to *Christendom*, secu-
rity to every individual, and a just satisfaction of their claims
to all the different parties.

CHARLES resented the high stile in which the *English*
minister spoke of the grandeur of his mistress: he regarded
this as an oblique reflection upon himself, and declared, that
he would never suffer the queen of *England* to prescribe laws
to the empire; that his pretensions to the *Spanish* monarchy
were too indisputable for him to renounce his claim, or allow
the

the smallest province to be dismembered from it; that he protested against all treaties made to his prejudice; and that, unless the negotiations speedily took a favourable turn, he would recal his plenipotentiaries, oblige the states of the empire to follow his example, and put an end to the congress. The court of *Vienna* entertained a notion, that the treaty of *Utrecht* was calculated to ruin the house of *Austria*; yet all the states of *Germany*, Protestant and Catholic, so ardently aspired after peace, that the emperor could not destroy their expectations of this blessing, without causing their desertion of his interest. Accordingly, when the imperial reply was related to the *French* plenipotentiaries, they expressed their uneasiness that *Europe* was not yet to taste the sweets of liberty: but said, that the emperor's resolution would prove more injurious to himself than to the most Christian king^d.

In fact, the emperor's menaces did not retard the course of the negotiation. After long disputes, it was agreed, that the Imperialists should evacuate *Catalonia*, and that a neutrality should take place for *Italy*; that an armistice should be published in *Catalonia* and *Italy*, and that, on the day of its publication, the Imperialists should surrender *Barcelona*, or *Tarragona*, at their option; that all persons belonging to the court at *Barcelona* should have liberty to carry off their effects; and that the Imperialists in general should be transported by sea on board *English* vessels; that all prisoners on either side should be released; that an amnesty should be published in *Spain*, and the utmost influence of the queen of *England*, and the most Christian king, be exerted to persuade *Philip* to leave the *Catalans* in the full possession of their liberties.

NOTHING could exceed the spirit of the *Catalans* on this occasion. They knew they could expect no support; yet they ventured, in defence of liberty, to denounce war against *France* and *Spain*. We have elsewhere related the particulars.

Neutrality
signed for
Italy.

THE neutrality signed for *Italy* gave hopes, that the emperor would now be disposed to surrender all the acquisitions from the different states, violently made by his two immediate predecessors. *Leopold* and *Joseph* had, under colour of the war, seized upon a great number of cities, which they promised to surrender at a peace; but *Charles* thought himself not bound by their promises. The estates held in *Italy* and *Germany* were too considerable to be willingly renounced: he

^d Vid. BARRE, VOLTAIRE, SMOLLETT, TORCY, Life of Peterborough, &c.

must restore *Comacchio* to the pontiff, *Mantua* to the family of *Guastalla*, *Montferrat* to the duke of *Savoy*, *Mirandola* and the marquisate of *Concordia* to the legitimate sovereign; and, in *Germany*, the archbishopric of *Cologne* and principality of *Liege* to the prelate elector, and all the estates of *Bavaria* to the duke of that name. Justice required, that restitution should be made of all the places we have mentioned; but *Lewis* thought himself concerned only in what related to his allies. Accordingly he wrote to his ministers at the congress to make the following propositions: that the archbishop elector of *Cologne* should be restored to all his estates, effects, dignities, honours, papers, moveables, &c. possessed by him at the commencement of the war: that the same restitution be made to all his domestics and subjects, who have suffered in consequence of their fidelity and attachment: that all foreign troops shall be withdrawn from the city and citadel of *Liege*, from the citadel of *Huy*, and the town of *Bonn*: that the elector of *Bavaria* shall in the same manner have restitution made of all his estates and dignities, except the *Higher Palatinate*, and the rank of first secular elector, which shall remain in the house of *Palatine*, during the lives of the present elector and prince *Charles* his brother. Moreover, the king demanded, that the house of *Bavaria* should have the island of *Sardinia*, to indemnify their loss, during the life of the elector-palatine. He likewise required that the elector should have an equivalent for his losses, consequent on the infraction of the treaty of *Landau*. He consented that the *Dutch* should have garrisons in *Namur*, *Luxemburg*, and *Charleroi*; but insisted, that if these conditions were not accepted within a limited time, he should be at liberty to revoke or alter them at pleasure. It was further proposed, that the treaty of 1697 should be confirmed, as it determined the frontiers of *Germany* and *France*. Here the *Rhine* formed the barrier, and each party was to possess the towns and fortresses on their own side in the manner they thought proper. *Lewis* promised to acknowledge the emperor in that quality, and to restore *Brisack*, with all its dependences to the right of the river, reserving for himself all upon the left, including fort *Mertier*. With respect to the forts round *Hunningen*, and the bridge of *Strasbourg*, a variety of separate articles were inserted. To conclude, the king ceded to the emperor the kingdom of *Naples*, the duchy of *Milan*, except that part already assigned to the duke of *Savoy*, and the *Spanish Netherlands*, under certain restrictions.

THESE

The emperor proposes a truce.

THESE propositions were signed by the *French* plenipotentiaries, and the bishop of *Bristol*, who presented them to the imperial minister. *Zinzendorf* took the alarm at this project, on seeing the house of *Austria* stripped of the greater part of the *Spanish* monarchy : he therefore refused signing the articles. He complained of the presumption of giving law to the emperor, and said, that the hand and seal of the *English* minister had the appearance of an intention to compel his imperial majesty into their measures. Such violent proceedings deprived him, he alledged, of all possibility to conclude a treaty, though his inclinations strongly led him to a pacification. The *English* minister returned frequently to the charge ; but *Zinzendorf* was inflexible. His conduct was approved at the court of *Vienna*, where several councils were held upon the subject of the proposals. As they determined to reject them, they were now to cast about for the means of frustrating the general peace, without declaring their intention of continuing the war. For this purpose a truce was proposed, during which each of the parties should enjoy their conquests, without the emperor's renouncing his claim to the *Spanish* monarchy ; a thought which *Charles* could not support after the treasure, the labour, and the blood spent in this pursuit. The project was relished by most princes of the *Germanic* body. Under the shadow of this truce they hoped to enjoy repose, and rapidly to regain their former vigour, as the emperor must grant all they required, from the necessity of his affairs, and the assistance they could afford in the prosecution of his claim to the *Spanish* succession. *Charles* on his side had many advantages in view : he flattered himself that, before the expiration of the truce, *Lewis* would sink under the pressure of old age, leaving his crown to a minor, which could not fail of distracting the affairs of the kingdom : then would be the season for making conquests on the *Rhine*, the *Moselle*, and even in *Spain*. The prospect of the elector of *Hanover*'s mounting the throne of *Great-Britain*, in case the queen's death occurred during the cessation of hostilities, was another signal advantage which the emperor figured to himself. In *George* he doubted not he should find a staunch friend, and a zealous asserter of the imperial dignity, and the rights of the house of *Austria* : besides, by this truce he should remain in possession of *Catalonia*, a province the most inviolably attached to his person and family. *Naples*, *Mantua*, *Milan*, all the *Italian* dominions, and the two electorates, would remain in his hands, from the revenues of which he should be able to save a large sum for the

the prosecution of the war. In a word, the expedient was well imagined; but it supposed the concurrence of all the other powers concerned, many of whom had a direct interest in opposing proposals which would deprive them of great part of their dominions. Upon this rock it split: all were too much attached to their own interest to pay so extraordinary a compliment to the emperor. In truth, they all agreed only in the resolution of putting their affairs on the best footing possible, and establishing the general repose of *Europe*. It is rejected.

In pursuance of this scheme, the *Dutch* tried their influence with count *Zinzendorf*: they urged his consent to the *French* propositions; but he answered, that his instructions were to conclude a truce upon the conditions we have specified. After this declaration he absented himself from the congress, and the other powers proceeded to the final conclusion of their several treaties, while the imperial minister had recourse to protests, which he lodged in the town-house of *Utrecht*. At *Vienna*, the peace was no less contested than the negotiations were at *Utrecht*. Libels were published against her *Britannic* majesty, accusing that princess of breach of engagement with the emperor and *Germanic* body, and violation of the most sacred treaties. Whether the accusation was justly founded, will appear by consulting the treaty, as inserted in our *History of France*.

A few days after the conclusion of the treaties between *France*, *England*, *Holland*, *Savoy*, &c. *Zinzendorf* quitted *Utrecht* in disgust, and particularly incensed against the queen of *England* and the states-general, and leaving count *Kirkener* to direct the affairs of the imperial court. To this minister some overtures of accommodation were made; but as he had no instructions, he contented himself with hearkening to them without entering into a negotiation. He held, nevertheless, some conferences with the *Bavarian* minister, and proposed the marriage of the archdutchess with the electoral prince; by which means the vast possessions of the house of *Austria* might one day descend to the family of *Bavaria*; but the *Bavarian* minister replied, that his master would be satisfied with the restitution of his dominions and dignities by a solemn treaty^c. Finding all hopes of gaining the elector, or obtaining better conditions, vanished, *Charles* now seriously reflected upon the means of pursuing the war; though the departure of the empress at this time from *Catalonia* was

^c LAMBERTI, t. viii. p. 68.

looked upon as a most impolitic measure, because thereby he seemed to renounce his claim to the *Spanish* monarchy. *Staremberg*, however, conducted matters with such dexterity, that the *Catalans* not only remained firm, but appeared more than ever attached to the house of *Austria*.

He pre-
pares for
war.

FOR the more vigorous prosecution of his views, the emperor obtained a million of crowns from the diet at *Ratisbon*; besides which, he was promised some millions more, to be paid at certain installments. On the twenty-fourth of *May* prince *Eugene* repaired to the camp at *Mulberg*, behind the lines at *Etlingen*. He reckoned upon an army of one hundred and twenty thousand men, instead of which he found only forty thousand, all the circles having been deficient in their quotas. Couriers were dispatched to *Vienna* and *Ratisbon*; and the diet replied, that they had already authorised his imperial majesty to force the circles, by military execution, to comply with their engagements; and that, attentive to the inclinations of the emperor, they had commissioned the elector of *Mentz* to borrow of *Christiern Kest*, and other bankers, the sum wanted, which might be paid out of the arrears of the contingents, and the other revenues of the circles. Such an obstruction as this, in the very beginning of the emperor's pursuits, seemed inauspicious. *Eugene*, and all men of sense and discernment, formed unfavourable prognostics, especially as this resolution of borrowing money, upon extremely doubtful security, was opposed by several members of the diet, who thought the renewal of the war contrary to the interest of the *Germanic* body. They said, that if the issue of the war proved unfortunate, then *Suabia* and *Franconia* would fall a prey to the enemy; and if it was successful, that instead of adding to the emolument of the empire in general, it would only be strengthening the hands of the emperor, raising the power of the house of *Austria*, and enabling it to trample on the liberties of the *Germanic* body.

It was now apparent, that the emperor's only resource was a trial of that authority given him by the diet, to enforce their edicts by military execution; but this he foresaw would only expose his own weakness, and increase the number of the discontented. Great as these obstacles were, prince *Eugene* was not discouraged. After visiting the lines at *Etlingen*, he took measures for covering the *Palatinate*, and all the possible precautions for passing the *Rhine*; but he was obstructed by *M. Villars*, who was posted between *Philipsburg* and *Landau*, to which he proposed laying siege. His march thither filled the empire with terror, and obliged *Eugene* to exert

exert his utmost abilities to force the marechal to retire; but in this he could not succeed, except by defeating his army, or cutting off his provisions. The one appeared impossible, and the other would prove tedious, especially as the prince was himself greatly straitened for forage and provision. While he was meditating the means of extricating the empire, *Landau* surrendered to the *French*, and they were now preparing to invest *Friburg*. Already the marechal had seized upon *Keiserlauter*, the fort of *Manheim*, and the citadels of *Linenga* and *Volstein*. *Eugene* perceived that his design was on *Friburg*, and he endeavoured to put the lines which covered that important town, in a state of defence. However, the marechal forced the lines, and took the city, after an obstinate resistance. His army, indeed, was so much superior, that he carried all before him, and was enabled to execute whatever he attempted. Several towns surrendered to the French.

THE reduction of *Friburg* cooled the emperor's ardour, and brought him to reflect on his own inferiority, and the impossibility of prosecuting a claim against two powerful monarchies, in which he could rely only upon the genius of his general, unsupported by men or money. *Eugene* was now permitted to open a negotiation with *M. Villars*. He accordingly sent him notice that he was charged with full powers to enter upon conferences at the castle of *Rastadt*. Treaty of Rastadt. Here the two generals met on the twenty-seventh of *November*, and exchanged mutual compliments of admiration and esteem. Such was the secrecy observed in this negotiation, that all the politicians in *Europe* doubted whether it was successful. The conferences opened with fixing the frontiers of the empire and the *French* monarchy. Prince *Eugene* demanded restitution of *Landau*, *Philipsburg*, and *Friburg*, without which, he said, the deputies of the states of the empire must be called, which would greatly protract the negotiation. *Villars* was too delicate again to offer the same propositions made at *Utrecht*; but he was unwilling to part with *Landau*. *Philipsburg* and *Friburg* he freely ceded, but *Lewis* would restore none of his conquests on this side the river *Queisch*. Next they proceeded to the interests of the proscribed electors, both of whom the emperor readily reinstated in their former dignities and possessions, in hopes of procuring easier terms in other articles, in which, however, he proved mistaken. It is true, the article of repairing the losses sustained by the electors from the retention of their dominions, took up some time; nor was this point clearly settled before the subsequent treaty on the frontiers of *Switzerland*. On the sixth of

of *February* the plenipotentiaries separated, and then it was universally believed that the conferences were broke off; but before this every thing had been adjusted, except one equivocal expression, respecting a town in *Italy*, which the ministers left to be determined by the courts of *Vienna* and *Versailles*. A few days afterwards the plenipotentiaries again met at *Rastadt*, and signed the treaty in the manner in which it is inserted in the close of the *History of France*^f.

IN this manner was finished a tedious war, in which all *Europe* was involved, and the empire in particular, as *Germany* was the most important scene of action. It had continued almost during the reign of three emperors, all of whom seized this opportunity of extending the prerogatives of the imperial diadem. For some years they dictated laws to *Italy*; they even became arbitrary in the empire. Two electors had been divested of their dignities, and stripped of their dominions by the sole imperial authority, without consulting the *Germanic* body, who murmured, without presuming to oppose an act so oppressive and destructive of their liberties. In a word, *France* may in some respects be deemed the deliverer of the empire; had not *Lewis* continued the war, had he granted reasonable terms at *Utrecht*, the emperor would have always maintained his superiority, and the privileges of the constitution would have been subjected to the arbitrary decrees of the house of *Austria*.

^f Hist. of France and Spain, vol. xxii. xxiii. xxiv. xxv. Univ. Mod. Hist.

THE GOLDEN BULL* ;

OR,

Constitution of the Emperor *Charles IV.*

TOUCHING THE

Elections of Emperors, the Functions of the Electors, and the Succession and Rights of the Princes of the Empire.

Enacted partly at *Nuremberg* the 10th of *January*, 1356, and partly at *Metz* the 25th of *December* of the same Year.

In the Name of the holy and indivisible Trinity. So be it.

CHARLES, by the grace of God, emperor of the Romans, *semper Augustus*, and king of *Bohemia*; to render the memory of the thing perpetual——

EVERY kingdom divided against itself will be destroyed; and because its princes have made themselves the companions of thieves, God hath spread among them a spirit of stupidity and giddiness, that they may grope along at noon-day, as if they were in the midst of darkness: he hath taken the candle-sticks from the place where they stood, that they might be

* The original kept at *Frankfort* is a kind of register, containing several sheets of parchment without binding or cover. It is pierced through the middle to admit a golden wire, the ends of which are fastened by a seal of gold, about the size of half a crown, which is hollow, one side representing the figure of *Charles IV.* upon a throne; on the exergue are

these words, *Carolus IV. Rom. Imp. semper Augustus, Rex Bohemæ*. On the reverse is a kind of city gate, and in the middle *Aurea Romana*. The character is pretty legible for the time; but this original is not correct. It is carefully preserved in a square wooden box, and called the Golden Bull, on account of the seal and wire, which are of that metal.

blind, and leaders of the blind. In effect, those who walk in darkness jostle against each other; and it is in division that the blind of understanding commit such wickedness.—Say, Pride! how wouldst thou have reigned in *Lucifer*, hadst thou not called Dissension to thine aid? Say, envious *Satan*! how wouldst thou have expelled *Adam* from Paradise, if thou hadst not seduced him from that obedience which he owed to his Creator? Say, Discord! how wouldst thou have destroyed the *Roman* republic, if thou hadst not animated *Pompey* and *Julius* to an intestine war against each other? Say, Luxury! how wouldst thou have ruined the *Trojans*, if thou hadst not separated *Helen* from her husband?—But thou, Envy! how often hast thou attempted to ruin by division the Christian empire, which God hath founded upon the three cardinal virtues, faith, hope, and charity, as upon an holy and indivisible Trinity; vomiting the old venom of discord among the seven electors, which are the pillars and seven principal members of the holy empire, by the brightness of whom the holy empire ought to be illuminated as by seven torches, the light of which is reinforced by the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit?—Wherefore, being obliged, as well on account of that duty imposed upon us by the imperial dignity with which we are cloathed, as in order to maintain our right of elector, in quality of king of *Bohemia*, to prevent the dangerous consequences which divisions and dissensions may hereafter produce among the electors, of which number we are; we, after having maturely deliberated in our court and solemn assembly at *Nuremberg*, in presence of all the princes electors, ecclesiastic and secular, and other princes, counts, barons, noblemen, gentlemen, and cities, being seated on the imperial throne, cloathed in the imperial habits, with the ornaments in our hands, and the crown upon our head, by the fulness of our imperial power have made and published, by this firm and irrevocable edict, the following laws, in order to cultivate union among the electors, establish an unanimous form of election, and block up every road to that detestable division, and the extreme dangers which attend it. Given in the year of our Lord 1356, being the ninth convocation, the tenth day of *January*, of our reign the tenth, and of our empire the second year.

C H A P. I.

How and by whom the Electors are to be conducted to the Place where the King of the Romans is elected.

I. **WE** declare and ordain by the present imperial edict, which shall last for ever, of our certain knowledge, full power and imperial authority, that as often as the election of a king of the *Romans* to be emperor shall happen for the future, and the electors, according to antient and laudable custom, shall travel to the place of such election, every prince elector shall be obliged, when required, to conduct and escort in safety, and without fraud, through his countries, territories, and places, and even farther if he can, all his co-electors, or their deputies, towards the city appointed for the election, both in going and returning, on pain of perjury, and of losing (though for that time only) the voice and suffrage which he ought to have in the election: he or they who have been negligent, or rebellious in this point, being declared to have incurred from that day, the said penalties, without having recourse to any other declaration than the present.

II. **WE** moreover ordain and command all the other princes who hold fiefs of the holy *Roman* empire, under whatever denomination, such as counts, barons, soldiers, and vassals, noble and not noble, burghers, and corporations of boroughs, cities, and all other places of the holy empire, upon the ensuing election of a king of the *Romans* to be emperor, to conduct and escort in safety, and without fraud, (as already mentioned) through their territories, and elsewhere, as far as lies in their power, every prince elector, or the deputies he shall send to the election, for whom, as well as for himself, he shall have demanded of any of them such safe conduct: and in case any one shall have the presumption to contradict this present order, he shall likewise incur all the following penalties: to wit, in case of contravention by the princes, counts, barons, gentlemen, soldiers, and vassals, perjury and privation of all the fiefs which they hold of the holy *Roman* empire, as well as of all others whatsoever; together with all the other possessions, of what nature soever they may be: and with regard to corporations and burghers, who shall contravene what is ordered above, they shall be reputed perjured, and at the same time deprived of all the rights, liberties, privileges, and favours, which they may have obtained from the holy empire, and incur in their persons and effects, the imperial ban and proscription: wherefore,

fore, we now deprive all such of all rights whatsoever : we likewise permit all and every one to fall upon such proscribed delinquents, attack, offend, and outrage them with impunity, without demanding any other permission from the magistrates, or dreading the least punishment from the empire, or from any other whatsoever ; forasmuch as the said proscribed delinquents are convicted of the crime of felony against the commonwealth, and even against their own honour and safety, having rashly, as disobedient rebels and traitors, despised a thing of importance to the public good.

III. WE likewise ordain and command the citizens of all the towns and corporations, to sell or see sold, to each elector, or his deputies for the election, in going and coming, at a reasonable price, and without fraud, such provisions and other things as shall be found necessary for them and their retinue, on pain of incurring the penalties mentioned above, with regard to the said burghers and corporations hereby declared guilty of the same crime.

IV. IF any prince, count, baron, soldier, vassal, noble or ignoble, burgher or corporation, should be so rash as to raise any obstruction or hindrance to, or lay any ambush for the electors, or their deputies, in going to the election of a king of the *Romans*, or in returning from it, and attack, offend, or disturb them in their own persons, or the persons of their domestics and followers, or even in their equipages, whether they have demanded the ordinary safe-conduct, or have not thought proper to demand it, we declare every such person and all his accomplices to have incurred the above specified penalties, according to the quality of the persons as above distinguished.

V. AND even though one prince elector should be at enmity, having a difference or process with any one of his colleagues, that quarrel shall not hinder him (if required) from granting the said conduct and escort to the other, or his deputies for the said election, on pain of losing his voice in the election, for that time only, as observed above.

VI. IN the same manner, if the other princes, counts, barons, soldiers, vassals, nobles or plebeians, burghers and corporations, entertain a grudge against one or more electors ; or if there is any difference or war between them ; they shall, nevertheless, without contradiction or fraud, conduct and escort the prince elector, or princes electors, or his or their deputies, both in going to and returning from the place of election, if they would avoid the penalties with which they are threatened by this edict, and which they will incur so soon as they shall act in contradiction to it.

VII. AND

VII. AND for the greater security and more ample assurance of all those things above-mentioned, we will and ordain, that all and every one of the princes electors, and other princes, counts, barons, nobles, towns, or corporations, to promise by letters, and oblige themselves by oath, to accomplish and perform all those things faithfully and without fraud; and whosoever shall refuse to grant this obligation shall incur the aforesaid penalties, to be executed against the recusants according to the condition of each.

VIII. If any prince elector, or other prince holding of the empire, of whatever quality or condition he may be, count, baron, or gentleman, their successors or heirs, holding fiefs of the holy empire, shall refuse to accomplish, or have the presumption to trespass upon, our decrees and imperial laws above-written, or afterwards to be specified; if he is an elector, his co-electors shall, from thenceforward, exclude him from their society; he shall be deprived of his voice in the election, of his rank, dignity, and right of prince-elect; nor shall he be invested with the fiefs which he may hold of the holy empire; and if the same laws be contravened by any other prince or gentleman as aforesaid, neither shall he be invested with the fiefs which he may hold of the empire, or of any other person whatsoever; and in the mean time he shall, from thenceforward, incur the personal penalties specified above.

IX. AND although we understand and ordain, that all princes, counts, barons, gentlemen, soldiers, vassals, cities, and corporations, shall be indifferently obliged to furnish the said escort and conduct to each elector or his deputies aforesaid, we nevertheless think proper to assign to each elector a particular escort and conductors, according to the countries and places through which he shall pass, as will be seen more at large in the sequel.

X. FIRST then, the king of *Bohemia*, arch-cupbearer of the holy empire, shall be conducted by the archbishop of *Mentz*, the bishops of *Bamberg* and *Wurtzburg*, the burgraves of *Nuremberg*, *Hohenloe*, *Wertheim*, *Brunick*, and *Hannau*, and by the cities of *Nuremberg*, *Rothemberg*, and *Windsheim*.

XI. THE archbishop of *Cologne*, arch-chancellor of the holy empire in *Italy*, shall be conducted by the archbishops of *Mentz* and *Triers*, the count-palatine of the *Rhine*, the landgrave of *Hesse*, the counts of *Catzerellebogen*, *Nassau*, *Deitz*, *Issenburg*, *Westerburg*, *Runckel*, *Limburg*, and *Falkenstein*, and by the cities of *Wetzlar*, *Geglorhausen*, and *Fridberg*.

XII. THE archbishop of *Triers*, arch-chancellor of the holy empire among the *Gauls*, and in the kingdom of *Arles*, shall be conducted by the archbishop of *Mentz*, the count-palatine of the *Rhine*, the counts of *Spanheim* and *Veldens*, the burgraves and weldgraves of *Nassau*, *Issenburg*, *Westerburg*, *Runkel*, *Limburg*, *Dietz*, *Catzerellenbogen*, *Eppenstein*, and *Falkenstein*, and the city of *Mentz*.

XIII. THE count-palatine of the *Rhine*, grand steward of the holy empire, shall be conducted by the archbishop of *Mentz*.

XIV. THE duke of *Saxony*, grand marshal of the holy empire, shall be conducted by the king of *Bohemia*, the archbishops of *Mentz* and *Magdeburg*, the bishops of *Bamberg* and *Wurtzburg*, the marquis of *Misnia*, the landgrave of *Hesse*, the abbots of *Fulden* and *Hirchsfelt*, the burgraves of *Nuremberg*, *Hohenloe*, *Wertheim*, *Brunick*, *Hanau*, and *Falkenstein*, as also by the cities of *Erfurd*, *Mulhausen*, *Nuremberg*, *Rothemburg*, and *Windesheim*.

XV. AND all those who have been named, shall, in like manner, be obliged to conduct the margrave of *Brandenburg*, arch-chamberlain of the holy empire.

XVI. WE moreover will, and expressly ordain, that every prince elector, who would have such safe-conduct and escort, shall give due intimation to those by whom he would be conducted and escorted, specifying the road that he shall take, that they may have time and convenience to prepare the said conduct according to his demand.

XVII. WE likewise declare, that the present constitutions touching the said conduct, are to be understood, so as that each of those above-mentioned, or any other, though perhaps not mentioned above, who, in the case aforesaid, may be required to furnish the said conduct and escort, shall be obliged to grant it in his own territories and countries, and even beyond them as far as he can, without fraud, on pain of incurring the penalties above expressed.

XVIII. WE likewise command and ordain the archbishop of *Mentz* for the time being, to send letters patent by couriers, to each of the said princes electors, ecclesiastic and secular, his colleagues, to intimate the said election, and express the day and time at which these letters may, in all probability, be delivered to each of the princes.

XIX. THESE letters shall specify, that in three months after the date mentioned in them, all and each of the princes electors shall repair, in person, to *Frankfort* upon the *Maine*, or send thither ambassadors authentically authorized, and furnished with a valid procuration, signed with their own hands,
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and sealed with their great seal, to proceed to the election of a king of the *Romans*, as future emperor.

XX. Now, how and in what form these letters are to be expedited, and the solemnity which is to be inviolably observed on that occasion ; together with the form and manner in which the princes electors must draw up and frame their powers, orders, and procurations, for the deputies whom they send to the election, will be more clearly expressed at the end of the present decree ; which form, prescribed in that place, we ordain, of our full power and imperial authority, to be every where observed in every circumstance.

XXI. THINGS being come to such a crisis, as that the certain news of the death of the emperor or king of the *Romans*, arrive in the diocese of *Mentz*, we command and ordain, that in the space of one month, reckoning from the day on which this advice is received, the archbishop of *Mentz* shall, by letters patent, make it known to the other princes electors, giving the intimation mentioned above : but if the archbishop should chance to neglect or delay this intimation, then the other princes electors, of their own free motion, even without being called upon, and in consequence of the fidelity with which they are obliged to assist the holy empire, shall, in three months as above expressed, repair to the said city of *Frankfort*, to elect a king of the *Romans* as future emperor.

XXII. Now, no prince elector, or his ambassadors, shall, at the time of the said election, enter the said city of *Frankfort* with more than two hundred horse, among which may be fifty men at arms, or fewer, but never more than that number.

XXIII. ANY prince elector, thus called and invited to the election, and refusing to come or send his ambassadors with his letters patent, sealed with his own seal, containing a full, free, and intire power to elect a king of the *Romans* ; or being actually come, or having sent ambassadors in his default ; if afterwards the same prince, or his said ambassadors, should retire from the place of election before the king of the *Romans*, as future emperor, be elected, and without having solemnly substituted, and left a lawful proxy to act as above, he shall for that time be deprived of his voice in the election, and of the right he had to vote in it, which he has thus abandoned.

XXIV. WE likewise enjoin and command the citizens of *Frankfort*, that, by virtue of the oath which we will them to take on the Holy Evangelists for that purpose, they shall protect and defend with all possible care, fidelity, and vigilance, all the princes electors in general, and each of them in par-

ticular, together with their domestics, and each of the two hundred horsemen, which they may bring to the said city, against all insult and attacks, in case any dispute or quarrel should happen among them, either for or against us, failing which, they shall incur the penalty of perjury, with the loss of all their rights, liberties, favours, or grants, which they enjoy, or may enjoy from the holy empire, and shall be immediately put in their persons and effects to the imperial ban; and then and there it shall be lawful for any person of his own proper authority, without being obliged to have recourse to a magistrate, to attack with impunity these said citizens, whom in that case, we, by these presents, deprive of all right, as traitors, renegades, and rebels to the empire; and those who attack them on this subject, shall have no cause to apprehend the smallest punishment, either from the holy empire or any other quarter.

XXV. BESIDES, the said citizens of *Frankfort* shall not introduce, nor upon any pretence whatever admit, into their city, any stranger, of what quality or condition soever he may be, during the whole time employed in the election, except only the princes electors, their deputies or proxies, each of whom may introduce two hundred horse as aforesaid.

XXVI. BUT if after the entry of the electors, any stranger should be found in the city, or in their presence, the said citizens, in consequence of the oath which they shall have taken for that purpose, by virtue of this decree, upon the Holy Evangelists as above-mentioned, shall be obliged to expel him immediately, and without delay, under the penalties above pronounced.

C H A P. II.

Of the Election of the King of the Romans.

I. NEXT day after the electors or their plenipotentiaries shall have made their entry into the city of *Frankfort*, they shall, early in the morning, repair to the church of *St. Bartholomew the Apostle*, cause the mass of the Holy Ghost to be sung, all assisting at it, that the same Holy Ghost illuminating their hearts, and spreading among them the light of its virtue, they may be strengthened, by its assistance, to chuse for king of the *Romans*, and future emperor, a just and good man, well qualified for the safeguard of a Christian people.

II. IMMEDIATELY after mass, all the electors or plenipotentiaries shall approach the altar where the mass hath been celebrated; and there the ecclesiastic princes electors, the gos-
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pel of *St. John*, in *principio erat verbum*, &c. being unfolded before them, shall lay their hands with reverence upon their breasts; and the secular princes electors shall actually touch the said gospel with their hands, at which their whole families shall be present, unarmed.—Then the archbishop of *Mentz* shall present to them the form of the oath; and he with them, and they or the plenipotentiaries, with him, shall take the oath in this manner:

III. ‘ I, N. archbishop of *Mentz*, archchancellor of the
 ‘ holy empire in *Germany*, and prince elector, swear upon the
 ‘ Holy Evangelists, here placed before me, by the faith which
 ‘ I owe to God and the holy *Roman* empire, that, according
 ‘ to my best discernment and judgment, with the help of God,
 ‘ I will chuse a temporal chief for the Christian people; that
 ‘ is to say, a king of the *Romans*, future emperor, who shall
 ‘ be worthy of that station, as far as my discernment and
 ‘ judgment enable me to know: and, upon the same faith, I
 ‘ will give my voice and suffrage in the said election, without
 ‘ any bargain, or hope of interest, promise, or reward, or any
 ‘ such thing, under whatsoever denomination it may be: so
 ‘ help me, God, and all the saints (B).’

IV. AFTER having taken the oath, in the form and manner aforesaid, the electors, or the ambassadors of those who are absent, shall proceed to the election; and from thenceforward they shall not quit the city of *Frankfort* until they shall have, by a plurality of voices, elected and given to the world, or to the Christian people, a temporal chief; namely, a king of the *Romans*, future emperor.

V. BUT if they should delay the accomplishment of the election for thirty successive days, reckoning from the day on which the oath is taken, then, these thirty days being expired, they shall have no other nourishment than bread and water; nor shall they quit the said city until all, or the majority of them, shall have elected a temporal conductor, or chief of the faithful, as aforesaid.

VI. Now, after the electors, or the majority of them, shall have thus chosen him in this place, the election shall hold, and be reputed, as if it had been unanimous, and without contradiction.

VII. AND if any one of the electors, or their ambassadors, should be a little late in his arrival at *Frankfort*, provided he comes before the election is finished, we will, that he shall be admitted to the election, in the situation in which it happens to be at his arrival.

(B) Instead of this expression the Protestant electors say, ‘ Help me, God, and his Holy Evangelists.’

VIII. AND as, by an ancient, approved, and laudable custom, all that is above written hath been invariably observed to the present time ; we, for that reason, will and ordain, of our full power and imperial authority, that, for the future, he who is, in the manner aforesaid, elected king of the *Romans*, shall, immediately after his election, and before he can meddle with the administration of the other affairs of the empire, confirm and approve, without delay, by his letters and seal, to one and all the princes electors, ecclesiastic and secular, as to the principal members of the empire, all their privileges, letters, rights, liberties, immunities, concessions, ancient customs and dignities, and all that they have obtained and possessed of the empire to the day of his election ; and, after being crowned with the imperial crown, he shall confirm all these things anew.

IX. THIS confirmation shall be executed by the prince elected, to each of the princes electors in particular ; first, under the name of king, and afterwards renewed under the title of emperor ; and the prince elect shall be bound to maintain, without fraud, and of his own free motion, the said princes in general, and each of them in particular, far from giving them the least trouble or hindrance.

X. FINALLY, we will and ordain, that, in case three electors, being present, or the ambassadors of those that are absent, should elect a fourth among them, namely, a prince elector, whether present or absent, king of the *Romans*, the voice of the prince elected, if present, or of his ambassadors, if absent, shall have full force, and augment the number and majority of votes, in the same manner as that of the other princes electors.

C H A P. III.

Of the Place and Precedence of the Archbishops of Mentz, Cologne, and Triers.

In the name of the holy and indivisible Trinity, and for the increase of our happiness. Amen.

CHARLES IV. by the grace of God, emperor of the *Romans*, *semper Augustus*, and king of *Bohemia*, to perpetuate the memory of the thing.

I. The union and concord of the venerable and illustrious princes electors, constitute the ornament and glory of the holy *Roman* empire, the honour of the imperial majesty, and the advantage of the other states of this republic, the sacred edifice of which these princes support, as being the chief pil-
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lars, by their piety, which is equal to their prudence. They strengthen the hands of the imperial power; and it may be averred, that the more strait the knot of their mutual friendship is tied, the more abundantly do the Christian people enjoy all the conveniences that attend peace and tranquillity.

II. WHEREFORE, and in order henceforth to prevent the disputes and jealousies that may arise among the venerable archbishops of *Mentz*, *Cologne*, and *Triers*, electoral princes of the holy empire, on account of the precedency or rank which they ought to enjoy in sitting in the imperial and royal assemblies; and that, for the future, they may live with one another in a tranquil state of heart and spirit, and unanimously exert themselves, and employ their whole care, in the affairs and to the advantage of the holy empire, for the consolation of the Christian people; we have, by the deliberation and advice of all the electors, ecclesiastic and secular, decreed and ordained, and we decree and ordain, of our full power and imperial authority, by this present, perpetual, and irrevocable edict, that the said venerable archbishops shall sit, namely, he of *Triers* opposite to and facing the emperor; he of *Mentz*, both in his diocese and province, and even out of his province, if within the extent of his *German* chancery, (except only in the province of *Cologne*) shall sit at the emperor's right hand; and the archbishop of *Cologne* shall likewise, in his province and diocese, and out of his province, through all *Italy* and *France*, sit at the right hand of the emperor; and that shall be in all public imperial acts, as well as in judgments, collations, and investitures of fiefs, festivals, councils, and all other assemblies, where they deliberate and treat of the honour and advantage of the *Roman* empire. And we will, that this order of sitting be observed among the said archbishops of *Cologne*, *Triers*, and *Mentz*, and their successors for ever, without any change or contestation.

C H A P. IV.

Of the Princes Electors in common.

I. WE likewise ordain, that as often as the emperor or king of the *Romans* shall be present in the imperial assemblies, either at council, at table, or on any other occasion, with the princes electors, the king of *Bohemia*, as a crowned and consecrated prince, shall occupy the first place immediately after the archbishop of *Mentz* or *Cologne*; that is, either of these, who for the time being, according to the quality of places, and variety of provinces, shall be seated on the right
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of the emperor or king of the *Romans*, conformable to the tenor of his privilege : that the count palatine shall, after him, possess the second place on the same side ; that on the left the duke of *Saxony* shall occupy the first place after the archbishop, who shall be seated on that side of the emperor ; and that the marquis of *Brandenburg* shall place himself by the duke of *Saxony*.

II. AT all times when, and as often as the holy empire shall become vacant, the archbishop of *Mentz* shall have the power which he hath had of old, to invite by letters the other princes his colleagues to the election.

III. ALL these, or such among them as may be able and willing to assist at the said election, being assembled for that purpose, the elector of *Mentz*, and no other, shall collect the particular votes of his co-electors in the following order.

IV. HE shall first ask the opinion of the archbishop of *Triers*, to whom we declare the first vote belongs, in the same manner as we find it always did belong, to the present time ; secondly, of the archbishop of *Cologne*, to whom belongs the honour and office of placing first the crown upon the head of the king of the *Romans* ; thirdly, of the king of *Bohemia*, who takes the precedence in eminence, as the right and merit of his royal dignity among the secular electors ; fourthly, of the count palatine of the *Rhine* ; fifthly, of the duke of *Saxony* ; and sixthly, of the marquis of *Brandenburg*. The archbishop of *Mentz* having in this order collected the suffrages of all the other electors, shall inform the princes his colleagues, disclosing his own intention, and the person to whom he give this own vote, being by them required so to do.

V. WE likewise ordain, that in the ceremony of imperial festivals, the marquis of *Brandenburg* shall present water to wash the hands of the emperor or king of the *Romans* ; the king of *Bohemia* shall, for the first time, serve him with drink : which service, however, he shall not be bound to perform with the royal crown upon his head, in conformity with the privileges of his kingdom, unless he chooses to do it of his own free will ; the count palatine of the *Rhine* shall be obliged to bring in the meat ; and the duke of *Saxony* exercise his office of arch or grand-marshal, as he hath of old been accustomed to do.

C H A P. V.

Of the Right of the Count Palatine of the Rhine, and that of the Duke of Saxony.

I. MOREOVER, as often as the holy empire shall become vacant, as hath been said, the illustrious count palatine of the *Rhine*, archsteward of the holy *Roman* empire, shall be provisor or vicar of the empire, in the quarters of the *Rhine*, *Suabia*, and the jurisdiction of *Franconia*, on account of the principality or privilege of the county palatine, with power to administer justice, nominate to ecclesiastic benefices, receive the revenue of the empire, invest with fiefs, and receive faith and homage, on behalf and in the name of the holy empire: all these things, however, shall be received in their time by the king of the *Romans*, after he is elected, to whom homage and allegiance must be sworn anew, except for the fiefs of princes, and those which are usually bestowed with the standard, the investiture and collation of which we specially reserve to the emperor alone, or king of the *Romans*. At the same time, the count palatine shall understand that he is expressly forbid to alienate or mortgage any thing belonging to the empire, during the time of his administration or vicariate.

II. AND it is our will, that the illustrious duke of *Saxony*, archmarshal of the holy empire, shall enjoy the same right of administration in those places where the *Saxon* law is observed, in the same manner, and on the same conditions, as those specified above.

III. AND although, by a custom very antiently introduced, the emperor or king of the *Romans* is obliged to answer in the causes instituted against him, before the count palatine of the *Rhine*, archsteward, prince elector of the holy empire; the said count palatine shall not exercise that jurisdiction, except in the imperial court, where the emperor or king of the *Romans* shall be personally present; and no where else.

C H A P. VI.

Of the Comparison between the Princes Electors and other common Princes.

WE ordain, that in all ceremonies and assemblies of the imperial court, from this day forward, the princes electors, ecclesiastic and secular, shall invariably keep their places to
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the right and left, according to the order and form prescribed ; and that no other prince, of what condition, dignity, pre-eminence, or quality soever he may be, shall be preferred to them, or any of them, in any action whatsoever that regards the imperial assemblies, either in walking, sitting, or standing upright, with this express condition, that the king of *Bohemia* shall nominally and invariably have the precedence in one and all the actions and celebrations of the imperial assemblies aforesaid, over every other king, whatever dignity or particular prerogative he may have, and whatever cause or circumstance may have brought him thither.

C H A P. VII.

Of the Succession of the Princes Electors.

In the name of the holy and indivisible Trinity, and for the increase of our happiness. Amen.

CHARLES IV. by the grace of God, emperor of the *Romans*, *semper Augustus*, and king of *Bohemia*, to perpetuate the memory of the thing.

I. AMONG the innumerable cares which we daily employ, for putting in a prosperous condition the holy empire, where we preside by the assistance of the Lord, our principal intention is to cultivate and maintain for ever, among the princes electors of the holy empire, a salutary union, concord, and sincere charity, being certain that their councils are the more useful to the Christian world, the more distant they are from all error, the more purely that charity reigns among them, all doubt being banished, and the rights of each being clearly declared and specified.

CERTES, it is generally manifest and notorious to all the world, that the illustrious the king of *Bohemia*, the count-palatine of the *Rhine*, the duke of *Saxony*, and the margrave of *Brandenburg* ; the first, by virtue of his royalty, and the others, by virtue of their principalities, have a right, vote, and seat, in the election of a king of the *Romans*, future emperor, with the ecclesiastical princes, their co-electors, with whom they are all reputed, as they are really in effect, true and legitimate princes electors of the holy empire.

II. NEVERTHELESS that, for the future, no cause of scandal or division shall be raised among the sons of those secular princes electors, touching their right, voice, and faculty of election ; and that the public weal may not run any risque of being retarded or troubled by dangerous delays, we, by God's assistance, desirous to prevent the dangers that may ensue,

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III. DECREE and ordain, of our power and imperial authority, by the present perpetual law, that in case the said secular princes electors, or any one of them, should happen to die, the right voice and power of election shall be devolved freely, and without contradiction of any person whatsoever, to his eldest son, being legitimate and laic; and in case the eldest shall be no longer alive, to the eldest son of the eldest, being in like manner of the laity.

IV. AND if the said eldest son should die without male-issue legitimate, and of the laity, the right, vote, and power of election, shall be devolved, by virtue of the present edict, to his second brother, descended in a direct legitimate paternal line, and afterwards to his son, being of the laity.

V. THIS succession of the eldest-born and heirs of those princes, shall be perpetually observed with regard to the right, vote, and power aforesaid.

VI. ON this condition, however, that if the prince elector, or his eldest son, or his second son of the laity, should die, leaving heirs male legitimate, and of the laity, under age, the eldest brother of the eldest defunct, shall be tutor and administrator of the said minors, until the eldest of them shall have attained the lawful age, which age in a prince elector, we will and ordain to be eighteen years complete; and when the elector shall have attained that age, his tutor or administrator shall be bound to resign to him immediately and intirely, the right, vote, power, and office of elector, and all in general that depends thereon.

VII. AND if any one of those principalities should become vacant in behalf of the empire, the emperor or king of the *Romans* for the time being, may dispose of it, as of a thing lawfully devolved to him and to the holy empire.

VIII. WITHOUT prejudice, however, to the privileges, rights, and customs of our kingdom of *Bohemia*, in what regards the election of a new king in case of vacancy, by virtue of which, the natives of *Bohemia* may elect a king according to the established custom, and the tenor of the said privileges obtained of the emperors or kings our predecessors, which privileges we have no intention to prejudice by the present imperial sanction; on the contrary, we expressly ordain, that our said kingdom be maintained to them, and that their privileges shall be preserved for ever, according to their form and tenour.

C H A P. VIII.

Of the Immunities of the King of Bohemia, and the Inhabitants of the said Kingdom.

I. AS the emperors and kings our predecessors, have granted to the illustrious kings of *Bohemia*, our ancestors and predecessors, as well as to the kingdom and crown of *Bohemia*, a certain gracious privilege, which hath subsisted in the said kingdom without interruption, from time immemorial, by a laudable custom indisputably observed during all that time, and prescribed by use without any contradiction or interruption; namely, that no prince, baron, noble, soldier, vassal, burgher, inhabitant, peasant, or other person of that kingdom, or its appurtenances, of what estate, dignity, pre-eminence, or condition soever he may be, shall, for any cause or pretext, by any person whatsoever, be summoned or cited without the kingdom, or before any other tribunal than that of the king of *Bohemia*, and the judges of his royal court; we, being desirous of renewing and confirming the said grant, use, and privilege, ordain, of our authority and full imperial power, by this perpetual and irrevocable constitution, that if, notwithstanding this privilege, custom, and grant, any prince, baron, noble, vassal, citizen, peasant, or any other person above denominated, shall be cited or summoned to any tribunal without the kingdom, for any cause whatsoever, civil, criminal, or mixed; he shall by no means be bound to appear, or answer at any time, either in person or by proxy; and if this foreign judge, who does not live within the kingdom, whatever authority he may have, shall proceed against him for contempt or non-appearance, even to an interlocutory or definitive judgment, and pronounce one or more sentences in the abovesaid causes and affairs, any manner of way: We, of our authority and full imperial power, declare all the said citations, orders, proceedings, sentences, and executions whatever, pronounced and fulfilled in consequence, null and of no effect, so as that nothing can be executed or attempted to the prejudice of this privilege.

II. UPON which we expressly add and ordain, by this imperial edict, perpetual and irrevocable, enacted by the same full power and authority, that, as in the said kingdom of *Bohemia*, it hath always been observed, from time immemorial, that no prince, baron, noble, soldier, vassal, citizen, burgher, peasant, or any other inhabitant of the kingdom of *Bohemia*, of what estate, pre-eminence, dignity, or condition soever he may be, shall be permitted to appeal to another tribunal,

tribunal, from any proceedings, interlocutory or definitive sentences, mandates, or judgment of the king of *Bohemia*, or his judges ; or from the execution of the said sentences and judgment given against any of them by the tribunals of the king, the kingdom, and other said judges ; and if, notwithstanding this prohibition, appeals are made, they shall be declared null, and the appellants from that time really and actually incur the penalty decreed.

C H A P. IX.

Of the Mines of Gold, Silver, and other Metals.

W E ordain by the present perpetual and irrevocable constitution, and of our knowledge declare, that our successors, kings of *Bohemia*, as also one and all of the princes electors, ecclesiastic and secular, present and to come, may justly and lawfully have and possess all the mines and mineries of gold, silver, tin, copper, iron, and lead, and all sorts of other metals ; as also the salt-pits already discovered, or that shall afterwards be discovered in our said kingdom, in the same manner as the said princes in their principalities, lands, dominions, and appurtenances, have been accustomed to possess them, without the least exception of their rights : they may also afford retreat to the Jews, and receive, for the future, the rights and toll, formerly established in the same manner as hitherto observed, and lawfully practised by our predecessors, the kings of *Bohemia* of happy memory ; and by the princes electors, and their predecessors, according to the antient, laudable, and approved custom, and the course of time immemorial.

C H A P. X.

Of the Coin.

I. W E moreover decree, that the king of *Bohemia*, who, after us, shall succeed to that kingdom, may, during his reign, coin gold and silver money, in all or any of the places of his kingdom, or its dependencies, in the form and manner hitherto observed in the said kingdom, as it hath at all times been lawful for our predecessors, kings of *Bohemia*, to do, according to their continual possession of that right. We likewise will and ordain, by the present imperial constitution and perpetual favour, that the kings of *Bohemia* shall be at liberty to buy and acquire of other princes, noblemen, counts, and of any other persons whatever, castles, and hereditary lands, of what

nature soever they may be ; and receive them by gift or mortgage, on condition that they shall be bound to leave them as they found them, fiefs as fiefs, and freeholds as freeholds, &c. in such a manner, however, as that for the estates which the kings of *Bohemia* shall have thus acquired or received, and which they shall have thought fit to unite to the kingdom of *Bohemia*, they shall be obliged to pay the ordinary and accustomed duties which were due from them to the empire :

II. WHICH present constitution and favour we likewise extend, by virtue of this our present imperial law, to all the princes electors, ecclesiastic as well as secular, and their successors and lawful heirs, upon the terms and conditions prescribed above.

C H A P. XI.

Of the Election of the Princes Electors.

I. WE likewise decree that the counts, barons, nobles, feudatories, vassals, officers, soldiers, citizens, burghers, and all other persons of what estate, dignity, and condition soever they may be, subjects to the churches of *Cologne*, *Mentz*, and *Triers*, as they have not, in times past, so neither shall they for the future be cited, drawn, or removed without the territory, bounds, or limits of the jurisdiction of the said churches and their dependencies, at the instance of any plaintiff whatsoever, nor obliged to appear before any other tribunals and judges, than the ordinary judges of the archbishops of *Mentz*, *Triers*, and *Cologne*, as we find the custom at all times to have been.

II. AND if, notwithstanding our present constitution, any one of the subjects of the churches of *Triers*, *Mentz*, and *Cologne*, should be summoned or cited for any cause, civil, criminal, or mixed, or other affair, before some other judge, without the territories, bounds, and limits of the said churches, or of either of them ; the person thus cited shall not be bound to appear or answer ; declaring the citation, proceedings, and interlocutory or definitive sentences, given or to be given against him, by such judges without the jurisdiction of the said churches, and all that ensues by execution or other attempt, void and of no effect.

III. To which we expressly add, that the counts, barons, feudatories, nobles, vassals, officers, soldiers, citizens, peasants, and all other subjects of the said churches, of whatever estate, dignity, or condition they may be, shall not appeal from the proceedings, interlocutory and definitive sentences,

or

or mandates, of the said archbishops and their churches, or their officials or secular judges, or from the executions made, or to be made, in consequence, against them, in the jurisdiction of the archbishop or said officials, to any other tribunal whatsoever, provided justice be not denied to the plaintiffs in the tribunals of the said archbishops and their officials; and we forbid all other judges to receive such appeals, which we declare void and of no effect.

IV. BUT in case that justice shall be denied, we permit all those of the above denominations, to whom justice shall have been denied, to appeal, not indifferently to any other ordinary judge or subdelegate, but immediately to the tribunal of the imperial court, and to the judge there presiding, reversing and annulling all the proceedings which shall have been carried on elsewhere to the prejudice or this constitution.

V. WHICH, by virtue of our present imperial law, we likewise extend to the illustrious count-palatine of the *Rhine*, the duke of *Saxony*, and the marquis of *Brandenburg*, princes electors, secular or laic, and to their successors, heirs, and subjects, in the same form and manner as above.

C H A P. XII.

Of the Assembly of the Princes Electors.

In the name of the holy and indivisible Trinity, and for the increase of our happiness. Amen.

CHARLES IV. by the grace of God, emperor of the *Romans, semper Augustus*, and king of *Bohemia*, to perpetuate the memory of the thing.

I. AMONG the different cares that incessantly employ our mind for the good of the public, our imperial highness having considered, that the princes electors of the holy empire, who are the solid basis and immoveable pillars upon which it stands, cannot conveniently communicate together on account of their being removed at such distance from one another, we have found it necessary, for the good and safety of the empire, that they should meet oftener than usual, when, being duly informed of the abuses and disorders which reign in their respective provinces, they may report the circumstances, confer together, and concert means for remedying them by their wholesome counsel and sage precaution.

II. WHEREFORE, in our solemn court held by our highness at *Nuremberg*, with the venerable ecclesiastic princes electors, the illustrious secular princes electors, and several other princes and noblemen, after mature deliberation with

the said princes electors, with their advice, and in behalf of the commonweal, we have thought proper, with the said princes electors, ecclesiastic as well as secular, to decree that, for the future, the said princes electors shall personally assemble once a year, in one of our imperial towns, four weeks successively after the feast of *Easter*; and that, for the present year, at the same ensuing term, shall be celebrated by us and the said princes, a conference, court, or assembly of that nature, in our imperial city of *Metz*; and then, on one of the days of the said assembly, we, with their advice, shall nominate the places where they shall meet the following year.

AND this present constitution shall continue in force no longer than we and they shall please to observe it; but, while it remains in force, we shall take under our protection and safeguard the said princes electors, both in coming to our court, in sojourning in the place, and in returning from it.

III. AND that the negotiation and expedition of the common affairs, concerning the public repose, may not be retarded by feasts and entertainments, which are usual on such occasions, we likewise decree, with their unanimous consent, that, during the said assemblies, it shall not be lawful for any person whatever to make any general entertainment for the princes; but plenty of private treats, which bring no hindrance to the expedition of affairs, yet even these in moderation.

C H A P. XIII.

Of the Revocation of the Privileges.

WE likewise decree and declare, by this our imperial, perpetual, and irrevocable edict, that all the privileges and letters of concession, which we, the emperors or kings of *Romans*, our predecessors of glorious memory, may have granted of our proper motion, or in another manner under any terms whatever; or which we, or our successors, emperors or kings, may for the future grant to any person whatever, of what quality, condition, or pre-eminence soever he may be, even to cities, boroughs, or corporations of any places whatever, with regard to rights, favours, immunities, customs, &c. shall not prejudice or derogate from the liberties, jurisdictions, rights, honours, and seignories of the princes electors of the holy empire, ecclesiastic and secular, or of any of them, although in the said privileges and letters granted, as said is, in favour of any person or persons of whatever pre-eminence, dignity, or condition he or they may be, or of the said corporations or

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communities, it should be expressly specified that they cannot be revoked, except this clause of non-revocation should be specially and literally inserted in the body of the said letters; which privileges and letters, so far as they prejudice and derogate in some things from the liberties, jurisdictions, rights, honours, and seignories of the said princes electors, or of any of them; we have, of our certain knowledge, full power, and imperial authority, revoked and annulled; we revoke and annul, and by these presents understand and hold them as revoked and annulled.

C H A P. XIV.

Of those who are deprived of their feudal Estates, as being unworthy to hold them.

AND as, in several places of the empire, the vassals and feudatories preposterously and maliciously make a verbal resignation or demission of the fiefs which they hold of their lords, that they may have room, after the said resignation, to defy and declare war against them, and, under pretext of open hostility, attack, invade, occupy, and retain the said fiefs and lands, to the prejudice of the said lords; we decree, by this perpetual constitution, that all such resignations or renunciations shall be reputed void, if they are not made freely and really, and the resignees put in corporal and real possession of the said fiefs; so as that those challengers, or senders of defiance, may never trouble, either by themselves or others, or afford advice, favour, and assistance to any one, in order to trouble or disturb their lords in the benefices or fiefs they have resigned: we will, that those, who do the contrary, and attack their lords in their benefices and fiefs so resigned, in any manner of way, or trouble or endamage them, or afford counsel, assistance, or favour to those who commit such attempts, shall then, and by so doing, lose the said fiefs and benefices, be declared infamous, and put to the ban of the empire; be incapable of re-enjoying the said fiefs and benefices, on any pretence whatever; or of being invested in them anew, in any manner of way; declaring, that any such concession or investiture, against the present constitution, shall be without effect. Lastly, we decree, that he or they who shall dare to act fraudulently against his or their lord or lords, and attack him or them with premeditated design, without having made the said resignation, whether the defiance hath or hath not been made, shall, in so doing, incur the said penalties, by virtue of this present sanction.

C H A P. XV.

Of Conspiracies, or Combinations.

I. WE likewise disapprove, condemn, and of our certain knowledge declare void, all combinations, conventicles, or illicit societies, detested and forbid by the laws, both within and without the cities, betwixt city and city, individual and individual, or city and individual, on pretence of consanguinity, township, or any other colour whatever; as also all confederacies, covenants, and customs, by such corruption introduced, which any city or person whatever may have already made, or shall presume hereafter to make, whether among themselves or with others, without the authority of the lords whose subjects, officers, or servants they are, or in whose districts they remain; the said lords not being nominally excepted; in like manner as they have been prohibited and annulled by the sacred laws of the divine emperors our predecessors; excepting, nevertheless, those confederacies and leagues which are known to have been made by princes, cities, and others, for the preservation of the general peace of the provinces and countries between them; which being specially reserved by our declaration, we ordain, that they shall remain in full force and vigour, until we shall think proper to decree otherwise.

II. WE ordain, that every individual who shall dare, for the future, to make leagues, combinations, and covenants of that sort, against the disposition of this edict, and our antient law published on that subject, besides the penalty mentioned in the said law, shall from thenceforward incur the mark of infamy, and a fine of ten livres of gold; and that every city, which shall in like manner violate our present law, shall also incur the fine of one hundred livres of gold, with the loss and privation of its imperial privileges; one half of which pecuniary mulcts shall be appropriated to the imperial treasury, and the other to the lord of the district, to the prejudice of which the said leagues shall have been made.

C H A P. XVI.

Of the Pfalburgers, or People who have forfeited their Freedom.

I. BESIDES, complaint having been often made to us, that certain citizens, and subjects of princes, barons, and others, seeking to shake off the yoke of their original subjection, and even being so rash as to pay no manner of regard

to it, have been received citizens of other towns, (a practice frequent in past times) and, notwithstanding, continue to reside personally in the dominions, towns, boroughs, and villages of their first lords, whom they presume to abandon by this fraud, pretending to enjoy the liberties of the towns of which by these means they have acquired the freedom, and to be protected by them; which citizens are, in *Germany*, vulgarly called Pfalburgers: now, as it is not just that any person should profit by guile and fraud, we, with the advice of the princes electors, ecclesiastic and secular, and of our certain knowledge, full power, and imperial authority, have ordained, and by this present, perpetual, and irrevocable edict ordain, that the said citizens and subjects, who thus attempt to baffle those to whom they owe subjection, shall not, from this day forwards, in any of the territories, places, or provinces of the holy empire, enjoy, in any shape, the rights and liberties of the towns wherein, by such fraud, they either have been or may be received as freemen; unless they shall really and personally remove themselves into the said towns, where they may acquire an actual settlement, by continual, true, and unfeigned residence, undergoing the usual impositions, and proportion of the municipal expence; otherwise, if any persons have been or shall be received, their reception shall be reputed void; and those received, of what dignity, rank, and condition soever they may be, shall not enjoy, in any case, or on any pretext whatsoever, the rights and liberties of the said cities; and this, notwithstanding whatever rights and privileges may have been obtained, and customs at any time observed, which, so far as they are contrary to this our present law, we, of our certain knowledge, and full imperial power, revoke by these presents, and ordain to be deprived of all force and value.

II. WITHOUT prejudice, however, to the rights which the princes, noblemen, and others, thus abandoned, have over the persons and effects of their subjects who abandon them in this manner; and as for those who, contrary to the disposition of this our present law, have already presumed, or shall hereafter presume to receive the said citizens and subjects of others, if they do not absolutely send them back in one month after publication made to them of these presents, we declare, that, as often as they transgress our present law, they shall incur the fine of one hundred marks of pure gold; one half of which shall irrecoverably be applied to the imperial treasury, and the other to the lords to whom those who are thus received did belong.

C H A P. XVII.

Of Challenges.

I. WE moreover declare, that those who, pretending to have just cause to challenge any one, shall send him a challenge at an improper time, in the places where he hath not his fixed residence, and where he doth not ordinarily dwell, cannot with honour ravage his lands, nor burn his houses, or by any other way hurt his possessions (A).

II. AND, forasmuch as it is not reasonable that deceit and fraud should be of advantage to any one, we will and ordain, by this present perpetual constitution, that challenges of this kind given, or hereafter to be given, to any noblemen or other persons whatever, with whom the challenger has lived in society, familiarity, or honourable friendship, be of no account; and that it be by no means allowed, under pretext of such challenge, to hurt any one by burning, pillaging, and ravaging, unless the challenge has been proclaimed publicly for three natural days, either to the person himself challenged, or in the place of his ordinary and usual abode, and that proclamation has been testified by sufficient witnesses. We ordain, that whoever dares to challenge and attack any one in the aforesaid manner, shall incur from thenceforward a mark of infamy, as though he had given no challenge, and that he shall be punished as a traitor by every judge, according to the rigour of the laws.

III. WE forbid and condemn also, all kinds of unjust wars and quarrels, and likewise burnings, unjust ravages and violences, unlawful and unusual taxes and impositions, as also the exactions usually made for safe-conducts and safe-guards, which people have been obliged by force to accept of, and this under the penalties with which the holy laws ordain the said outrages to be punished.

C H A P. XVIII.

Letters of Intimation.

TO you the illustrious and magnificent prince, lord, &c. margrave of *Brandenburg*, archchamberlain of the holy *Roman* empire, our co-electors, and most dear friend, we intimate to you, by these presents, the election of a king of the

(A) Another proof of the bad state in which the empire then was.

Romans,

Romans, which for reasonable causes ought to be made without delay; and we call you according to the duty of our office, and the custom of the said election, that within three following months, counting from such a day, &c. you are to appear personally, or by your ambassadors or proxies, whether one or more, having sufficient charge and commission, at the place appointed by the sacred laws enacted for that purpose; there to consult, treat, and agree with the other princes your and our co-electors, about the election of a king of the *Romans*, who, by the grace of God, shall be afterwards created emperor; and there to abide till the conclusion of that election, and otherwise to act and proceed as it is expressed in the holy laws for that purpose ordained; failing of which, we will finally proceed in it, with the other princes your and our co-electors, according as the authority of the said laws ordains, notwithstanding the absence of you or your ambassadors.

C H A P. XIX.

The Form of Proxy to be given by the Electoral Prince, who shall send his Ambassadors to the Election.

WE N. by the grace of God, &c. of the holy empire, &c. make known to all by these presents, that whereas, for reasonable causes, the election of a king of the *Romans* ought to be proceeded upon without delay, and that we desire earnestly, as bound also by the honour and estate of the holy empire, that it be not exposed to any eminent dangers, we having a firm persuasion and sincere confidence in the fidelity, ability, and prudence of our dear and well-beloved, such persons, &c. have made, constituted, and appointed them, as we make, constitute, and appoint them with all right, manner, and form, in the fullest and most effectual manner that we are able, our true and lawful proxies and special ambassadors, them or each of them virtually, so that there shall be no distinction of rank among them, but what shall be begun by one, may be finished and properly concluded by another; and this to treat in every thing with the other princes our co-electors, as well ecclesiastic as secular, to assemble with them, and conclude upon the choice of a person properly qualified to be elected king of the *Romans*; and to assist at the treaties which shall be made upon the election of such a person, and there to treat and deliberate for us in our place, and in our name; as also, in our said name and place, to nominate the same person, and to consent to his being elected king of the

the *Romans*, and elevated to the holy empire; and to take, upon our conscience, every oath that shall be necessary, agreeable, and usual; even as far as concerns the things to be after mentioned, or any of those that have been mentioned, to substitute and virtually revoke any other proxy or proxies; and to do all and every thing that shall be necessary and useful to be done, as far as concerns the foresaid affairs, till the conclusion of the treaties of this nomination, deliberation, and election, or other such similar and equally useful and important matters, although they or any one of them should require a more special commission, or be of greater consequence, or more particular, than those already mentioned; the whole as we could do ourselves, if we were personally present at the negotiations of the said treaties of deliberation, nomination, and future election, having, and willing to have, and firmly promising always to be satisfied with, and to ratify every thing that shall be negotiated, treated, or done, or in any manner ordained in the foresaid affairs, or in any of them, by our foresaid proxies or ambassadors, as also by their subdelegates, or by those that shall be substituted by them, or by any of them.

C H A P. XX.

Of the Union of the Principalities of the Electors, and of the Rights thereto annexed.

In the name of the holy and undivided Trinity, and to the increase of our happiness. So be it.

CHARLES IV. by the grace of God, emperor of the *Romans*, *semper Augustus*, and king of *Bohemia*, for the perpetual remembrance of the thing.

As all and every one the principalities, in virtue of which it is known that the secular electoral princes have a right and voice in the election of a king of the *Romans*, future emperor, are so attached and inseparably united to that right, and to the functions, dignities, and other rights thereto pertaining, and thereupon depending, that the right and voice, the office and dignity, and the other rights belonging to each of the said principalities, cannot fall but to him who publicly possesses the principality, with the land, the vassalages, fiefs, dominions, and their dependencies; we ordain, by this present imperial edict, perpetual and irrevocable, that, for the time to come, each of the said principalities shall remain, and be so strictly and indivisibly joined and united with the voice of election, the office and all other dignities, rights, and appurtenances, concerning the electoral dignity, that whoever shall be peace-
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able possessor of one of the said principalities, shall enjoy also the free and peaceable possession of the right, voice, office, dignity, and all other appurtenances that concern it, and shall be reputed by every one true and lawful elector ; and as such he, and he only, shall have a right to be invited, received, and admitted, with the other princes at all times, and without any opposition to the elections of the kings of the *Romans* ; and to all the transactions which shall concern the honour and welfare of the holy empire ; provided that none of the aforesaid things, which are, or ought to be inseparable, may be at any time divided or separated one from another, or may, in judgment or otherwise, be reclaimed separately, or so declared by sentence in any court of judicature, willing, that all audience be denied to him who shall demand the one without the other ; and that if by surprize or otherwise he should obtain it, and that thereupon there should follow any process, judgment, sentence, or any other encroachment, upon our present constitution, the whole, in every circumstance whatever, be of no effect and actually void.

C H A P. XXI.

Of the Order of the Procession among the Archbishops.

I. FORASMUCH as we have sufficiently explained, in the beginning of our present constitutions, the order of place, whenever the princes electors shall be hereafter obliged to assemble with the emperor or king of the *Romans*, about which formerly there have been many disputes ; we have also judged it expedient to prescribe the order to be observed by them in public processions.

II. FOR this cause we ordain, by this present imperial and perpetual edict, that as oft as, in the general assemblies, the emperor or king of the *Romans* shall be present, and the said princes, the emperor, or the king of the *Romans*, desire to go out in public and in state, and that he orders to be carried before him the imperial ornaments, the archbishop of *Triers* shall go first and alone before the emperor or the king, in a right and direct line ; so that between the emperor or the king and him, there shall be none but the princes, to whom it belongs to carry the imperial or royal ensigns.

III. BUT when the emperor or the king shall march, without causing the said ensigns to be carried, then the same archbishop shall go before the emperor or the king in the aforesaid manner, so that there be absolutely none between them,
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the other two archbishops electors keeping in the said processions, each the place which hath been already assigned him in the sessions, according to the province in which they then shall be.

C H A P. XXII.

Of the Order of the Procession of the Electoral Princes, and of those who are to carry the honorary ensigns.

TO declare the rank which the princes electors ought to keep in marching with the emperor, or with the king of the *Romans*, in public and in state, and of which we have already made mention, we ordain, that every time during the holding of an imperial diet, the princes electors shall march in procession with the emperor or king of the *Romans*, in all actions or solemnities whatever; and that they shall there carry the imperial or royal ornaments. The duke of *Saxony*, carrying the imperial or royal sword, shall march immediately before the emperor, being in the middle between him and the elector of *Triers*: the said elector of *Saxony* shall have on his right the count-palatine of the *Rhine*, who shall carry the globe or imperial apple; and, on his left, the marquis of *Brandenburg* carrying the scepter. All three marching abreast, the king of *Bohemia* shall immediately follow the emperor or king of the *Romans*, without any one marching between the emperor or said king and him.

C H A P. XXIII.

Of the Benedictions of the Archbishops in the Presence of the Emperor.

EVERY time that the solemnity of the mass shall be celebrated before the emperor or the king of the *Romans*, and the archbishops of *Mentz*, *Triers*, and *Cologne*, or two of them, shall be there present, at the confession which is said at the beginning of the mass, at the kissing of the gospel, and the blessing presented after the *Agnus Dei*; and also at the benedictions which are given at the end of the mass, and at those which are said when sitting down at table, and at the thanks given after the repast, that order shall be observed, which we have thought proper to establish with their advice and consent, which is, that the first shall have that honour the first day; the second, the second day; and the third, the third day.

II. **WE** declare, in this case, that the order of priority or posteriority among the archbishops, ought to be regulated by the order and time of their consecration : and that they may anticipate one another by testimonies of honour and respect; and that their example may oblige the other electors mutually to honour themselves : we desire that he, whom the order about the aforesaid things shall regard as first, shall offer to his colleagues the civility and loving compliment of inviting them to accept of that honour, and after that, he shall proceed to the aforesaid things, or any one of them.

C H A P. XXIV.

The following Laws have been published in the Diet of Metz, on Christmas-day 1356, by Charles IV. emperor of the Romans, sēper Augustus, King of Bohemia, assisted by all the Princes Electors of the sacred Empire, in Presence of the venerable Father in God the Lord Theodoric Bishop of Alba, Cardinal of the Holy Roman Church, and of Charles, eldest Son of the King of France, illustrious Duke of Normandy, and Dauphin of the Viennois.

I. **IF** any one has entered into any criminal conspiracy, or made oath or promise to engage in any such with princes and gentlemen, or even with private or any other persons whatever, not excepting plebeians, against the life of the reverend and illustrious princes electors of the holy *Roman* empire, ecclesiastic as well as secular, let him perish by the sword, and all his estate be confiscated, as guilty of treason; for they constitute a part of our body, and in these rencounters, the laws punish the will with the same severity as the crime itself : and though it were but just, that the sons of such a parricide should die the same death, because from them the same examples may be apprehended, nevertheless, we grant them their lives out of our particular bounty. But our will is, that they shall be deprived of the succession of their mother or grandmother, as likewise of all the effects they might expect by right of inheritance and succession, or by the will of their other relations or friends, to the end that, being ever poor and necessitous, they may be for ever accompanied by the infamy of their father; that they shall never attain to any honour or dignity, not even to those conferred by the church, but be reduced to such extremity, as that they shall languish in continual indigence, and thus find their punishment in living, and their relief in dying. Our will is also, that those who shall presume

presume to intercede for such people, may be branded with perpetual infamy.

II. WITH regard to the daughters of those criminals, in what number soever they may be, we ordain, that they shall enjoy the *falcidium*, or fourth part of the succession of their mother, whether she hath, or hath not, made a will, that they may have a middling subsistence as daughters, rather than an intire advantage in the name of heirs : for, in effect, the sentence ought to be the more moderate with respect to them, as we are persuaded the weakness of their sex will prevent them from committing crimes of that nature.

III. WE also declare the emancipations, which such persons may have made of their sons and daughters, since the publication of the present law, null, and of no effect. Likewise, we declare void, and of no account, all settlements of dowry, donations, and all other alienations, which may be made by fraud, or even of right, from the time that they shall have begun first to act in these plots and conspiracies. If women, after having withdrawn their dowry, find themselves in that state, that, whatever they shall have received of their husbands under the title of donations, they must reserve it to their sons, when the term of their possession shall expire; they are to know, that all these things, which, according to law, ought to return to the son, shall be applied to our treasury, except the *falcidium*, or fourth, which shall be deducted from them for the daughters, and not for the sons.

IV. WHAT we have said of these criminals, and their sons, ought also to be extended to their attendants, accomplices, and servants, and their sons. Nevertheless, if any of the accomplices, touched with a desire of true glory, discovers the conspiracy in its beginning, he shall, for that discovery, receive from us honour and reward : but as to him who shall have been concerned in these conspiracies, and discovers them only very late, yet still before they have been discovered by any other, he shall only be judged to deserve impunity, and pardon of his crime.

V. WE ordain also that, if any outrage committed against the said electoral princes, ecclesiastic or secular, be discovered, the punishment of that crime may be prosecuted anew, even after the death of the guilty person.

VI. As also, for this crime of treason against the said princes electors, the servants of the accused person may be put to the torture.

VII. WE ordain, moreover, by this present imperial edict, and will that even after the death of the guilty person, an information may be commenced against him, that the crime
being

being proved, his memory may be condemned, and his effects confiscated: for from the time that any one forms the design of a detestable crime, he is from thenceforward in a manner guilty, and tormented in his soul.

VIII. FOR this reason, from the time that any one is found guilty of such an outrage, we will that he shall no more have the power to sell, or alienate, or give freedom to his slaves, nor even to demand the payment of his just debts.

IX. WE ordain likewise, with regard to this, that is to say, for the crime of conspiracy against the electoral princes, ecclesiastic or secular, the servants of the criminal may be put to the torture.

X. AND if any one of these criminals die, during the drawing up of the process, we will that his effects be put into the hands of justice, by reason that it is still uncertain who shall be his heir.

CHAP. XXV.

That the Principalities of the Electors may be preserved entire.

IF it is expedient that all principalities be preserved entire, that justice may be strengthened, and that good and faithful subjects may enjoy a perfect repose, and profound peace, it is without comparison much more reasonable, that the great principalities, dominions, honours, and rights of the electoral princes should also remain entire, for where the danger is most to be feared, there the greatest precaution ought to be used, lest the pillars being defective, the whole edifice should fall in ruins.

I. WE will then and ordain, by this perpetual imperial edict, that from henceforth and for ever, the great and magnificent principalities, such as the kingdom of *Bohemia*, the county-palatine of the *Rhine*, the dukedom of *Saxony*, the marquisate of *Brandenburg*, their lands, jurisdictions, homages (A) and vassalages, with their appurtenances and dependencies, cannot be parted, divided, or dismembered in any manner whatever, but shall remain in all time coming, united and preserved intire.

II. THAT the eldest son succeed thereto, and that all the dominion and all the right belong to him alone, provided he

(A) This article does not elector-palatine pretended in give to the successor of the the process about the succession elector, all the effects of the of the elector *Charles*. succession indefinitely, as the

be not a lunatic, or have such other great and remarkable defect, as absolutely hinders him from governing ; in which case, he being excluded from the succession, we will that the second son be called to it, if there is one in the same line, if not, the eldest of the brothers, or lay relations on the father's side, who shall be found the nearest in the direct and male line (B). Who nevertheless shall be bound to give continual proofs of his goodness and liberality to his other brothers and sisters, contributing to their subsistence, according to his good will, and the extent of his estate, prohibiting him expressly from parting, dividing, or dismembering the principalities, and their appurtenances and dependencies, in any manner whatever.

C H A P. XXVI.

Of the Imperial Court, and of its Session.

I. ON the day that the emperor or the king of the *Romans* would solemnly hold his court, the electoral princes, as well ecclesiastic as secular, shall assemble for an hour, or thereabouts, at the place of the imperial or royal residence, where, the emperor or the king being clothed in all the imperial ornaments, shall mount on horseback, with all the electoral princes, who shall accompany him to the place prepared for the session, each in the order and manner already prescribed, and inserted in the ordinance which regulates the processions of the said electoral princes.

II. THE archchancellor, in whose archchancellorate the imperial court shall be held, shall also carry, at the end of a silver rod, all the imperial or royal seals.

III. BUT the secular electoral princes shall carry the sceptre, the apple, and the sword, in the manner which has been already mentioned.

IV. SOME other inferior princes, who shall be deputed by the emperor, and in his choice, shall carry, immediately before the archbishop of *Triers*, proceeding in his rank, first, the crown of *Aix-la-Chapelle*, and in the second place that of *Milan*, which shall never be done but before the emperor, when adorned with the imperial crown.

(B) There is no regulation made for the succession in the collateral line, and the difficulty is not determined, whether the order of lines or the proximity of degrees, ought to be followed : a question which has since been often disputed in the empire.

V. THE empress also, or the queen of the *Romans*, being attired in the habits and ornaments of state, shall go after the emperor or king of the *Romans*, and also after the king of *Bohemia*, who immediately follows the emperor ; but she shall be at a convenient distance, and accompanied by her principal officers, and maids of honour, and shall proceed thus as far as the place of the session.

C H A P. XXVII.

Of the Functions of the Electoral Princes in the Assemblies where the Emperors or Kings of the Romans solemnly hold their Court.

WE ordain, as oft as the emperor or king of the *Romans* would solemnly hold his court, and the electoral princes shall be obliged to perform the duties of their office, that the following order shall be observed.

I. The emperor or king of the *Romans* being seated in his royal chair, or on the imperial throne, the duke of *Saxony* shall perform his office in the following manner. There shall be put before the place of the imperial or royal session a heap of oats, of such a height as to reach the horse's breast, or the saddle upon which the duke shall be seated : and the duke having in his hands a silver rod, and a measure also of silver, which together shall weigh twelve marks, and being on horseback, he shall fill the measure with the oats, and shall give it to the first groom he meets : after which, thrusting the rod among the oats, he shall retire ; and his vicemarshal, namely, the count of *Papenheim*, approaching, or in his absence the marshal of the court, shall give allowance to plunder the oats.

II. WHENEVER the emperor or the king of the *Romans* shall be seated at table, the ecclesiastic electoral princes, that is to say, the archbishops, standing by the table, with the other prelates, shall bless it, according to the order before by us prescribed. The blessing being given, the same archbishops, if they are there present, or even two, or one of them, shall take the imperial or royal seals from the hands of the chancellor of the court ; and the archbishop, in whose archchancelloriate the court shall be held, going in the middle of the two other archbishops, who shall be upon his right and left, and holding with him the silver rod, to which the seals shall be hung, all three shall carry them thus, and shall place them with respect upon the table, before the emperor or the king : but the emperor or the king shall restore them to the said

archbishops again forthwith ; and he in whose archchancelloriate the ceremonies shall be performed, as has been said, shall hang about his neck the greatest seal, and shall carry it thus all the time of dinner, and after, till he has returned to his lodgings, mounted on a horse belonging to the palace. But the rod, which we have spoke of, ought to be of silver, of the weight of twelve marks ; and the three archbishops ought each to pay the third, as well of the weight of the silver as of the price of the workmanship. The rod and the seals shall remain with the chancellor of the court, who shall do with them as he pleases ; and therefore, as soon as that archbishop, who had the privilege of carrying the great seal about his neck from the palace to his lodgings, as has been said, shall be there arrived, he shall send, by some one of his domestics, to the said chancellor of the imperial court, the said seal upon the same horse ; and the archbishop, according to the decorum of his proper dignity, and the friendship which he shall bear to the said chancellor of the court, shall be bound to compliment him also with the horse.

III. THEN the marquis of *Brandenburg* shall come on horseback, having in his hands a bason and ewer of silver, of the weight of twelve marks, with water and a fine napkin ; when, alighting, he shall present to the lord the emperor, or to the king of the *Romans*, the water to wash in.

IV. THE count-palatine of the *Rhine* shall enter also on horseback, carrying four dishes of silver full of victuals, each dish of the weight of three marks ; and, having dismounted, he shall place the dishes upon the table before the emperor, or king of the *Romans*.

V. AFTER them shall come the king of *Bohemia*, chief cup-bearer, being also on horseback, and holding in his hand a cup or goblet of silver, of the weight of twelve marks, covered, and full of wine and water ; and, having dismounted, he shall present it to the emperor, or king of the *Romans*, to drink.

VI. WE ordain also, according as it has hitherto been practised, that the secular electoral princes having performed the offices, the vicechamberlain of *Falkenstein* should have the horse, the bason, and ewer of the marquis of *Brandenburg* ; the master of the kitchen of *Nuremberg* the horse and dishes of the count-palatine of the *Rhine* ; the vicecup-bearer of *Limburg* the horse and goblet of the king of *Bohemia* ; and the vicemarshal of *Papenheim* the rod and measure of the duke of *Saxony*. Provided still, that these officers be personally present at the imperial or royal court, and there performing the duties of their offices ; otherwise, and if they be all

sent, or any of them, then the ordinary officers of the emperor, or king of the *Romans*, shall serve instead of the absent, each in his office; and as they shall perform the offices, they shall also enjoy the advantages.

C H A P XXVIII.

Of the Imperial and Electoral Tables.

I. THE imperial or royal table must be placed in such a manner as to be six feet higher, than the other tables of the hall, and on the days of the solemn assemblies, none shall sit down at it but the emperor or king of the *Romans* alone.

II. AND also the seat and table of the empress or queen shall be erected at the side, and lower by three feet than that of the emperor or king of the *Romans*, but higher also by three feet than those of the electors. As to the tables and seats of the electors, they shall be erected all of the same heighth.

III. SEVEN tables shall be erected for the seven electors, ecclesiastic and secular, at the bottom of the imperial table, namely, three on the right side, and three on the left, and the seventh directly over-against the emperor or king of the *Romans*, in the same order as we have prescribed in the chapter of the seats and rank of the electoral princes, so that no one of what quality and rank soever, shall place himself at their tables, or in the spaces betwixt them.

IV. NONE of the said electoral princes, after having performed his office, shall be allowed to go and sit down at the table prepared for him, before all the other electors his colleagues, shall have also performed their offices: but when any one of them, or more, shall have performed theirs, they shall retire nigh their table, and there shall keep themselves on foot, till all the rest having also finished the said duties of their offices, they shall all sit down at the same time, each at his own table.

V. FORASMUCH as we find by very certain relations and traditions, so antient, that there is no remembrance of the contrary, that it hath been always happily observed, that the election of the king of the *Romans*, future emperor, ought to be kept in the city of *Frankfort*, and the coronation at *Aix-la-Chapelle*; and that the elected emperor ought to hold his first royal court at *Nuremberg*: therefore we will, for many reasons, that the same be practised in time coming, provided there be no lawful hindrance.

VI. As oft as any elector, ecclesiastic or secular, who shall have been called to the imperial court, cannot for some lawful reason go there in person, or that he shall send an ambassador or deputy ; that ambassador, of what rank or quality soever, altho', in virtue of his power, he ought to be admitted in the place of him he represents, shall not sit down at the table appointed for him that shall have sent him.

LASTLY, all the ceremonies of this imperial court being ended, all the scaffolding or building of wood, which shall have been made for the seat, and for the tables of the emperor or king of the *Romans*, and the electoral princes assembled for these solemn ceremonies, or to give the investiture of fiefs, shall belong to the master of the household.

C H A P. XXIX.

Of the Rights of the Officers, when the Princes do Homage for their Fiefs to the Emperor or King of the Romans.

I. W E ordain by this present imperial edict, that whenever the electoral princes, ecclesiastic as well as secular, shall receive their fiefs, or sovereign rights, from the hands of the emperor or king of the *Romans*, they shall not be obliged to pay or give any thing to any one. For as the money which is payed under this pretext is due to the officers, and as the electoral princes have the superiority over all the officers of the imperial court, having even in these kinds of offices their deputies established and hired for that purpose by the emperors, it were absurd, that deputed officers should demand money or presents from their superiors, unless the said electoral princes shall have a mind to give them any thing out of their own good will and liberality.

II. B U T the other princes of the empire, ecclesiastic as well as secular, when receiving their fiefs, as we have said, of the emperor or king of the *Romans*, shall give to the officers of the imperial or royal court, each sixty-three marks and a quarter of silver ; unless any one of them can prove his exemption, and make appear, that by an imperial or royal privilege he is dispensed with from paying the said sum, and all the other rights usually payed when the investiture is taken ; and it shall be the master of the household of the emperor or king of the *Romans*, who shall divide the said sum of sixty-three marks and a quarter of silver, in the manner following.

FIRST, he shall take ten marks of it himself : he shall give as much of it to the chancellor of the empire or king of
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the *Romans* : to the secretaries, notaries, and directors, three marks ; and to him who seals, for the wax and parchment, a quarter, without obliging the chancellor or secretaries to give any thing for it ; besides a certificate of the fief received, or of the simple letters of investiture. In like manner, the master of the household shall give, of the said sum, ten marks to the cup-bearer of *Limburg*, ten to the master of the kitchen of *Nortenberg*, ten to the vicemarshal of *Papenheim*, and ten to the vicechamberlain of *Falkenstein*, provided they be personally present at these investitures, and there perform the duties of their offices ; otherwise and in their absence, the officers of the court of the emperor or king of the *Romans*, who shall perform the duty of the absent, and shall have had the trouble of it, shall also receive the profit and advantages.

III. BUT when the prince mounted on horseback, or on any other beast, shall receive the investiture of his fiefs from the emperor or king of the *Romans*, whatever that beast may be it shall belong to the grand marshal, that is to say, to the duke of *Saxony*, if he is present, if not to his vicemarshal of *Papenheim*, and in his absence to the marshal of the emperor's court.

C H A P. XXX.

Of the Instruction of the Electoral Princes in the Languages.

I. FORASMUCH as the majesty of the holy *Roman* empire ought to prescribe laws, and command people of different nations, manners, customs, and of different languages, it is reasonable, and the wisest judge it so, that the electoral princes, who are the pillars and key-stones of the empire, be instructed, and have the knowledge of several languages, because, being obliged to ease the emperor in his most important affairs, it is necessary that they understand many people, and mutually make themselves understood by many.

II. THEREFORE we ordain, that the sons or heirs of the illustrious princes electors, namely, of the king of *Bohemia*, of the count-palatine of the *Rhine*, of the duke of *Saxony*, and of the marquis of *Brandenburg*, who probably know the *German* language, because they ought to have learned it from their infancy, being arrived at the age of seven years, be instructed in the *Latin*, *Italian*, and *Slavonian* languages ; so that when they arrive at their fourteenth year, they may be skilful therein, according to the talent that God hath given them ; which qualification we judge, not only useful but necessary, because the use of these languages is very common in the empire, for the administration of the most important affairs.

III. WE

III. We leave, nevertheless, to the option of the fathers the manner of this instruction, so that it shall depend upon them to send their sons or relations, whom they shall judge will probably succeed them in the electorate, to places where they may conveniently learn these languages, or to give them preceptors and young companions in their own houses, by whose instruction and conversation they may be instructed in these languages.

END of the THIRTIETH VOLUME.

